





CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CALENDAR
OF THE
STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

IRELAND,

OF THE REIGNS OF

[Henry VII], Edward VI, Mary and

ELIZABETH,

[Vol. 9]
1600, March—October.

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ERNEST GEORGE ATKINSON,

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1903.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

- Page 6, line 18. For " money " read " enemy. "
- „ 50, „ 44. For " rebellious " read " rebellions. "
- „ 62, „ 14. After " O'Donnell " insert " (*sic*). "
- „ 82, „ 36. For " fiends " read " frauds. "
- „ 100, „ 34. For " Retinge " read " Ketinge. "
- „ 115, „ 30. For " Ony " read " Onie. "
- „ 120, „ 11. For " seventeen " read " seventeen. "
- „ 137, third line from bottom. For " member " read " cumber. "
- „ 145, line 27. After " Cormack McDermond " insert a comma.
- „ 174, „ 40. For " begining " read " beginning. "
- „ 186, last line. Insert " Compare No. 141. i. (*a.*), p. 122. "
- „ 195, line 15. For " rebel's " read " rebels. "
- „ 244, „ 47. For " intelligencies " read " intelligences. "
- „ 248, „ 1. For " Condor " read " Condon. "
- „ 263, „ 2. For " exhorbitant " read " exorbitant. "
- „ 304, second line from bottom. After " Gorton " insert " [*sic* ;
? Gofton.] "
- „ 336, line 7. For " port " read " part. "
- „ 382, third line from bottom. After " have " insert " been. "
- „ 415. Margin of letter No. 9. For " Dublin " read " Woodstock. "
- „ 416, line 23. For Wookstock " read " Woodstock. "
- „ 440, „ 19. Before " This letter " insert a square bracket.
- „ 444, „ 42. For " muntinies " read " mutinies. "
- „ 448, last line. After " Marbury's " insert a full stop.
- „ 469, line 19. Dele full stop after " them. "
- „ 518, „ 24. For " beseiged " read " besieged. "

P R E F A C E .

THE present volume covers only the first eight months of Lord Mountjoy's administration, viz., from 1 March to 31 October, 1600. The new Lord Deputy had not been hastily appointed. No one cared for the thankless post, and it required a good deal of royal pressure to make Mountjoy accept it. He had heard in England much of the truth concerning the state of Ireland. After his definite appointment to the office of Lord Deputy, he obtained still further information, especially as to the condition of the army in that country. Still, he found it necessary, immediately after having taken the reins of government, to request the Council of Ireland for a full account of "the estate of the realm." Matters there were "sour and tart," as the Council phrased it, nor could they give "so much as a taste of more pleasing things." The army was scattered over Ireland in small companies. In not one province could a perfect list of the forces be given. The Queen had ordered their strength to be reduced, as from February 1, by 2,000 men. Tyrone had complete command of Ulster. He was ranging at his pleasure through Munster and a great part of Leinster. Connaught was almost defenceless against the forces of his confederate, O'Donnell. Tyrone had even threatened to march into the heart of the English Pale, and to cut off the supply of water from Dublin. There was a universal want of victuals for the troops, nor could supplies be obtained in Ireland. The scarcity of money was equally great. Both were the more urgently required, inasmuch as the forces for the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon had begun to arrive. The Council made an earnest appeal that the numbers of the army should not be

reduced, as it was necessary to place a large force on the northern border of the Pale to countenance the expedition to Lough Foyle. Fenton said that, if there were any reduction, it was "fearful to think what a desolation would be" (p. 5). Elizabeth agreed to continue the 2,000 men.

As a specimen of the hatred entertained by the corporate towns of Ireland for the government and forces of the Queen, the case of Limerick may be cited. The Mayor welcomed great numbers of rebels into the city, and sent wine to the camp of James FitzThomas and Piers Lacy. The powder and munition of Limerick were not stored, but issued to the rebels. The civic authorities and the military heads of the garrison disputed as to their respective jurisdiction in the city. The Mayor and townsmen vaunted that they had assaulted the Constable of Limerick Castle, "and cut off his head, and brought the same into the Island, and played at football with it" (p. 13). They bragged also that they had executed a Lord Justice, and buried many Englishmen in their cellars. A graphic account is given of an affray that took place between the company of Captain Brooks and the citizens of Limerick. Concerning Cork Sir George Carew wrote to Cecil (p. 250): "I have written unto your Honour in the commendation of the Mayor of this city and his brethren, but you know my opinion of them; and, to say truly, they are the worst people in Ireland."

In the last volume of this Calendar it was shewn how, at the close of January, 1600, Tyrone had left his own country for the south. Mountjoy said that the Irish leader's army consisted of some 1,500 horse and foot, adding scornfully, "compounded of such a sort of people in appearance as, except they have the virtue of some secret charm with them, might, for anything I can conceive, have been with great advantage encountered by so many of the worst men the Queen hath here in pay" (p. 27). It was all the more discredit that Tyrone was allowed to pass unopposed through Longford, Westmeath, and King's County. Thence he had purposed to go to Kilkenny, and afterwards to meet

Desmond at the Holy Cross near Cashel. The Earl of Ormonde with his forces had got to Kilkenny, and it was hoped that, when Tyrone turned homewards, he would find himself between the Earl's forces and those of the Pale. Ormonde frustrated the intended meeting between Tyrone and Desmond by getting first to the Holy Cross, and thus compelled his enemy to take refuge in the bogs and woods of O'Dwyre's country, and afterwards in similar shelter at the foot of the Arlow mountains. The garrisons in Munster had received orders to lose no opportunity of killing, burning, and spoiling the traitors, and this had been in great measure carried out. Tyrone was not behindhand in the same kind of work. In Munster, as well as in other parts of Ireland, devastation was the order of the day on both sides. This process was in the long run far more ruinous to the Irish than to the English. The latter could, and did, forward troops and supplies from England. The former consumed their only resources. Spain might send forces and munitions of war, but these were useless for the sustenance of the people. The advice of many an English officer, who advocated the famine policy, was practical, if apparently cruel, "when the plough and breeding of cattle shall cease, then will the rebellion end" (p. 24). On February 18 Tyrone had passed the Blackwater, and marched towards Cork. He did little harm in Lord Roche's country, but committed great havoc for six or seven days in the country of Lord Barry, who had rejected his overtures with loyal scorn. From Lord Barry's country Tyrone proceeded into the borders of Muskerry, and for a whole fortnight remained at a distance of only four or five miles from Cork. It was during this fortnight that a memorable encounter took place at a short distance from the city, resulting in the deaths of Sir Warham Sentleger and Maguire. Sir Henry Power, who was present and was himself wounded, gives interesting details of the fight. The loss of Maguire was keenly felt by Tyrone, who tried to come to his assistance, but the strength of the river was such that Tyrone narrowly escaped

drowning. The next day, Sunday, March 2, he found Maguire's body, and took it away with him. On March 3 he went with his forces towards Kinsale, being accompanied by Florence McCarthy. The latter had not only joined Tyrone, but had surrendered his patent and right to him, and had agreed to hold his country as from Tyrone. Mountjoy wrote (p. 33): "We that have known him longest did never look for other fruit out of such a Spanish heart." The Bishop of Cork also said that the joining of Florence McCarthy with Tyrone was voluntary, adding, "the Lord of Hosts confound them both, I pray in charity."

It was reported that Tyrone was going to stay in Munster till May; but he was too astute not to see that, if he remained in the province so long, he ran the risk of utter defeat on his way home, and he had received urgent messages from Cormack O'Neill and others to hasten back to Ulster. Cormack feared that, in the absence of Tyrone, Mountjoy would advance northwards and plant garrisons at Armagh and the Blackwater. Tyrone, not so easily daunted, had ordered Cormack to gather all the strength of Ulster, so as to help his return by keeping the Lord Deputy occupied on the northern borders of the Pale. The chief cause, however, of Tyrone's hurrying home was to resist the plantation at Lough Foyle. It was necessary that he should return by the way that he came, or otherwise he must needs cross one of two rivers, either the Shannon, by Killaloe, or the Suir by Golden Bridge. The country to be traversed was full of bogs and woods, and there were many narrow passes, which Ormonde had carefully entrenched. Tyrone's force consisted, according to Mountjoy, of 4,000 men, but, according to a more reliable Munster advice, of 7,000 foot and 500 horse, "good and bad." His men, however, were greatly discouraged by sickness and by the death of Maguire. There was also a rumour that O'Donnell had been slain in Connaught, and the men were cursing Tyrone for bringing them so far from their several countries. On

the 7th of March their leader advanced northwards, and crossed the Blackwater, by the fords at Fermoy and Castle Hyde, into the countries of Condon and the White Knight. This way led to Tipperary and the Holy Cross. Ormonde with the flower of the English troops, 3,000 foot and 300 horse, had moved to the parts near Limerick to stop Tyrone's passage over the Shannon, and to follow him if he sought any other way. In the Pale Mountjoy had but 1,500 foot, and "very near" 300 horse of "the dregs of the army," to make head against Tyrone's return. Out of the 1,500, also, he was shortly to draw 1,000 to send to Lough Foyle; and further, until the expedition to Lough Foyle had started, Mountjoy was detaining President Carew of Munster at Dublin. The Lord Deputy had placed his companies at Trim and Athboy, ready to move against Tyrone as soon as the latter passed by. But just as the able Irish leader had succeeded in reaching the south coast without encountering any opposition, so he now evaded all the English troops and reached his country without firing a shot. On the 13th or 14th of March he crossed the Enny in Westmeath with all his men, except some companies whom he had left in O'Molloy's country to guard his baggage placed there with Captain Tyrrell. Passing thence by Monaghan he soon arrived at Dungannon. Ormonde wrote (p. 43) that "Tyrone, in scattered and cowardly manner, hastened his return with that speed, both by night and by day, through the mountains of Mow and Slewmark, as he held a continual march for 27 miles this present day, till he came to Bellagh Cahil in the north border of Elyogerty, towards Slewvarnan, in Omagher's country." Sir Geoffrey Fenton rightly judged that the "archtraitor" had by his singularly clever retreat obtained a greater reputation than ever with the Irishry, and that the Queen's service had been much blemished. Much of Tyrone's success was due to the goodwill of the districts through which he passed, or, as Fenton phrased it, to "the looseness and treachery

of the country." Mountjoy rode to Trim on the first alarm raised of Tyrone's entry into Westmeath, but only to find that his chief adversary had slipped across the Enny the night before, "making extraordinary speed in his march" (p. 41). On the 15th of March Mountjoy returned to Dublin, and sent word to Ormonde to hasten there with all his available men. With the return of Tyrone to Ulster the plantation of Lough Foyle could now be resolutely set about. That of Ballyshannon was started at the same time, but did not come to fruition until long after the settlement at Lough Foyle. An interesting memorandum on the importance of the plantation at Ballyshannon will be found on pages 279-283.

Mountjoy was eager for the success of this long-advised project at Lough Foyle. He writes to the Privy Council (p. 34): "For so do I take to heart this planting in the north, as there shall be neither occasion nor opportunity pretermitted which may advance that service, and to it shall all other business give place for the time." "This army intended for Lough Foyle," writes Sir Francis Stafford (p. 127), "doth much amaze both O'Donnell and Tyrone." And Tyrone was persuaded that, "if this designation doth fail, then hath he absolutely won the bucklers, and freed himself from the fear of any attempt hereafter ever to be made against him" (p. 340). The soldiers appointed as supplies for the expedition were expected to come *viâ* Bristol, and so were the ships laden with victual and other provisions. But there was great delay in their arrival. Mountjoy, however, made what preparations he could in Ireland. The coming of the shipping from England being so uncertain he chartered at Dublin and Drogheda all available barks for the transportation of men and provisions from Dublin to Carrickfergus. The thousand men from the forces in Ireland he had also got ready, but he wrote: "It is not safe that the companies do know of their going till they be drawn to the place where they are to be embarked, so generally are they all distasted to go to any service in the

north" (p. 33). Further, Mountjoy had sent over some captains to meet Sir Henry Dockwra at Chester. There was much difficulty in getting some of these officers from the provinces, "the ways being strongly laid by the rebels" (p. 34). In the process of cassing the companies of these officers, Mountjoy declares (p. 46) that, notwithstanding his utmost care, there had been lost very nearly one thousand men with their arms, and sundry old soldiers, who were worth more than three thousand of the new supplies. Sir George Carew was detained at Dublin, for Mountjoy and the Council wrote: "There cannot be as yet any course taken for the safe sending up of the President of Munster to his charge, as well for the impossibility of shipping, if he should pass by sea, all the barks being taken up within this harbour and Tredagh for transportation of the thousand soldiers to the north, as also for the apparent danger of the ways, if he should pass by land. For that the rebels lie strong in the ways, and there is no means to give him sufficient convoy from hence." Mountjoy considered this stay a good thing for the business he had in hand, for he declared that the northern plantation "for the most part depended upon" Carew. The latter, however, was "most desirous" to get to Munster.

If the 2,000 men, already indicated, were not deducted from the strength of the army in Ireland, Mountjoy had nominally 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse with which to work out his plans. But of these men he was obliged, by orders from England, to apportion certain numbers to Munster, Connaught, Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Carrickfergus. Thus there were left him about 4,600 foot and 400 horse. The greater part of these Mountjoy decided to station on the north borders of the Pale, ready for an advance on Newry and Armagh as soon as the fleet with men and victuals for Lough Foyle loosed from Chester for Carrickfergus. The object of the advance was "to entangle Tyrone by diversion," in other words, to draw him away from Lough Foyle, whilst Sir Henry Dockwra made good his

landing there. The remnant of the forces was to be utilised for a prosecution of the rebels in Leinster. Tyrone, on the other hand, purposed to send the greatest part of his army to resist, in combination with O'Donnell, the landing at Lough Foyle. With the residue he intended to confront the Lord Deputy. Tyrone knew that many of his subordinate allies in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle were inclined to side with the English, so he took pledges from them to guard against their desertion. He and O'Donnell were also busy in raising sconces on the sea-shore at Lough Foyle to "impeach the descending" of the English. Fenton, however, said that Sir Henry Dockwra would have above a dozen miles of plain and hard ground near the sea-shore, under the cover of his ships, to land his companies, in despite of all the north. On the other side of the channel Sir Henry Dockwra was busy at Chester getting his men together. A large number of the troops there became runaways, owing to the unpopularity of the service in Ireland. One trick of the deserters was disguising themselves in women's apparel. A thousand men of the old companies, inured to Irish warfare, were ready at Dublin to be embarked with the first wind for Carrickfergus, the place of rendezvous.

Whilst waiting at Dublin Mountjoy had the satisfaction of hearing that James FitzPiers had given an "overthrow" to Onie McRory. That Leinster chieftain, however, was, very shortly after, to strike a blow which would astound Ireland from one end to the other. This was the man of whom John Lye wrote to Fenton on March 1: "Onie McRory O'Moore, as formerly I did certify, is limbless, and never like to be able to do anything, if he live. It were good to devise some draught upon him, fearing he should live." The Lord Deputy, in his letter about FitzPiers and Onie, gives a glimpse of the way in which hostilities were waged (p. 85), "this day Coll McColl's head was brought to me, the most desperate and stirring rogue of the north, and ten more of his company killed. I have heard you complain that you could not hear of

one head brought in for all the Queen's money, but I can assure you now the kennels of the streets are full of them." Rumours of Irish factions in Ulster were also pleasing, and Mountjoy said he would "blow this fire." Similar rumours were received from King's County, and some of the chief O'Tooles came in and gave pledges. Donnell Spainagh, likewise, was suing for pardon. It was important, if possible, to leave Leinster in quiet, before the Lord Deputy moved northwards. The delay in the arrival of victuals from England was getting almost unbearable. "It is thought," writes Mountjoy, "there will be in all Ireland the greatest famine that ever hath been, which I hope is the scourge that God hath chosen to plague these rebels. We have neither yet meat nor money, but we live with the news that it is at the sea-side." Transport difficulties were well-nigh insurmountable, for the horses and cattle were starving.

Right into the midst of all the preparations being made for the plantation of Lough Foyle, and for the advance to Armagh, there came as a thunderbolt the news that the Earl of Ormonde had been treacherously taken prisoner by Onie McRory. Most of the papers relating to this event were published in 1862 by the late Reverend James Graves; but that scholar and antiquary omitted several passages in divers letters, and also three entire letters, one from the Countess of Ormonde (p. 142), another from the earl himself (p. 241), and a third from the Queen to Ormonde on July 21. Mr. Graves has, however, referred to the last of these letters in a foot-note. The first intimation of the unhappy occurrence came in a letter from William Hartpoole to Mountjoy, written at Carlow on April 11, stating that the Earl had been taken by Onie the previous evening. This letter was received at midnight on the 11th, and Mountjoy sent it off post-haste to Cecil, whom it did not reach in London until the 18th of April. Mountjoy, in his letter enclosing that from Hartpoole,

makes the following singular comment about Ormonde: "As I have had reason to conceive of his proceedings, I know not well whether this be good or evil news." Fenton states, on April 12, that the Earl had been drawn to a meeting with Onie McRory, under pretence of a parley, and had then been surprised by a secret ambuscade. But fuller news were soon to hand. Sir George Carew, accompanied by the Earl of Thomond, had left Dublin for Munster on the 7th of April. On the night of the 9th they arrived at Kilkenny, where they found the Earl of Ormonde. He informed them that on the following day, April 10, he had appointed a parley with Onie McRory. Carew and Thomond said that they would accompany the Earl, and Carew offered the assistance of his 100 horse, but Ormonde said he did not need them. On the 10th, in the afternoon, the Earl started for the scene of the parley. He had with him but 17 armed horsemen, and a number of followers with no other weapons but their swords. The place of meeting was "Corranneduffe," some eight miles from Kilkenny, on the borders of Ydough. Carew and Thomond describe the place, which appears to have been eminently suited for an ambush. Onie McRory brought with him a troop of "choice pikemen," leaving within half a culiver shot distance a band of 500 foot and 20 horse. A graphic account is given of the parley. Ormonde was on a little weak hackney, conversing with Onie, the latter's followers crowding so closely up that they could touch the Earl. After an hour's talk, as no conclusion had been come to, Carew and Thomond advised Ormonde to depart, but his Lordship insisted on seeing Father Archer, the Jesuit, who accordingly came forward. Whilst a warm argument was being carried on between them, the main body of Onie's men were creeping up through the shrubwood, and environing the whole party. Ormonde's attention was repeatedly called to this danger, and Thomond desired Onie to put back his men. Carew, seeing that no time was to

be lost, again advised Ormonde to go. Just as this advice was about to be followed, the Earl was pulled from his horse, and seized, whilst a number of men hung on to the horses of Carew and Thomond, who very narrowly escaped capture. Happily their horses were in good condition, and thus both managed to break through the crowd, Thomond, however, receiving a wound in the back from a pike. Ormonde's followers all ran away without looking behind them, and, having gone some distance, refused to rally when Carew and Thomond called for a charge. Some excuse for their cowardice may be furnished by the admission that, so favourable was the place to the designs of the enemy, 500 foot would not have cared for 500 horse. This treacherous capture of Ormonde had been contrived by Father Archer, and, with the exception of Onie himself, only two Leinster men and four bonnaughts were made acquainted with the plot. The Earl was placed on a horse and taken to Gortnaclea Castle in Leix, about six miles from Corranneduffe. "The traitor Archer was his bedfellow." At first Onie McRory used his prisoner well, knowing his value; but when it was rumoured that large forces were to be sent to effect a rescue the unfortunate Earl was removed from cabin to cabin, and suffered great hardships. Ormonde himself wrote begging that the troops might not be sent, as his life would be thereby endangered. Carew had, immediately after the capture, drawn 600 foot from Waterford to Kilkenny. Many interesting details of Ormonde's imprisonment, and of the efforts made for his release, will be found in the papers calendared in this volume. The Queen sent "gracious and comfortable letters" to the Countess. Ample precautions were taken by Mountjoy and Carew for safeguarding her and her daughter, for it was feared that the rebels would do their utmost to gain possession of the latter, to arrange a marriage in their own interests, and thus secure the succession to the Earl's lands. Tyrone made strenuous endeavours to obtain the illustrious prisoner from Onie McRory, but all his attempts were in vain. As

early as April 19 Sir Richard Shee wrote to Carew that the Earl had been set free, but the report proved to be unfounded. After being moved about from place to place, Ormonde was taken by his captors to Sir Terence O'Dempsey's castle of Ballybrittas, in Queen's County, and once more had a roof over his head. Onie's demands for his enlargement were that all the Queen's forces should be withdrawn from Leix; that pledges should be given that no forces should ever be placed in the county again; or, failing the pledges, that all the garrisons in Leix and Offally should be withdrawn; that he and his Leinster friends should have a general protection for six weeks, and that during that period no forces of Her Majesty should be sent into Ulster. The terms were evidently worded for refusal. During his imprisonment Ormonde was worked on by the priests "of purpose to alter him in religion"; they offered to make him Prince of Leinster, and held out many flattering hopes. But all their efforts were in vain. At length, on the 13th of June, after a captivity of two months, the Earl was released by Onie McRory, on delivering certain hostages for the payment of £3,000, if at any time Ormonde sought revenge on him. "Even this agreement," writes Ormonde (p. 237), "(although it be very hard) could not be obtained before he saw me in that extremity and weakness as I was like (very shortly) to have ended my life in his hands." The Irishry, too, of Leinster hastened Ormonde's enlargement on hearing that the Queen was going to send great forces into the province, by telling Onie that, rather than have such mischief drawn upon them, they would deliver him hostages from themselves, or, if this were denied, would become his utter enemies. The letters in which Ormonde announces his freedom to the Queen and Privy Council are dated on the 16th of June. His liberation was furthered by a difference amongst the Jesuits and priests; one party, led by Dr. McCragh, maintaining that, as Ormonde had been taken by treachery, he ought not to be detained; the other party, led by Father Archer, "using the same conscience to keep" the Earl, which they "did to betray him" (p. 177).

Fenton had thought it strange that one so distinguished for his wariness as Ormonde should have allowed himself to be entrapped by "a young wood-kern." It has been pointed out, however, that "Corranneduffe," or Corran-dhu, was the Earl's property at the time of his capture, and that, though he would naturally give a safe-conduct to Onie, he would not think of demanding one for himself. Sir George Carew wrote to Mountjoy (p. 108): "The judgment which your Lordship hath given of the loss of this Earl is in my opinion according to the truth; for I could give many reasons that the State cannot receive any great indemnity by it; yet, notwithstanding, it had been more happy that he had not fallen into their hands." Note has already been taken of Mountjoy's remark on learning of the taking of the Earl. He also stated to Cecil (p. 89): "I would be loath on the sudden to give my opinion of this accident, but it seemeth strange to me that one so full of regard to himself in all his proceedings should be so easily overtaken." By the first of May Mountjoy had come to a certain conclusion, and thus expressed it to Cecil (p. 138): "My own opinion is, first of himself, that in this accident he was merely overreached, and, for the cause, that it receives by him no extraordinary dangers." In this same letter Mountjoy brings very direct and serious charges against Ormonde, whom he appears to have regarded as a dangerous rival. "Although the Earl of Ormonde be the last man that I think would have clear quit the estate of England, yet I have great reason to be confident that, despairing in the force of England to protect him, he had already opened his heart to some other foundation to make good his estate in this kingdom; and although he might wish that the Queen might prevail, yet he served Her Majesty with fear and respect to that government which he looked would happen to this estate; and this was that which I meant to infer by the passages and interviews I did write to you of. Whereupon followed his strange prosecution of the Traitor in his journey to Munster, and not that I had ever any belief that he was taken by any conspiracy of his

own" (p. 138). In another passage of this letter Mountjoy says: "I have heard of strange absurdities that he committed in this last journey of Munster, and that he did manifestly overslip the utter ruin of the Traitor, which was often in his power, and I have been certainly informed that sometimes he would in his rage break out into these terms with his followers: that he should never do the Queen a day's service while those villains were in his company." Such charges seem to have possessed Mountjoy's mind until after the liberation of Ormonde, when, on the Earl's request, Mountjoy went to meet him at Kilkenny. A conference between the two noblemen evidently dissipated many of the Lord Deputy's suspicions, for, on the 4th of July, he wrote to Cecil: "If I be not much deceived, as in this case I may be, the Earl doth continue with as great affection as ever to Her Majesty, and with much more spleen against the rebel, but the tie upon him to the contrary are the pledges he hath put in" (p. 299). In the same letter Mountjoy further says: "I think it fit, by the continuance of the Queen's gracious usage, either to free him from all manner of jealousy that he should be held in suspicion, or else to take some course on the sudden to be assured of him, which, when you think fit to be done, I presume may be easily performed; although the course must be such as must be to his and his country's ruin, which I hope you shall not need to command, because I hope he will make good demonstration of his loyalty. And, indeed, Sir, I cannot but bear a kind of reverence to so ancient a servant to Her Majesty, and a compassion to the miserable fortune he was in." It is difficult to see how, according to the late Rev. James Graves, these guarded, if "tardy, admissions amply refute Mountjoy's former unworthy insinuations, and afford a triumphant answer to the suspicions entertained by the generally impartial Leland." Mountjoy laid his plans for the capture or death of Onie McRory, and in the following month the able Leinster chieftain was killed in a skirmish in Leix (p. 376 and p. 395).

The preparations for the plantation at Lough Foyle were proceeding slowly but surely. It gave Mountjoy much satisfaction to receive assurances from Sir Arthur O'Neill of his desire to assist the English against Tyrone, and to bring in for the like purpose many of the chief men of Ulster, including Neale Garve O'Donnell. Instructions were given to Sir Henry Dockwra to make use of these men, but Mountjoy was against raising any settled companies of the Irish. He thought that, if these followers were kept in pay for a time, in order to draw blood on one another, the quarrel amongst them would not cease on the stoppage of the Queen's pay. Mountjoy expected much from another source, "There is," he writes to the Privy Council (p. 92), "a great famine growing upon them, the chief instrument of reducing this kingdom; and, except God by extraordinary means, as by tempest to those forces that plant by sea, or by sickness to us by land, do hinder the success, I hope, if your Lordships enable us continually, to make a speedy end of this war, with the favour and blessing of God." Sir Arthur Chichester tells Cecil (p. 193), "A million of swords will not do them so much harm as one winter's famine." By the 17th of April, the one thousand men Mountjoy was to send for Lough Foyle had been on the shore side at Dublin for three weeks or more. On the 12th they had been shipped with their provisions, but for five days had waited for a suitable wind. There were the usual rumours of the coming of a Spanish fleet, with so many thousand soldiers, to aid Tyrone; but these resolved themselves into the fact of two ships having arrived with letters from the King of Spain to Tyrone and O'Donnell, and some money and munition for the Irish forces. The ships brought over some ten or twelve Spanish gentlemen, and "an Irish priest, calling himself Primate of Ireland by the Pope's consecration" (p. 124). Tyrone had several matters distracting his attention. The killing of Maguire in

Munster had lead to a bitter faction in his country, there being two claimants to the chieftainship. There was a similar rivalry in O'Cahan's country, and in that of the Reillys. Further, the death of Con McCollo, one of the best of Tyrone's followers amongst the McMahons, was keenly felt. "George Darcy and George Gernon, gentlemen," were awarded 100*l*. "for their good service" in cutting off McCollo's head. Sir Henry Dockwra at Chester, endeavouring his utmost to get his men off, was seriously troubled by deserters, a mischief which he attributes to the negligence or corruption of some officers, and to the fact that those runaways who had been brought back had not been punished. He had to take care that the very horses shewn at the muster were those put on board ship; and, rather than lose a fair wind, he had embarked the foot without a muster at all, so as to be in readiness to cross at any moment. On April 26, Sir George Carey, the Treasurer at Wars, writes from Dublin to Cecil that the soldiers for Lough Foyle had been ready for six weeks and more, "always expecting a good wind." Mountjoy had left Dublin on May 5, and had moved up towards the north, as soon as the fleet both from Chester and Dublin was on its way to Lough Foyle. Fenton had reported on April 26 that the fleet from Chester had that day set sail for Carrickfergus, and that Mountjoy would on the following day set forward towards the borders of the Pale, and so into Ulster, to countenance "the action of Lough Foyle." It was not till May 8, when Mountjoy had got his preparations completed, that he wrote from Drogheda, in a spirit of exultation, "I shall deliver Sir Henry Dockwra from Tyrone, for he doth me the favour to attend me, and says he will fight with me assuredly in my passage through the Moyerie" (p. 164). On the 11th, the Lord Deputy advanced from Drogheda to Dundalk. His force consisted of 2,400 men by poll, and he had twenty days' victuals of biscuit, butter, and cheese. Fenton wrote,

urging the hastening of further victuals from England before the twenty days expired, as otherwise Mountjoy would be driven to one of two ^{extremities}, viz., either to retire the army into the Pale, or to endure the murmuring of the soldiers, and even hazard the breaking of the companies. In either case, the plantation at Lough Foyle would be endangered. Sir Henry Dockwra left Chester with his men on April 25, and two days after reached Carrickfergus. There he waited for the forces coming by sea from Dublin. These did not arrive until May 6, after which, leaving Carrickfergus on the 9th, the whole expedition had a prosperous but slow voyage to Lough Foyle. As the ships coasted the Route and the Glins, they landed many of their men, and burned a good part of those countries, returning to their ships with a great quantity of corn, and with numbers of swine and sheep. The cattle had been driven by the rebels into their fastnesses. A garrison, also, was placed in the abbey of Coleraine.

Mountjoy passed the Moyerie on Whitsunday, 12 May, without impeachment, notwithstanding the boast of Tyrone. That leader had come near the borders of the Pale with a large force to confront the Lord Deputy, but had hurried back to Strabane, and in his absence Mountjoy seized the opportunity of getting through the pass, thus depriving the enemy of their best chance of driving him back. As soon as Tyrone heard the news, he withdrew to Dungannon on the 13th, and on the 14th destroyed the Blackwater fort and burned Armagh. On the 17th of May Mountjoy marched with his whole force some six miles into O'Hanlon's country, towards Armagh, within two miles of Lough Lurcan, where it was said that Tyrone lay in the dense woods. Proceeding a mile and a half further on, the English commander reconnoitred the trenches made by O'Hanlon, extending over some four or five miles. However, with the exception of a few scouts, the enemy did not appear, and Mountjoy returned in the evening to Newry. His first encounter with Tyrone took place on the following

day. On the night of the 17th Captain Blany was sent with a sufficient force by the Lord Deputy to convoy the Earl of Southampton from Dundalk to Newry. Going through the pass Captain Blany posted his 500 foot at the hill of Faugher, and proceeded with his fifty horse to Dundalk. There he found the Earl and other officers with four companies of foot and forty horse. The whole of the troops then marched to the hill where Blany's two "squadrons" of foot had been left. The Earl of Southampton, taking command, made his own dispositions, and advanced to the Four Mile Water, to which Mountjoy had moved on the 18th. The position was midway in the pass, and Tyrone knew how advantageous it would be to engage his adversary there. The Earl of Southampton directed Captain Blany to march over the Four Mile Water and make the position good until the baggage had crossed. Blany found at least 200 of the enemy well posted to impeach his passage. These were but a portion of Tyrone's vanguard, the strength of which Mountjoy puts at 300 foot and 60 horse. Just as Captain Blany and his men got the order from Sir Oliver Lambert to charge, they descried in the distance the vanguard of Mountjoy's force, commanded by Sir Charles Percy. Thus encouraged, they charged and drove back the enemy's left, whilst Percy's men dealt with the enemy's right and defeated it. As the rebels fled, they were charged by the Earl of Southampton with only some six horsemen, but they eventually recovered the place where Tyrone stood, with some 120 horse and 200 foot, "which never came to fight." Sir Francis Stafford, who was present, writes (p. 219) that "there fell such store of rain that their pieces of neither side could take fire, so that they were forced to betake themselves unto their swords and throwing of stones." Southampton's whole force then crossed the Four Mile Water and marched towards Newry, where the Lord Deputy remained until the close of May. He returned via Carlingford, owing to the breaking of the Moyerie causey by the rebels, and by the second

of June was back in Dublin with his forces. Thence he wrote to Cecil on that date (p. 213): "The end of my journey into the north is thoroughly effected, for I kept Tyrone with his chief forces my near neighbour, and eased the plantation of Lough Foyle, who (*sic*) I heard to be settled before my departure. I have brought back the army sound and in heart, as I carried it out, with the loss of only two men killed, none sick [or] wounded that I can hear of; and yet since these wars the Traitor himself in person was never better fought with, nor better beaten."

On the very day (May 12) that Mountjoy passed the Moyerie, the fleet left Carrickfergus for Lough Foyle, where it arrived three days after. Some of the ships went aground for want of good pilots. On the 15th, Sir Henry Dockwra landed his men at the castle of Culmore, which he considered "most commodiously seated" for guarding the river. There were only forty of the enemy at Culmore, who fired but one volley, and then took to their heels. Immediately on landing, Sir Henry Dockwra took measures for the building of a fort. Whilst at Culmore, he received overtures from Sir John O'Dogherty, and had an interview with that chieftain on May 17. O'Dogherty wanted to come in, but his goods and pledges were in O'Donnell's hands, and O'Donnell was not far off. Sir Henry encouraged O'Dogherty in his desires, and offered assistance for the recovery of his pledges and goods. Before leaving Carrickfergus Dockwra had sent out spies to discover the positions and plans of the rebels, but none of the men had returned. He was thus held "in suspense (or rather in mere ignorance)" until a letter came to him from Sir Arthur O'Neill, telling of Tyrone's designs on himself, and begging Sir Henry to hasten to Dunalong. So, on May 22, leaving a garrison of 700 at Culmore, Dockwra took the rest of his force, and marched to Derry, whence he sent word to Sir Arthur O'Neill to come to him.

O'Donnell endeavoured to ambush some of the English soldiers, as they went out to cut wood for their cabins; but Sir Henry had provided a strong guard, and, on learning of the fight, sent out fresh men, so that, in two hours' time, O'Donnell's forces were glad to be gone. Dockwra was at one with Mountjoy and Chichester in regarding famine as the most effectual means of crushing the rebellion, and he advocated the bending of all their counsels to the destruction of the rebels' corn and cattle. Sir Arthur O'Neill, on his way to join Sir Henry, was attacked by Cormack McBaron. Maguire and O'Cahan had also for some days been planning to intercept him. According to one report, Sir Arthur was killed in the encounter with Cormack; but, according to another rumour, which proved to be more accurate, he lost 24 horses, but escaped himself. On the 1st of June he came to Derry with forty followers. Tyrone made desperate efforts to regain Sir Arthur O'Neill to his side, but all his attempts were in vain, Sir Arthur remaining firm in his allegiance. Since the landing of Sir Henry Dockwra, O'Donnell had kept within five miles of Derry, and early in June Tyrone was expected at Strabane on his way to join his confederate. Their combined forces were not feared by the garrison at Derry, who had been successful in several skirmishes with the enemy. Two hundred soldiers, under Captain Floyd, were put into the castle of Ellaugh, O'Dogherty's chief seat, and his whole country, wherein abundance of corn had been sown, was in the power of the English Commander. One of O'Donnell's boys, who had been captured, reported that O'Connor Sligo had sent 150 men to help O'Donnell, and had undertaken, along with O'Rourke, to keep the Curlews against any of the Queen's forces.

On returning to Dublin at the beginning of June, Mountjoy and the Council gave renewed consideration to the general state of Ireland, and concluded that the increasing strength of the enemy in all the provinces

rendered it imperative to obtain a reinforcement of the English troops. The total fighting force of the enemy was estimated at 22,000, and the Queen's army consisted of only 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse. These were scattered all over the kingdom to answer the various quarters of their adversaries. The Lord Deputy and the Council urgently prayed that 2,000 foot and 100 horse might be added to the list, so that several prosecutions might be set on foot, both in Ulster and Leinster. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who had been in Ireland nearly twenty-two years, was sent over to England to press these views, and to give all necessary information. Unless the fresh supplies were granted, and the plantation at Lough Foyle assured by the placing of strong garrisons at Armagh and in Leinster, the war, said the Lord Deputy and Council, would be long drawn out, and "we see not but the danger of the whole kingdom will rise above our strength to prevent it" (p. 218). Gentlemen volunteers came to Mountjoy "in swarms," and he emphatically expressed his preference for these to those who remained in England and worried Cecil and the Court for commands. The Lord Deputy's return to Dublin had been hastened by information received of incursions into the English Pale by the Leinster rebels, especially by that ubiquitous fighter, Captain Tyrrell. But the destruction caused by the incursions was greatly exaggerated, as Mountjoy found upon closer inquiry. The Lord Chancellor Loftus complained of the heavy losses he had sustained through the rebels in his house at Rathfarnham; but Fenton wrote to Cecil: "I wish your Honour to believe that as historical, but not as canonical" (p. 212). When Mountjoy went northwards he had left behind him quite as many troops as he had taken with him to confront Tyrone, but these forces of Leinster had been "in great part drowned in petty wards and in the guards of towns" (p. 228).

Captain Humphrey Willis gives a detailed account of the operations at Derry and in its neighbourhood during the month of June. Tyrone, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and others met at Strabane, and there was frequent skirmishing between their men and those of Sir Henry Dockwra, in which the latter "always had the better by far." On the 11th of June Sir Henry, accompanied by Sir Arthur O'Neill, went up the Foyle to Dunalong, where he landed and reconnoitred, returning the same night to Derry. In a few days a garrison was settled at Dunalong, much to the indignation of Tyrone. On the 21st Sir John Chamberlain, with 900 foot and Sir Arthur's men, made a raid into O'Cahan's country, and brought back a great prey. Towards the close of June, some of the enemy found their way by night into the Island in O'Dogherty's country, the passages to which Dockwra thought he had sufficiently secured. On their return, however, which was in daylight, owing to the state of the tide, the rebels were observed by Sir Henry's men and immediately attacked. The alarm coming to the camp Dockwra himself went with thirty horsemen to the help of his men. The English commander twice had his horse killed under him, but the greatest loss on his side was that of Sir John Chamberlain. "The rebels escaped," wrote Dockwra, "by the swiftness of their heels, and experience of the ways" (p. 269). Sir John Chamberlain was buried at Derry on June 30. A few days later, Dockwra sent over his second in command, Sir John Bolles, to report to Cecil the exact position of matters at Lough Foyle, and begged that three months' victual might be sent direct to Derry, as the hazard of transport from Carrickfergus to that place was much more than would be credited.

Mountjoy reported, on July 4, that the garrisons of Carrickfergus and Newry had laid all waste about them for twenty miles, had taken great preys, and had done very good service. He doubted not but that the troops at Lough Foyle would soon do the like, or better. The

Lord Deputy also thought that it would not be safe to plant Ballyshannon (necessary though it was to end the wars) without a large force, or a great diversion of the rebels who would otherwise resist the project. A diversion had been effectual in the case of Lough Foyle, and Mountjoy evidently anticipated a like result if the plan were adopted in the case of Ballyshannon. He was certain that, if the Spaniards did not come, Tyrone would very shortly offer as humble conditions as ever he did. Anyhow Tyrone was to be ruined, "for he was the first life, and is the heart, of the rebellion." Mountjoy even counselled that Tyrone's head should be proclaimed (p. 300), and added in the same letter: "But it is in the north from whence the Queen hath received all these wrongs, and our country so much dishonour; and there, if you enable me, will I leave my bones, or beat that false traitor out of his country, who, by our misfortunes, is now, in the courts of most Princes of Christendom, called the great Prince O'Neill." Tyrone had sent priests to Rome, and to all parts whence he expected aid, and his supporters gave out that, with the arrival of succour, Ormonde would declare himself their head. Ormonde told Mountjoy this device of the rebels, and added that the priests had sworn to him that they were already assured of the towns and of most of the nobility and others of the Pale. "But," wrote Mountjoy, "if Her Majesty maintain her army, I doubt not but to untie or cut asunder this knot" (p. 301). It was reasoning that Elizabeth understood and liked. Even with regard to the weakness of Anglicanism in Ireland as contrasted with the sway held by the Church of Rome, she had written to Mountjoy and the Council, that they were not to suffer in Dublin "notorious exercise of such idolatry," nor to let friaries stand, "when we have an army of 17,000 men to fight withal." The paragraph in which the words occur is in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil.

Mountjoy had managed his northern journey with great ability. He had also introduced reforms into the army, and given it discipline and fresh heart. He had kept his finger on the pulse of Irish disaffection in the four provinces. But his enemies were busy with the weapon of slander. "I hear," he writes (p. 307), "that you receive from hence intelligence of the service here to proceed with dishonour. I will not approve it by comparisons, but maintain that no one part of the English army, at any time since my coming, hath received any disgrace. They have in all encounters had the better. Since my time there hath been more of the rebels killed, and of the better sort, than in two years before; and the war was never so near to an end, if it please the Queen." He thought that if 20,000 troops were kept in Leinster alone it would not stop the rebels from burning houses and stealing cows; but he again intimated that, since his coming to Ireland, the losses in the Pale by raiding had been very small. The Leinster rebels, however, caused almost as much trouble to the Irish Government as did their great confederate Tyrone himself. Towards the close of April Sir Oliver Lambert had seized the Togher after some sharp fighting with the enemy, in part of which he and his men "all turned kern and stripped" themselves, in order to pass the bog. Lysagh O'More wished for a parley, but was refused until Sir Oliver had "done his business," when he promised to speak with Lysagh, but declined to have any dealings "with so treacherous a Jack as Onie," who was present at the fighting with all his men. Whilst the Lord Deputy was in the north the Council wrote that the Leinster men had broken into the Pale with great violence, burnt sundry villages near Trim, fired part of Athboy, from which they were repulsed, and attempted Mullingar. They had seized cattle within two miles of Dublin, and had tried to burn the suburbs of that city. The inhabitants of the Pale had made scarcely any resistance against the rebels, and were believed to favour their

cause. The Baron of Upper Ossory fostered the rebellion of Onie McRory, whose daughter he had married. Both the Baron and Patrick Crossan, or Crosby, who in Lord Burgh's time was an officer attendant on the State "as a penne man," were charged with many treasonable offences, but they were received at Court, and the former brought back to Ireland letters from the Queen in his favour. His country of Upper Ossory was reduced into shire-ground and annexed to Queen's County. Sir Charles O'Carroll was unhappily slain by the rebels. But it was Onie McRory who was the great thorn in the side of the Irish Government, especially whilst Ormonde was in his hands; and another doughty antagonist in the province for a time was Captain William Tyrrell.

Sir Oliver Lambert, on his way to revictual the fort of Maryborough in July, had succeeded in taking some seven or eight hundred cows from Donnell Spainagh, the chief of the Kavanaghs. Mountjoy, who was in Leinster again, sent to Dublin for money, victuals, and munition, and also for hooks and scythes, as he was going into King's County to burn the corn there, to seize the cattle, and to do all the hurt he could. The increase to the army of 2,000 foot and 100 horse was eagerly expected. Sir Oliver Lambert was ordered to draw through Queen's County to Portnahinch, and there join the Lord Deputy. The combined forces were then to "fall a spoiling all the corn of that country." After this had been accomplished in King's County the same course was to be pursued in Queen's County. Sir Arthur Savage received directions to gather all his men, and, going Leinsterwards by Fercall, to destroy what he could belonging to the rebels. The northern borders of the Pale were left strongly guarded, as Tyrone was hovering near them, and Mountjoy, taking with him 560 foot and 60 horse, together with some volunteers, marched by the fort of Philipstown, over a great bog, into Gessil. That night a large prey was taken of horses, sheep, and cattle.

On the 26th of July, Mountjoy and Sir Oliver Lambert met, as arranged, and there followed a stiff fight with the rebels at "one of the most dangerous passes in Ireland." Tyrrell was with the rebels, and had specially planned the killing of the Lord Deputy, who writes (p. 338): "I heard after that I was so much beholden to Tyrrell that he appointed a hundred shot to wait upon me, and gave them marks to know me." The rebels were defeated with a loss of 35 killed and 75 wounded. The loss on the English side was but two killed and a few hurt. There was desultory fighting until the third of August. Houses were burnt, and corn, "the fairest corn that ever was seen" (p. 344), destroyed to the value of 10,000*l*. Mountjoy pays a high tribute to the state of Queen's County. He writes: "It is incredible in so barbarous a country how well the ground was manured, how orderly their fields were fenced, their towns inhabited, and every highway and path so well beaten." A few days after, the Lord Deputy sent word to Ormonde that he was going into Queen's County, and asked Ormonde to meet him at Cúlinagh Castle, as he wished to confer with the Earl about Mountgarrett's sons. On the 13th of August there is a note of the forces delivered by Ormonde to Mountjoy, the total number being 2,560. Onie McRory wrote to Ormonde that he thought the course of devastation employed by Mountjoy was "most execrable," and a "bad example unto all the world" (p. 355). Onie might have remembered his own doings in the English Pale. A few days after he was slain in the skirmish already alluded to.

Sir Geffrey Fenton returned from the English Court in the middle of August, arriving at Dublin on the 16th of that month. He wrote to Mountjoy, who had drawn towards the Kavanaghs' country, that he could not bring or send his despatches to his Lordship, "the rebels lying so strong upon the ways," and begged either an escort to the camp, or leave to remain at Dublin until Mountjoy's return.

Meantime the state of the garrisons at Lough Foyle had become a source of anxiety, owing to the incessant fatigue work of the soldiers on fortifications, storehouses, and other buildings, to the scarcity and corruptness of the victuals, the damp of the climate, and to the severe disease engendered by these causes. There were a few desertions to the enemy. Captain Willis gave it as his opinion that the horsemen in Dockwra's camp were the worst that ever took pay from Her Majesty; and his opinion was somewhat confirmed by a success of the rebels on July 29, when they came to the camp and took away sixty horses without resistance. Dockwra was so "moved" at the loss, that he took some horse and foot and endeavoured to recapture the animals. Advancing a long distance from the camp, he gave O'Donnell's forces an opportunity of attacking him, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. In the subsequent fight, the gallant Governor was dangerously wounded, and had to draw home with his force. "Our foot die daily," wrote Captain Willis to Cecil, and begged for fresh supplies, with which he had no doubt Dockwra would deal "very roundly" with the rebels. Tyrone with his men had left for Dungannon, but O'Donnell and his forces still remained about eight miles from the camp. Tirlogh McQuin, whose dwelling was within five miles of Dunalong, promised to come in to Dockwra with his creaghts and goods.

The Queen's Government had made extensive preparations for the victualling of the various garrisons in Ireland, and the memorandum of the Lord High Treasurer Buckhurst to Cecil (pp. 346-348) shews how carefully this important service had been investigated. There is a similar memorandum by Buckhurst on pp. 107-108. The contractors were often to blame for not keeping to the times appointed them, but a great obstacle to regular provisioning of the army was beyond the control of the Government, inasmuch as ships laden with victual frequently waited days or even weeks for a favourable

wind to carry them over to Ireland. By such delay provisions became unserviceable, but still were issued. The corruption was not only in the victual. Buckhurst speaks of those "beggarily corrupt knaves the Commissaries, who do nothing but spoil all for their own gain," and it was agreed to get rid of them and to commit the business to the "honest rich merchants," who would thus have charge *a primo ad ultimum*, and, if there were any cause for blame, it could be put on the right person. The dismissal of the Commissaries was in great measure due to the representations of Sir Arthur Chichester. On his advice, also, fish was to be supplied, to vary the everlasting biscuit, butter, and cheese. "And God forbid," writes Buckhurst, "that they should lack mustard. I know it will sharpen their stomachs." Beer, too, was considered a necessary for the soldier. John Traves, the Commissary for Ulster, wrote to Buckhurst (p. 270): "The want of beer is a great hurt unto the soldier. Some small quantity is brought hither [*i.e.* Derry], but at unreasonable rates, at 6*l.* and 8*l.* the best for a tun; which neither the soldier nor Captain can endure to continue to buy, by reason of the dearness." Among "certain instructions conceived by Her Majesty to be imparted to" Mountjoy and the Irish Council, we read (p. 278): "Forasmuch as there is no provision of beer made for that garrison of Lough Foyle, and that the soldiers there, by continual drinking of water, cannot but be made weak in their strength, which will hinder their service, the Lord Deputy [*is*] to deal with the merchants of Dublin, Drogheda, and other ports, who have recourse by way of trade to Lough Foyle and Knockfergus, to carry beer thither to sell to the army, at such reasonable rates as the merchant may have competent gain, and yet the soldier [*be*] not strained above his wages." Cecil is as emphatic in writing to Buckhurst (p. 345): "But, my Lord, the lack of beer hath overthrown them, and will do [*so*], if we think not of it;

and therefore, if it were possible, until the brewhouses there be erected, to send one hundred tuns of beer thither, it were money well bestowed, whereby so many lives are saved." The Lord High Treasurer replied, in his memorandum on the victualling, that he would deal with Cockain and Jolles to send that amount of beer to Lough Foyle.

As to Ulster, there is, with the exception of the plantation at Lough Foyle and Mountjoy's journey to the north, little to record in these papers beyond the operations of the garrisons at Carrickfergus and Newry and the factions among Tyrone's followers, already alluded to. The descent of Tyrone into Munster was part of the "mighty matters intended" by him and his accomplices (p. 7) to bring all the realm of Ireland into rebellion against the Queen, and thus keep her forces from Ulster; and so confident was he that John Lye tells Fenton: "He means to have his will at this time, and all the forces named to come over are not able to prevent him in this action." The foregoing portion of this preface shews that Ulster did not escape, and that Tyrone's boastings were in vain. On April 29 Tirlogh McHenry burnt Louth and preyed the country, slaying eighteen of the Garlones who resisted him. A little before he had preyed Dundalk. Yet Mountjoy was able to report not long after that Dundalk had banished Tirlogh McHenry and his creaghts to lie out of his own country almost as far up as Monaghan. Sir Samuel Bagenall was in command at Newry, and, soon after Mountjoy's arrival at Dublin, came to that city with a memorandum shewing the services performed by the garrison since the end of the previous September (pp. 25-26). These consisted of preys taken from Tirlogh McHenry, Magennis, O'Hanlon, and others, burning of towns, and killing divers of the rebels, one of whom is described as "of good reckoning, and of their best men, as appeared by his wounds when he was taken." The country for twelve or fifteen

miles round about Newry was so wasted that none dared to live there except Cormack McBaron, whom Tyrone had left to look after the Newry garrison. Mountjoy sent in to the Queen a strong recommendation of Sir Samuel Bagenall, because of his "very good service," and urged the increase of his entertainment, as Sir Samuel had lost all but the pay of a private Captain. Sir Arthur O'Neill was on excellent terms with Bagenall, and had promised to help him to revenge the death of his cousin [Sir Henry Bagenall] on Tyrone. It was early in March that Sir Arthur O'Neill made those overtures and offers of service, which ended in his joining the Lough Foyle garrison. Sir Samuel also brought to Dublin Glasney McCooley, "one of the best of the Magennises," who had come to him, and had done some excellent work against Tyrone.

Sir Arthur Chichester, who had commanded at Carrickfergus, was removed to Dublin to take the post of Serjeant-Major, and in that capacity rendered much assistance against the Leinster rebels, and in the preparations for Mountjoy's advance northwards to Newry. But when the Lord Deputy started on his journey, he re-appointed Chichester to the government of Carrickfergus, and Sir Oliver Lambert resumed his former post of Sergeant-Major. The garrison at Carrickfergus was to master the Clandeboyes and the woodmen, whilst Tyrone was attacked "in his bowels" (as Fenton expresses it) at Lough Foyle, and was confronted by the proposed garrisons at Armagh and the Blackwater. Chichester did his work thoroughly round about his place of command, driving his neighbours far from him, until he was obliged to seek them in their woods, and even that shelter had been in many cases abandoned by the rebels. "I have some scambling with them," writes Sir Arthur Chichester (p. 209), "which they like not; they must shortly return, or pine where they are." James McSorley, who would have liked to come in, but dreaded that the Governor was waiting to

avenge on him the death of his brother, Sir John Chichester, fled with his creaghts and people to the other side of the Bann, and lost divers of them in the passage. Mountjoy wrote to Cecil, "there is none that I dare so confidently recommend unto Her Majesty's favour as Sir Arthur Chichester" (p. 255), and urged that he should be made a member of the Council of Ireland. The factions in Ulster hampered the operations of Tyrone, but not so much as his own tyranny had done. Many of his confederates were eagerly looking for an opportunity to desert, and the rebels of the north were of opinion, as we gather from some intelligences in Sir George Carey's handwriting (p. 306), that the English forces would, unless the Spaniards came, "possess all Ulster from the mountains to the sea." Mountjoy's method of dealing with Irish factions was to intensify them to the utmost. He "blew the fire," not only between the rival Maguires, but between Teig O'Rourke and his brother; and, when McMahon and Patrick McArt Moyle quarrelled, he told each that he would not be received unless he brought in the other's head. On the other hand, Owen McHugh McNeill More O'Neill accused Sir William Warren and Sir Garrett Moore of treasonable intercourse with Tyrone, and offered his service to the Queen, promising, if strong garrisons were placed upon the Bann and the Blackwater, to bring in 3,000 men before the month of November following. In July, Sir Arthur Chichester and his second in command, Colonel Egerton, went into England, much to the indignation of Fenton, who wrote to Cecil to order them back, as their absence would endanger all the good that had been done at Carrickfergus and in the Clandeboyes. Fenton also begged that every Captain about the Court and London (and there were many, several being named on page 334), should be commanded to return to their charges, on pain of being cashiered. Whilst Chichester was in London, he desired that, of the 100 men he was to have as a reinforcement for his garrison,

30 should be armed with pikes without cuirasses, and 70 with culivers and bandoliers. He offered to supply this equipment at 20s. a man, and Buckhurst accepted the offer.

"In Connaught they do what they list," wrote Mountjoy of the rebels, and little was done in the province to gainsay their will, except the safe-guarding of Athlone and Galway. Elizabeth appears never to have confirmed the nomination made by the Earl of Essex of Sir Henry Dockwra as Governor of Connaught, an office vacant since the death of Sir Conyers Clifford. Sir Arthur Savage had been chief commander of the forces in the province, and still commanded at Athlone. But it had been deemed advisable to appoint the Earl of Clanrickarde and his son, Lord Dunkellin, to the chief command of the forces in Connaught, exempting from their charge the town of Athlone, and that of Galway, where Sir Gerrard Harvey was the Governor. The appointment was unworkable, as it kept the two keys of the province out of the hands of the two Lords, and gave them no authority over the Earl of Thomond. Sir Francis Shane writes to Cecil, "It hath pleased your Honours there to dissolve the English government, and to commit the same to our Irish Lords, who are not only varying from the English in religion, but also in habit and disposition, ever affecting licentious liberty, which by the good English government hath been ever restrained, to the great good of that province, thereby casting from Her Majesty the dependency of the subjects there, that never despaired of hope of amendment until now" (p. 84). Shane points out some of the fruits of this policy. Clanrickarde's third son attempted, for some small discontentment with Captain Thomas Burke of Mayo, to cut off that officer and his company. Sir Gerrard Harvey's company, after escorting their commander from Galway to Athlone, were on their return journey disarmed at a place called Downkillen, and lost some of their number.

Shane adds that the two Irish Lords were getting into their hands all the strong places of the province (asserting even that they had secured Athlone), and that they had imported into Connaught no small proportion of arms, munition, and treasure. Yet with strange inconsistency he adds, "I do not write this as ministering cause of suspicion against these noblemen." Shane mentions that several of the Irish Lords, as the Earl of Thomond, the Earl of Kildare, and Lord Delvin, were discontented, and desirous of having their respective countries extended, Thomond complaining that he was "put besides both Connaught and Munster." Dunkellin himself complained bitterly of the limits of his commission, and was anxious to be relieved of it. He wrote to the Privy Council (pp. 146, 147), "The whole province is all out, saving a few followers of my father's, who are daily practised withal for the drawing of them from him, and I very much fear the event of their practices." Sir Theobald Dillon had his lands wasted both by O'Rourke and Tyrone, the latter firing some houses with his own hands, and vowing to make Sir Theobald "the poorest Dillon in Ireland." Sir Francis Stafford, early in June, told Cecil (p. 221), "as the province of Connaught is now governed, Her Majesty is at a very great charge to no purpose." Sir Arthur Savage held Athlone, and Sir Robert Lovell held Galway. From the rest of the companies in Connaught there was "nothing to be expected." Mountjoy recommended the Earl of Southampton for the Governorship of Connaught, as Lord Dunkellin was desirous of vacating the post. Sir Arthur Savage, who had exercised the chief command in the province under three several commissions, remonstrated with the Lord Deputy. The latter told Sir Arthur that the Earl of Southampton would probably not hold the office, but "pass it over to some other." That other was Sir Henry Davers, and Sir Arthur was not at all inclined to waive his claims for that successor. No Irish Lord was to be appointed again, for Mountjoy stated, "I think it necessary that province be reduced to the

form of the wonted government, that the Governor be of some greatness and reputation, and such as my Lord of Dunkellin shall have least reason to leave it unto with repining, and unto whom the people have no cause in spleen or otherwise to take exceptions." He added that such a Governor might either remove the Irish companies, where they might be of good use, or cast them and place others, "whereas now the Queen doth absolutely lose the whole pay of the Irish." McWilliam offered to bring in, alive or dead, into England, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and half-a-dozen of the chiefest men in Connaught, if he was received into favour, restored in blood, and made Earl of Mayo. Whilst these offers were being made, O'Donnell had "overrun all the country of Connaught and Thomond," passing through Clanrickarde, however, without doing any harm there, or, strange to say, without being attacked by the Earl of Clanrickarde. It was chiefly in Thomond that O'Donnell did havoc. As he returned, hampered with a large prey, a second opportunity of overwhelming him was missed. Sir George Carew, however, says (p. 265) that the Earl of Thomond recovered the prey taken from his country, and slew many of O'Donnell's followers. "The attempt was proud, to go so far from his own country, which never any O'Donnell before him performed, and especially leaving so powerful an enemy as the garrison at Lough Foyle to destroy his country in his absence." The Omalaughlins, the McGeoghegans, the McGawlies, and others, had grown so strong, that there was no passage to Athlone, except from two of Sir Theobald Dillon's castles by water. That officer wrote from Athlone, recommending a certain distribution of the forces in Connaught, suggesting for the town itself 200 foot and 25 horse, "under the command of some trusty stirring gentleman." Sir Theobald strongly urged that the Commander or Chief Commissioner of Connaught should not live at Athlone, which was "so far from the service," but at Boyle, Roscommon, or Athleague. He was so disgusted with the state of affairs in the province, that he said he would withdraw into

England, unless he saw the service go forward, for in Connaught "will be no dwelling for me." Sir Arthur Savage thought that Dillon greatly exaggerated the state of affairs, and said that, when there was a time of extremity at Athlone, Sir Theobald was never heard of there: and yet that in his private letters he wrote as if the garrison lived only by his care. The Earl of Southampton settled the question of the Governorship, so far as he was concerned, by leaving Ireland for the Low Countries, and Sir Arthur Savage took the chief command.

Attention has already been called in this preface to the Earl of Tyrone's passage through Munster, to the treachery of Florence McCarthy, and to the delay that arose in sending President Carew to his charge. Chief Justice Saxey gives a gloomy picture of the widespread rebellion in the province, and states that the course of justice there was "put to dumb silence." He furnishes some interesting details of the alliances between the Munster nobles. Florence McCarthy was not long in coming into collision with the Queen's forces. He had in his pay Dermond O'Connor and 600 Connaught men, and with these and another 600 from his own country, he became an open traitor. Thereupon 1,000 foot and 80 horse, sent by Sir Henry Power, entered his country, burned and preyed a great part of it, and killed some sixty of his men, returning to Kinsale on April 20. On the 21st, leaving behind Sir Richard Percy's and Captain Bostock's companies, numbering 250, Captain Flower, the chief commander of the force, marched with 500 foot and 60 horse towards Cork. Florence McCarthy was on the look out, and midway on the journey took up an advantageous position near a little narrow bridge, where the ford was deep and dangerous, and awaited his enemy. Dermond O'Connor commanded the first "battle" of his force, and Florence himself the second. The ambush had been skilfully laid, and, when the English troops arrived on the scene, they fell right into it. The foot were thrown into disorder, but

the horse for a time withstood the fury of the rebels' assault, until the foot recovered themselves. The latter, however, would not stand their ground, but "retired most shamefully." The horse chased the rebels, and slew 137, Dermond O'Connor's second brother being amongst the number. Both Dermond O'Connor and Florence McCarthy had narrow escapes, and Captain Flower was wounded twice, and had two horses slain under him. The English held the field, with the loss of one officer and eight men killed, fifteen wounded, and thirty horses slain. But for the cowardice of the foot, Florence McCarthy and his whole force might have been cut up. One cause of the panic was the want of commanders, there being but one Captain on the English side.

Sir Henry Power, who had the chief authority in Munster until the arrival of Sir George Carew, gave to the Privy Council an account of his charge, and affirmed that he left the province to the President in far better terms than he himself found it. However, when Sir George Carew arrived at Cork on April 24, he found that the confusion and distemper of the province had never been greater. The enemy's forces consisted of 7,000 "able weaponed men," and no assistance was to be expected from the Lords of the various countries, who were "only in personal shows subjects," the single exception being Lord Barry, who had suffered heavily for his loyalty. Carew admits that Florence McCarthy, with his friends (whom the President enumerates), would prove stronger than any traitor in Munster, and that it would be necessary to employ against him 1,500 men, who could otherwise have been employed against James Fitz Thomas and his adherents. Carew also affirms that the priests had so much prevailed over the people in general in the province, that very few dared to serve against the rebels or to give any aid to the Queen. The taking of the Earl of Ormonde had likewise stiffened the backs of several who had become inclined to submission. Carew

could count but upon 3,000 men in list. From these had to be deducted the following; dead pays, 300; sick and wounded, 300; garrisons, 580; and, serving in Leinster with the Lord Deputy, 80. Thus there remained to go with Carew into the field, 1,740 foot, "which," the President adds, "is but a weak army to sustain the force of the traitors, except my strength in horse did overtop them." He placed great reliance on the assistance of the Earl of Thomond, and begged that the payment of that nobleman's company might be made in Munster, as the Earl would never serve under Lord Dunkellin, if such payment could be effected. Carew pays this tribute to his friend, "He hath so well handled his business, as Thomond hath not a rebel in it, and feels no part of the war; which was as much disordered as any part of Ireland, when he departed from the Court" (p. 143). The disorder may very well have arisen from the revengeful raiding of the country by O'Donnell, and it betokens the strong hand of the Earl that he was able to restore quiet in so short a time.

Carew was anxious to attack James Fitz Thomas at the earliest opportunity, but was hindered through waiting to see whether "that idiot Florence" was going to turn subject or to persevere as a traitor. Carew more than doubted the man; he writes, "my hopes are dead, and I think he will never be honest." Florence McCarthy was profuse in his oaths and protestations of loyalty, but was with difficulty persuaded to come even to a parley, always imagining that his detention and even death were being compassed. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne was sent to him, and then the Earl of Thomond, but he would not come to Carew. The President decided that it was best to temporise with the traitor, and thus be free to settle James Fitz Thomas first; "to undertake both together, I cannot." The risk was the less, in that Florence McCarthy was fond of his ease, and therefore unmeet to be a rebel; "which makes me glad," says Carew, "that he is the chief commander of the Carberry and Desmond forces."

Nor had the President any confidence in the White Knight, who had also been making overtures to him, and whom it was important to gain over to the side of the State. The county of Waterford had been cleared by the coming in of Thomas Fitz James, brother to the Lord of the Decies, and of Thomas Power, cousin to Lord Power. Several gentlemen in the county of Cork also submitted, amongst them O'Callaghan and Barrett. The two that Carew designates in the strongest terms were Lord Roche, whom he calls "a brain-sick fool," and Cormack McDermond, whom he styles "a subtle fox." Both were "most cankered subjects." What the President chiefly wanted to know from Cecil was, "what forwardness the peace with Spain is in; for thereupon depends the most of our business here."

Early in May, on assurance that he should be permitted to return safely, Florence McCarthy came to Shandon to see Sir George Carew, and, humbly kneeling, avowed his loyalty, and offered his services to the Queen. The President spoke plainly and forcibly to him on his ingratitude and treachery, and tried to reason him into "conformity." The Earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and John Fitz Edmund did the like, with apparent success. Florence supped with the President on the night of May 3, and was conducted by the Earl of Thomond to his lodging. "So fearful a creature I did never see," writes Carew, "mistrusting to be killed by every man he saw." The following day, May 4, Florence dined with the President, and thereafter had conference with him and others. His demands were so exorbitant, that Carew and the rest "bade him begone, being weary to hear a man so far out of reason." Carew further addressed him in very plain terms, threatening to prosecute him, but yet keeping open the door of submission. The President gives a glimpse of the man he had to deal with in the following passage of his letter to Cecil (p. 153), "When I was thus far proceeded in my letter, I stayed finishing of the same, expecting these letters of Florence's unto yourself, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Stanhope, but he, having not drunk wine in many days before to put care

away, so filled his skin with sack, as the whole day was lost in sleep. This day better remembering himself, he brought me these three letters unsealed, and gave them unto me to read; which varies nothing from his former letters to me and others." Some advantage was gained by the President's temporising, for the staying of Florence McCarthy from aiding James Fitz Thomas, and the drawing in of the White Knight, in measure freed the county of Cork. Thus the President's task was confined to the counties of Limerick and Kerry, where he had little doubt of raising up factions against James Fitz Thomas and his brother John, and this course would give a fair hope of finishing the war in Munster. The wily Florence McCarthy was trying to keep in with both sides, thus satisfying neither. Carew wrote to him, "Middle ways are most unsure."

On the 21st May, Carew, having taken order with the chieftains of Barry's country, Muskerry, and Carberry, to keep those parts in quietness until his return, started with his forces from Cork towards Limerick. He thought the journey all the more necessary, in that he had heard that several supporters of the rebels were only waiting for the presence of the army to come over to him, and because the White Knight had promised to join as soon as the forces reached Kilmallock. The news of continued preparations by Spain to aid the rebels had been confirmed, and Carew thought that the places to be first attempted by the Spaniards would be Cork and Limerick. Cork he considered too weak to offer any serious resistance. Limerick was strong, and, if taken by the Spaniards, not easily to be regained. Waterford was safe, "being seated so near England, and so far within our seas." On the evening of the 21st of May, Carew marched to Mallow, where he encamped. On the 22nd, he lodged within five miles of Kilmallock. On the 23rd, the White Knight came in and submitted, and attended the force to Limerick. On the 24th, Carew marched from Effin, near Kilmallock, to the Bruff, a castle formerly

belonging to Sir George Thornton, but for a long time held by Piers Lacy, to annoy the passage between Kilmallock and Limerick. Putting in a ward at the Bruff, Carew proceeded to Limerick, and then prepared to besiege the castle of Loughgirr, but it was soon delivered up to him. The possession of the two castles was of the utmost importance for the pacification of the country round about. After a short rest, the President took his forces into Clanwilliam, a country of the Burkes, where John Burke, half-brother to Piers Lacy, submitted. In Clanwilliam the President took Ballytarsny castle, which commanded the passage between Limerick and Cashel. After a successful incursion into the country of the O'Mulrians, he returned to Limerick, and divided his army, partly to refresh his soldiers, and partly to prepare for the siege of several castles on the river, especially the castle of Glan or Glin, belonging to the Knight of the Valley, and the castle of Carrigofoyle, belonging to John O'Connor Kerry, both strongholds being in Connello. Garrisons were placed at Lykeadowne (on the borders of Connello), at Kilmallock, and at Askeaton. Carew adopted the policy of Mountjoy, and like him with some success, of nursing the feuds amongst the Irish chieftains. "I have already sowed such distrust in their wavering humours, as it appears unto me they have no great opinion of any good success." To ensure further progress in the reduction of the rebellion, the President strongly urged the sending over to Munster of James Fitzgerald of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the Tower of London. News came about the middle of June that Dermond O'Connor, in fulfilment of a promise made to the Lord Deputy, had taken James Fitz Thomas and divers other of the principal rebels of the province. Carew was jubilant over this capture, and said he did not doubt but that he should have Fitz Thomas in his hands very shortly, adding even, "I am in good hope on Michaelmas to settle this province." Dermond was the leader of the men hired by Munster from Connaught, and, being able to command some 1,500, was the mainstay of the rebellion.

"As for the [Munster] provincials," wrote Carew, "I make no account of them." But the President's hopes were frustrated. Dermond's followers wished to know why he had taken Fitz Thomas, and their leader shewed them a letter, purposely written by Carew to Fitz Thomas in order to be intercepted by Dermond, stating that the President daily expected to have Dermond delivered to him, alive or dead. This quieted the men at first, and Dermond sent in all haste to Carew at Limerick, begging him to come without delay to Kilmallock, and to bring 1,000*l.*, agreed upon as the price for the chief prisoner. Carew went, expecting to meet Dermond's wife, but found that she and her husband had gone to a castle of Rory McShee's. Carew sent letters to her, but the messengers never returned. At last, on the 26th of June, Dermond's wife, Lady Margaret, came to the President to receive the money, and to deliver the prisoner a few hours after. But, without Dermond's knowledge, Fitz Thomas was handed over to the rebels, and when the English troops went to Castlelisen to receive him, they found the prisoner gone. A priest of Dermond's had persuaded the bonnaughts to give over Fitz Thomas. One thousand of them forsook their commander, when they perceived what his purpose in taking the prisoner really was; for Dermond had led them to believe that he was going to deliver Fitz Thomas to Tyrone. To comfort Dermond, Carew granted him and his followers Her Majesty's protection, and assigned him the castle of Rathmore in Connello, until the war was over. Dermond also received from the President the same hire that he had obtained from Tyrone; and the 1,000 men he would be able to gather could do, said Carew, "more service upon the rebels than 4,000 of our nation. The loss of James I do not care for, so as I may keep Dermond sure to the State" (p. 262). Carew regretted the too great secrecy of Dermond in not telling his wife's friends after the capture of Fitz Thomas that it was intended to bring his brother-in-law, young Desmond, from the Tower;

for, in that case, all the chief followers of Fitz Thomas would have sided with Dermond. Again Carew urged the speedy sending over of James of Desmond, for he remarked, "to miss of James, and so consequently of Dermond (until Tyrone be suppressed) I shall be hopeless of Munster." He was hopeless also of the taking again of James Fitz Thomas alive, but he significantly remarks, "by Dermond's means to have him slain I am in a lively hope, and that very shortly. I will not leave working upon the old ground, until those brothers be confounded." In a previous letter (p. 248), Carew had told Cecil how he procured one Nugent to shoot John Fitz Thomas, the brother of James. The attempt miscarried, and Nugent got hanged by the rebels; "of whose death," the President says contemptuously, "there is no great loss, for he was but a protected traitor, and I do think he would upon the least occasion have relapsed." In telling the incident, Sir George Carew puts his own name in cipher.

On the 29th of June, Carew marched from Limerick into the heart of Connello, and encamped at Ballingarry, to relieve Dermond O'Connor, who was besieged by the enemy in the castle of Ballyallynan. On his way, the castle of Cromme, formerly held by Piers Lacy, was burnt. On the 30th, Carew went to Askeaton, where he remained for a few days for victuals from Limerick. On July 4, he left Askeaton, and encamped at Ballinture, twelve miles from that town; whence, on the 5th, he proceeded to the Glin, the Knight of the Valley's castle. After a heavy cannonade and an obstinate resistance, the castle was taken, James Fitz Thomas, who was close at hand, not having fulfilled his promise to relieve it with all his forces. The place was of very great importance, and the President remained several days to repair the ruin caused by his cannon, eventually leaving Captain Mordaunt in charge. Whilst Carew was waiting at the Glin, O'Connor Kerry, knowing that his castle of Carrigofoyle would be the next to be besieged, surrendered the same, craving the protection of Her Majesty.

This was granted, and Sir Charles Wilmot's company was left to guard the castle. Other castles were taken or surrendered, strong garrisons placed in Askeaton and Kilmallock, and, by the 15th of July, the President was back again at Limerick. Thence he proposed, as soon as he had received further victuals from Cork, to go into Kerry. His task was rendered all the heavier, because, in his recent operations from Limerick, he had little help from that city, and no assistance at all from the gentlemen of the country, either in personal attendance, intelligence, or espial. Piers Lacy acknowledged the heinousness of his offences, and offered to come in on certain conditions, but, shortly after, on the news of approaching Spanish aid, he resumed his old hostile position. The details of Carew's expedition into Kerry are given in his letter of August 25 to the Privy Council. It was on the 23rd of July that he started from Limerick, and proceeding *viâ* Kilrush in Thomond, he crossed over the mouth of the Shannon to Carrigofoyle in Kerry. Hearing that the rebels were hastening to destroy their castles in Kerry, he took measures to secure those he could possibly reach in time, and occupied Lord Fitz Morris's castle of Lixnaw, and another, belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, not far from Tralee. On August 2, Sir Charles Wilmot returned with the forces to Carrigofoyle. Meantime the victuals from Cork had arrived in the Shannon. Lord Fitz Morris died on August 12, from grief at the taking of Lixnaw, leaving a son, "as malicious a traitor as himself." The harvest of the county came into the hands of the English forces. About the 20th of August there was a fight between the garrison of Mallow under Captain Harvey and some of the White Knight's followers. It was brought about by the treachery of a guide, but satisfaction was given to the White Knight, and the guide got his deserts.

Mountjoy proposed to the Privy Council that, when the 2,000 new supplies came over to Ireland, 1,000 of them should go to Munster, and that he should draw from that province an equal number of its seasoned troops for his

northern journey. The Lord Deputy had been influenced by reports of a settled quietness in Munster, but Carew entered a strong protest against this exchange of men, saying that the companies wanted from him were scattered over the province at great distances from each other, that he had still many obstinate and notorious rebels to deal with, and that the withdrawal of the men would incite the "unsettled" people to reunite. Besides, new combinations were feared from the alleged marriage of James McThomas to Cormack McDermott's sister, and, to prevent the mischief anticipated, Carew hastened, about the close of August, to place 1,000 foot and 50 horse in Carberry and on the borders of Muskerry. He managed, however, to frustrate the marriage, and had the satisfaction of receiving the submission of Donnell McCarthy, base brother of Florence's wife. Donnell had been displaced by Tyrone, in order to make Florence McCarthy More. The President was also much cheered by the release, so strongly urged by him, of James Fitz Gerald, son of the late Earl of Desmond, from the Tower, and by the Queen's acknowledging the young man as Earl of Desmond, and sending him over to Munster. When Carew first went into Kerry, he sent for Florence McCarthy to come to him, that chieftain being not more than ten miles distant, parleying with James Fitz Thomas. Florence declared that this parleying was due to the fact that he was trying to get Fitz Thomas's letters for the recovery of his brother-in-law, O'Sullivan More, who had been taken prisoner by Dermond O'Connor. Yet he refused to come to Carew without a safe-conduct. The document was sent to him, and still he failed to appear, although he wrote protesting his loyalty. This complicated matters for the President, for Florence could command 3,000 men out of the 7,000 rebels still in action in Munster. Carew writes that Florence "like a dark cloud hangs over my head, threatening a storm to impeach our actions" (p. 368). So he still thought it

wise to temporise with him, yet gracefully closed his reply to McCarthy, "with this verse of Ovid, *Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipse veni.*" All the Munster garrisons were prospering, and Carew was looking forward to the next year's famine as a means of finally putting an end to the rebellion. Here is his summary of the position of matters on August 25 (p. 369), "Since the placing of these garrisons, no day passeth without report of burning, killing, and taking of preys from the enemy, insomuch as all places near unto them are wholly abandoned by the enemy, and left waste. Infinite numbers of their creakhts, as kine, sheep, and garrans, are taken from them, and by a true report, which I can justly account, besides husbandmen, women, and children (which I do not reckon), of weaponed men there hath been slain in this province, since my coming, above 1,200 men, and of Her Majesty's army not 40 slain by the enemy." Yet Carew pays a high tribute to the bravery of the Irish-people (p. 390), "Whoso knoweth this kingdom and the people will confess that to conquer the same and them by the sword only is *opus laboris*, and almost may be said to be impossible. And I do verily believe that all the treasure of England will be consumed in that work, except other additions of help be ministered unto it." Soon, however, Captain Richard Greame, who commanded the Kilmallock garrison in Lord Audley's absence, had a very successful encounter with James Fitz Thomas, reducing him to such a state that he was "no better than a wood-kern." Carew, much relieved, wrote to Florence McCarthy to come to him, or he would prosecute him as a traitor. The President had got some Irishmen to hunt after Florence, and hoped soon to send his head to the Queen.

Before Mountjoy had left Dublin for his work of devastation in Queen's County, particulars of which will be found on pp. 394-397, he had left orders with the Treasurer in Council to prepare victuals, munitions, and

other necessities, for his contemplated expedition into Ulster. The Lord Deputy had also ordered the general hosting to assemble at the hill of Tara on September 1. When he returned from Queen's County and King's County, to the latter of which his operations had also extended, he found the preparations in so backward a state that it was impossible for him to proceed north at once. Hearing, however, that liberal supplies were on the way, he postponed the rendezvous to the 12th, and afterwards to the 15th, of September. Another matter also was settled before his departure. Lord Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell had been over to the Court, to represent the grievances of the English Pale, where there had been much needless oppression, through the action of the soldiers and otherwise. A petition of divers noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale states that they are "worn out with the extremest extremities of miseries and oppressions, such as we think no Christian people ever yet endured" (p. 302). The Queen evidently thought many of the complaints well founded, and gave orders that the evils should be remedied. A consultation was accordingly held between the Lord Deputy and Council on the one hand, and Lord Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell on the other, and a happier *modus vivendi* was arrived at, the particulars of which will be found in the text.

Sir Henry Dockwra's men were considerably weakened by a "strange and unspeakable sickness." His English and Irish soldiers ran daily to the rebel, disclosing the weakness of the force, and encouraging the enemy to attack, some of the English even offering to act as guides. Sir Arthur O'Neill with nearly 2,000 men continued faithful. But, unhappily, he died soon after, on October 18, owing to his excessive drinking (p. 456). Neale Garve had not yet come in, but had made his "demands" (most of which were agreed to by Dockwra), and there was every prospect of his being won over.

McSwyne Ne Doe, whose treachery had caused the loss of the sixty horses referred to above, was found out in correspondence with O'Donnell, and made prisoner on board Captain Fleming's ship. He managed, however, to escape, thus frustrating the execution he was to have suffered at Dublin. Sir Henry determined to hold Cangan and Colmackatreyne, in order to command not only O'Dogherty's country, but part of McSwyne Fanaght's, and ten or twelve baronies of O'Donnell's country. This done, he could spoil O'Cahan's country at his pleasure. A difference, unfortunately, arose between Sir Henry Dockwra and his second in command, Sir John Bolles. Their variances angered the Queen, who sharply reprehended them, and the storm blew over, for Bolles was sent to England to report on the state of affairs at Lough Foyle. News was not easily passed from Lough Foyle to Dublin, for we read in a letter of September 12 from Mountjoy and the Council, that there was "great lack of a post-bark" between the two places, inasmuch as they had not heard from Lough Foyle "these four or five weeks." Sir Theobald Dillon brought to Mountjoy at Dublin, O'Sullivan More and Donnell McCarthy, whom he had taken near his house. They were committed to Dublin Castle, until they should be sent to the President of Munster. Sir Arthur Savage informed Dillon that the Burkes, the O'Kellys, and others had come from Tyrone to the barony of Athlone, and had fortified the pass between Athlone and Roscommon. Savage and Dillon thereupon set out from Athlone towards Ballinasloe, where the Earl of Clanrickarde joined them. The combined forces very soon encountered the enemy, and defeated them. The next day the Earl returned to his country. Savage and Dillon proceeded to clear the pass, and to break down the fortifications that the rebels had raised there; after which they returned to Athlone. Whilst the Lord Deputy was absent in the north, the Earl of Ormonde was to command in Leinster, and was assigned twenty-three companies

of foot and some horse, both to guard the frontier towns on the borders and to undertake any prosecution in the province. But, just as with the expedition to Ulster, money and victuals were still sadly lacking. Well might Mountjoy and the Council write to the Privy Council (p. 422), "We humbly submit to your Lordships to think what may be the issue of the services in these two provinces, when the armies for both places have no means certain to help them, but are carried on with a bare hope of the changing of the wind, which is a most uncertain comfort to preach to soldiers, who are every day to be exposed to the bullet." Donnell Spainagh came to Dublin, and took the oath of allegiance, putting in a pledge for his own loyalty and for that of his followers.

Mountjoy started on his journey northwards on September 15. Tyrone had once again entrenched himself in the Moyerie. "God willing," writes the Lord Deputy, "we will march over him, for by him we cannot." There was not much progress made for the first fortnight, for on September 30 the camp was still at Dundalk. The victuals had not arrived, and Fenton stated that, unless they were received by the middle of October, "at what time the sharpness of winter beginneth in that climate of Ulster," it would "be hard to sit down at Armagh." However, a good portion of the victuals soon came, but, even before, on September 25, the fighting had begun, and Mountjoy had carried one of Tyrone's sconces, which was guarded by 800 men. About 100 of the enemy were slain, "and the rest put to running." A much greater obstacle to Mountjoy's operations was the heavy rain, which fell continuously for many days. Again on October 2, when the weather had become somewhat fair again, there was another encounter, and Tyrone's men were driven from their trenches, with heavy loss. On the English side there were 120 killed and wounded. Tyrone earnestly exhorted his followers to work "lustily and patiently," saying, if once the Lord

Deputy got through to Newry, "farewell Ulster and all the north." On October 5, there was a fight, in which Sir Robert Lovell was killed. Fenton considered that the forces would be compelled to remain near Dundalk, unless others were sent *viâ* Carlingford to Newry, to take the enemy in the rear. Mountjoy determined not to move far off, until he had forced the passage of the Moyerie. He withdrew from the hill of Faugher to Dundalk to refresh his men, who had suffered much through the late tempestuous and rainy weather. Tyrone, about four days after, retired to Armagh. In his absence, Mountjoy sent his men to destroy the trenches made by the rebels in the Moyerie. Tyrone thought that the withdrawal of the Lord Deputy to Dundalk meant the subsequent dispersal of the English forces, but finding that more forces had been sent for, he dispersed his own men on October 14, and went himself first to Lough Lurcan, and then over the Blackwater. To increase his difficulties, news came to him that Sir John O'Dogherty and Neale Garve, O'Donnell's brother, had joined Sir Henry Dockwra with 400 of their men. Tyrone endeavoured by all possible means to parley with Mountjoy, but his overtures were declined. A few days after, Mountjoy with his forces was at Newry, but all hope of an advance to Armagh before winter had to be abandoned, contrary winds having impeded the coming of men, treasure, and munition out of England. However, the Lord Deputy resolved to erect a fort midway between Newry and Armagh, and to fortify the centre of the Moyerie, so as to effect the free passage of troops and convoys.

Ormonde was prevented by the serious illness of his wife from leaving Kilkenny, but he sent Sir Francis Rush to Naas with 400 men, and kept Phelim McFeagh and his followers quiet by giving them protection. He further ordered the risings out of the Pale to bring with them victuals for twenty days. James Fitz Thomas had come into Queen's County, accompanied by Piers Lacy, to try and reinforce themselves with bonnaughts from the

Leinster rebels, but Fenton trusted such succour would be prevented. Captain Phillips wrote on October 28, from Athy, that the rebels of all Leix were not able of themselves to raise 200 men, without the help of Tyrrell, who came to their aid upon occasion. It was thought that Tyrrell would marry Onie McRory's sister.

On October 13, James, Earl of Desmond set sail from Shirehampton, near Bristol, for Cork. Although the sea was fair, the Earl writes that he was "so sea-sick, as whilst I live [I] shall never love that element." He begged to be landed anywhere, and, on the night of the 14th, they put him in at Youghal. He received an enthusiastic welcome from the people, and proceeded to John Fitz Edmund's house at Clone, where he had "a great deal of cheer." Thence he went to Cork, where he had difficulty in getting a lodging at all, and where his escort, Captain Price, "had the hogs for his neighbours." From Cork he proceeded to meet Carew at Mallow, and was welcomed by the President. Two plots were in hand, the one for the capture of Castlemaine, and the other for the taking or killing of James Fitz Thomas. On the successful completion of these two, Desmond said he would be very glad to attend upon Cecil, but, until such success, he wrote, "I shall not be myself." All the great chiefs of Munster, to whom Tyrone had written his "traitorly letters," had come in to the President, and given him pledges, Florence McCarthy and the Knight of the Valley being the only exceptions.

Neale Garve O'Donnell testified to his sincerity in coming in to Sir Henry Dockwra by taking Lifford, which was, after Ballyshannon, the chief key to O'Donnell's country. O'Donnell had started on another of his raids into Connaught, but, hearing of the defection of Sir John O'Dogherty and Neale Garve, he hastily returned, and on his way at Ballymote took O'Connor Sligo prisoner, in case he too might join the English. O'Donnell further vented some of his anger on Tyrone, telling him he had

waited too long at the Moyerie, and had wasted his men, munition, and victuals there, when he might have allowed Mountjoy to pass without resistance, and have attacked his weakened army on its return. Tyrone thereupon returned to Dungannon, and collected his forces for a final cast, either to lose all or to forestall the Lord Deputy's return. On October 12, Neale Garve drew out of Lifford, and had some further fighting with O'Donnell, the latter being assisted by O'Rourke and O'Connor Sligo. On the next day, Dockwra went by boat from Derry to Lifford, and ordered the fortification of that place. On October 17, there was further skirmishing with O'Donnell. On the 24th, he drew out of his camp to burn some ricks of turf near Lifford, but Neale Garve drove him back. Captain Willis, an eye-witness, sums up the situation at Lough Foyle at the end of October thus (p. 535), "I perceive by one of O'Dogherty's chief men and a counsellor of O'Donnell's, that, if O'Donnell might have peace in some reasonable sort, he would hearken unto it. If our men were able to hold out strong, that we might march and camp in his country, I doubt not but he would soon be expelled. But our men are so weak and fall sick and die, so as there must be of necessity one thousand sent here presently more to supply the companies, and so we shall not be strong, for these last supplies will soon be gone, or the number of them. Of all our garrisons we are not able to draw a thousand foot strong into the field, to march and leave the places guarded. For our horse, there is no care taken of them by the horsemen, nor never was since our coming here; they have no desire to keep their horses well."

Mountjoy had been barely four months in Ireland, when the Queen sent him some vigorous strictures on his government. She thought that the instructions, written and verbal, that had passed between them before the Lord Deputy left England, would have sufficed. Now she charged him with remissness and lack of experience, though

expressly freeing him from negligence and disobedience. She charged him, amongst other matters, with continuing and renewing large expenditure for the benefit of the military party, with giving leave of absence too frequently to Captains, and with refraining from punishing those who committed the "greatest disorder." Mountjoy replied that he held himself "bound to propound" what he believed to be necessary for the service committed to his charge, and that he thought no parsimony more dangerous than such as made all the rest of the Queen's expense unprofitable. He was prepared to justify the appointments he had made to various commands. Further, out of some 120 Captains, he had given leave to only six or seven, and that in the summer, when they might be best spared. He had taken the most stringent measures to secure honest musters of the troops. Nor would he be slow to punish with the utmost severity any disorder that was proved before him. Mountjoy regarded his position and charge as most rulers of Ireland have done. Writing to Cecil on July 17, he says (p. 309), "Believe me, Sir, it is the most difficult task that any subject hath in Christendom, and I find it as thankless." And again, writing to Cecil on October 27, he gives vent to his feelings thus (p. 514), "I swear unto you by God that I think no man is more slow than myself to accuse their wills" [*i.e.*, those of his accusers], "but am rather given to impute it to an impossibility, to any man's power, to defend the chief actor upon this miserable stage from the tragedies fatal unto it. And this is no more than I did foresee, which made me so unwilling to come hither; and thus much I do now find, which maketh me so much desire to be rid of this thankless office, even with the poorest retreat that any corner of England will afford me." But the whole of the Lord Deputy's impassioned defence of his government (pp. 430, 431, and 501-520) deserves close attention. Only one more of his far-reaching statements can be quoted here (p. 431), "I speak it without any private end, and as I believe, that the chief cause that the affairs

of Ireland have prospered so evil, and the Queen lost therein so much time and treasure, hath been because you [*i.e.*, Cecil] are content to hear every man against and before the chief Governor here, who in the end discouraged, is driven to sit still and save himself, and not to care how matters go, so he may lay the fault from himself. God prosper this work I have now in hand, for *agitur de imperio Hiberniæ*."

There are several papers of note on the ecclesiastical condition of Ireland. Elizabeth is "credibly informed that the most part of churches within the two large dioceses of Dublin and Meath are utterly ruined, insomuch as, between Dublin and Athlone, which containeth sixty miles, and is the through tract of the English Pale, there are so few churches standing as they will scarcely make a plural number, and so few pastors to teach or preach the Word as in the most of them there is not so much as a reading minister" (p. 273). Mountjoy was to call before him the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath, and to charge them to take order out of hand for the repair of the churches, and for furnishing them "with pastors, at least with reading ministers to instruct the people upon the Sabbath days, who, not having churches or ministers, do meet together on hills, in the open fields and woods, and there spend the time in wicked devices which should be spent in the service and worship of God." The two prelates were also to be charged with "their remiss and unchristian-like carriage in their spiritual callings, whereby idolatry is grown to that height as it is the very strength and heart of the rebellion." A large number of papers refer to the unequalled influence of the priests over the Irish people, and the origin and maintenance of the rebellion is in no measured terms laid at their doors. Thus, on p. 295, they are called the "principal purveyors and procurers of all needful things for the on-setting and upholding of rebellions in Ireland." And it is further stated that their "number is now grown to be greater than there

are able and willing preachers of the gospel of both nations in that realm." The apprehension and suppression of the priests is urged in vigorous terms. The Queen was very angry at the institution of unlettered ministers, "such as have not the faculty to teach and preach, and many not able to read the Word of God distinctly; some also being mere laymen, and all preferred by favour, without good examination made of their sufficiency" (p. 277). Again, "in Ireland there are not ten Bishops and twenty preachers worthy that function" (p. 295).

Some references to the condition of the army have already been made in this preface, and many others will be found with the help of the index. We have the usual dark picture of lack of victuals, corruption of victuals, arrears of pay, frauds in musters, absence of Captains, disease, desertion, and violence. On the other hand, we have the bright virtues of patient suffering and bravery, and the establishment, chiefly through Mountjoy's ceaseless endeavours, of renewed discipline and *esprit de corps*. Sir Theobald Dillon begs Cecil to be a mean "that our Commanders or Captains be not chosen for affection or favour, and specially that they be no drunkards or great takers of tobacco" (p. 289). Attention may be called to the Memoranda on Ireland, with its "Torture and racks would be appointed for apprehended traitors, whereby many matters and hidden treasons would be brought to light, which for want thereof are smothered" (p. 106); and to the papers regarding the entertainment of Scots in Ireland (pp. 117-119); Henry Fitzsimmons, the Jesuit (pp. 76-78 and 80); the quarrel between Ormonde and the Archbishop of Cashel (pp. 11, 12, and 376, 377); the charges brought by Captain Ghest against Sir Oliver Lambert (pp. 283-285); the Lord Chancellor Loftus's defence (pp. 59, 60); the Bishop of Meath's defence (pp. 418-20); Lord Barry and his son (pp. 182, 252); the fire at Newry (p. 226); Lord Mountjoy's horses (pp. 93, 94, 309); Captain Tyrrell, Piers Lacy, and many others.

In accordance with the fifth instruction to Editors of Calendars, given by the Master of Rolls, by which it is directed that "striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed," the following examples may be cited, in addition to those already quoted in this preface:—

"I may come home by weeping cross" (p. 10); "stirps" (p. 17); "dorgan" (p. 25); "stood upon himself" (p. 91); "trudched" (p. 114); "we slew dead" (p. 117); "affeaured" (p. 118); "let me understand how the world goes with you" (p. 146); "braves" [boasting] (p. 147); "cowardysme" (p. 152); "my credit will be crackt" (p. 154); "thackt" [thatched] (p. 156); "vengible" [revengeful] (p. 157); "disgest" (p. 178); "frystes" (p. 178); "fastnadge" [fastness] (p. 193); "guesthouses" [hospitals] (p. 196); "ruinate" (p. 208); "jayn" [chain] (p. 214); "as seedy a subject" (p. 218); "Captains of antiquity" [veteran Captains] (p. 221); "tender" [tenor] (p. 221); "infer" [confer] (p. 221); "be but the shadow for" [be but a stopgap for] (p. 222); "brandle" [waver] (p. 224); "pleasured" [pleased] (p. 230); "here hence" (p. 258); "lyse" [lose] (p. 259); "intercesse" [intercede with] (p. 263); "divident" [division, paying out] (p. 273); "the place be not worth sixpence" (p. 288); "portasse" [breviary] (p. 294); "bandogs" (p. 295); "the veriest kindle-fire" (p. 301); "furniture" [equipment] (p. 303); "levell" [levy] (p. 311); "honest tall men and good subjects" (p. 313); "naturals" [natives] (p. 313); "our conflicts seem to be but *de lana caprina*" (p. 336); "back-friends" (p. 376); "invoyes" (p. 392); "prebenday" [prebend] (p. 426); "to quite all former scores" (p. 429); "Armagh will remain still an empty egg-shell for this year" (p. 432); "one halpworth of good" (p. 438); "frontering" [confronting] (p. 439); "*vulgare est dictum, melius non incipere quam ab incepto cadere*" (p. 475); "to crye ayme" [ah me] (p. 520); "glibbs" (p. 529); "amboxes" [ambushes] (p. 533); "*parola della bocca val assai et costa poco*" (p. 538); "*veritas non quærit angulos*" (p. 538).

ERNEST G. ATKINSON.

18 April, 1902.

IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

VOL. CCVII. PART 2. 1600. MARCH—APRIL.

1599.

1600.

March 1.
Dublin.

1. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "I, the Deputy, being landed at the Head of Howth, seven miles from Dublin, the 26th of February, and coming hither the 27th, the day following, being the 28th, I took the sword, being careful not to defer time to enter into this weighty charge laid upon me by Her Majesty. And proceeding forthwith to consultation with us of the Council, I required to be informed by the table of the estate of the realm, and the condition and strength of the army, as two matters most considerable in so general a distraction of the affairs of this kingdom.

"Touching the estate of the realm, both what it was when the Earl of Essex entered into government, and how it hath increased to greater dangers and garboyles since, and particularly by the late passage, which the Archtraitor Tyrone hath made through the lower parts of Leinster, and so westward into Munster, where he hath long time ranged at his pleasure, and there remaineth still drawing the Lords and chieftains of countries to combine with him, and taking their pledges for their assurance, we of the Council could not in better sort make demonstration thereof to his Lordship, than by comparison of the first book we delivered to the Earl of Essex with the proceedings and sequel of things ensued since, inserting, by way of additions, in what sort the dangers of the realm have increased since, as well by a new defection of divers gentlemen, both in the Pale and elsewhere, declared apparently of late, as we have formerly advertised your Lordships at several times, as also what forces went with them, whereby the numbers and main strength of the rebellion is mightily increased. This book we have delivered to his Lordship, and have sent a double thereof to your Lordships, being inwardly grieved that after so long troubling you with these sour and tart matters of Ireland, we cannot give to your Lordships so much as a taste of more pleasing things. But we hope that God (who carrieth on all things to their just times) will, ere it be long, by Her Majesty's gracious hand break the clouds of these storms, and reduce this unhappy kingdom to a more comfortable calmness.

1599.

1600.

“Touching the estate of the army, in which resteth our chief confidence, all the other parts of the realm being universally disjoined and altered, we cannot at this time deliver to his Lordship a perfect list thereof, for that concerning the companies laid in Leinster and the borders of the Pale, the Lord Lieutenant of the army, since Tyrone entered Leinster, hath thrice drawn out of the several companies by poll the choice men of most of the bands in Leinster, who are now with his Lordship; by which calling the true state of the companies cannot be set down, till they be returned again to their colours. And for the other provinces of Munster, Connaught, and part of Ulster, we have not seen of long time a perfect list of those forces, partly through the remote distance of the places, and partly for want of diligence in some of the commissaries; though we hope the Lord Lieutenant hath taken some further course with them therein. Only we understand by many private advertisements out of those remote provinces, that the companies there are weak in numbers, not answerable to that they ought to be; the abuse whereof, whether it be in the Commissary or in the Captain, is meet to be severely punished in the persons offending, whosoever they be, without respect; wherein we will all do our best, as being a service of great consequence to Her Majesty, for that even out of the weakness of the companies, as well in number as arms (which is as well known to the rebels as to ourselves), hath grown occasions of some of our former disasters, taken and followed by the traitors upon the advantage of those deficiencies. And now, being upon this point of the weakness of the army, and finding by me, the Deputy, that it is ordered by establishment out of England, that Her Majesty will have her army reduced to 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, by which course 2,000 foot are to be cashiered and cast into other companies for supplies, the same to begin from the first of February, we are all drawn into an exceeding astonishment at this matter, when we see a purpose to lessen the strength of Her Majesty’s forces at a time when the rebels are mightily increased in numbers and pride of mind, and the universal state of the realm more deeply engaged and endangered than ever. For if before, the forces were not sufficient to impeach the Archtraitor to enter Leinster, and so make his way whither he would into Munster untouched (for anything we know, Her Majesty’s army being in pursuit of him under the Lord Lieutenant); and seeing those few, that were left by his Lordship upon the borders, were not able to pierce into any of the Irish countries, to the end to divert the Archtraitor, but thought it enough to defend the frontiers, and guard certain towns there, which yet were but weakly manned, if any strong attempt should have been made; much less shall we be able either to offend or defend, or stand against the rage of the traitors, increasing daily by their still prevailing fortune, if so great a portion as 2,000 men should be taken off from the main army, at a time when the necessity is greater than ever it was to have them continued or rather increased. And, as to the traitors themselves, this diminution will be a great encouragement; who may make a dangerous advantage thereof, and, upon the bruit, do already insult much; so, to the few poor subjects that stand firm, and have

1599.

1600.

long depended upon Her Majesty's defence, it cannot but be an occasion to deject them altogether, and consequently to alter their hearts from her Majesty's government, a matter equally dangerous and dishonourable. Moreover, we see the actions of the realm do gather daily upon us by access of fresh occasions which cannot be shifted off; as, on the one side, the plantation of Lough Foyle, which cannot be performed but by the countenance of a strong force to be laid upon the north borders in that meanwhile, to hold the rebels in bridle that they shall not convert all their forces to resist the landing of the garrisons there and at Ballyshannon; and, on the other side, a necessity to free these inner parts of the realm, by setting on foot a prosecution in Leinster; which is a part of the kingdom most requisite to be first reduced, as being a country that before their defection yielded both profit and obedience to Her Majesty, and is the most ancient part of her imperial crown of this realm; and being reduced, it would be a main step to draw in some other of the remote provinces. At least it would weaken the Archtraitor Tyrone by having such a principal limb stricken from him. And toward this prosecution we find, by computation of the army, that the other provinces being furnished as is prescribed out of England, and the frontier places of the Pale but weakly guarded for defence only, there will not be left full 1,000 foot, if the 2,000 above mentioned should be cashiered, which is a force not to hazard so great a service upon, unless it were wilfully to give to be lost both the men and the country. Besides, it appeareth by the establishment that this cashiering of 2,000 foot should commence from the first of February; a matter impossible, for that I, the Deputy, entered not into charge here before the 28th of the same. And if it should be now entered into, it could not be performed in six weeks or a month at least if the kingdom were in quiet, by reason the army is distracted into many parts far remote from hence, and their passage not safe by reason of the rebels. And what discouragement such an alteration might bring to the Captains and officers, who have trained those companies and served with them, may be easily conceived, when, after their time spent in the hard services of this realm, which yieldeth little other fruit than Her Majesty's pay, they shall be suddenly taken out of entertainment, and no provision made for them; besides a dangerous discouragement to other companies in the army, who may be hazarded to break, upon the cashiering of these; as of late happened to certain companies, who, hearing that they should be put over to other Captains, dispersed themselves and embezzled their arms. Moreover, we assure ourselves that if, at the time that this resolution was set down there, Her Majesty and your Lordships had known of the passage of Tyrone through Leinster and Munster, and the havoc he hath made there, in drawing the Irish countries and Lords to his faction, whereby his rebellion is mightily strengthened beyond all former times, this direction to cashier 2,000 men at this time would have been forborne for a while. But we find that our advertisements of Tyrone's entering into the country were not come to your Lordships at the time of that resolution, which constraineth us, with the other reasons and necessities alleged before, not to deal in the cashiering of them for

1599.

1600.

a time, until these great dangers may be lessened, or that we may hear further from your Lordships, humbly assuring your Lordships that, things standing as they do, we dare not proceed therein, neither is it possible to do it in any short time. And therefore do most humbly beseech your Lordships to make our defence to Her Majesty, and that we may receive with all speed Her Majesty's resolution. And in the mean while, we will do all that we can to prepare for the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, and the putting on foot a prosecution in Leinster, both which will be dangerous in the attempt, if these 2,000 men should be taken off from the army. Besides, a great part of the companies consisting upon Irish, in whom we have no reason to repose a soundness in service, but when they are mixed with the English, and that the English may overtop them in numbers and strength, it may greatly increase the danger of any service that they shall be employed in. And besides, as it is to be doubted that so many of these cased companies as are Irish will run to the rebels with their arms, and thereby strengthen the traitors, so likewise if upon sending hither of the 5,000 for supplies, the army should be reduced to 12,000, we should in that case be driven to send back again very near 2,000 English soldiers, which would be very inconvenient, besides the danger in the example to send so many men out of the realm, at a time when it hath so great need of forces. Lastly, not knowing how long it will be before the Archtraitor Tyrone do return, or by what way he will make his return, whether through the English Pale (which we have reason to doubt) or through those Irish countries in Leinster by which he made his passage up, it still increaseth our fearfulness to meddle with the cashiering of these companies, in a time so apparently dangerous, and threatening the overthrow of the realm. The consideration of which we humbly submit to your Lordships, and that we may receive with all speed Her Majesty's absolute resolution in this point, being for our parts not only in this, but by all ways we can, most ready to lessen Her Majesty's charges, so far as the dangerous consequences of Her Highness['s] affairs here will carry us with our duty."

In their next will advertise their Lordships of all further matters, which now the shortness of time and other requisite things to be done upon the change of the government will not permit. Send certificates, one of the remains of victuals (*wanting*), and the other of the remains of powder and munition. Their Lordships may see that there is want of victuals universally. This must be remedied from England. Pray for a proportion both of money and victuals, "the rather for that I, the Deputy, have given order that the money appointed for Lough Foyle shall not be touched; otherwise the estate of the soldiers will be most lamentable, and their wants most grievous to us that cannot remedy them."

The forces for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon to be hastened over, and the rest of the levies for supplies. Only 750 of the latter have arrived, under Sir Oliver St. John, and have been distributed in the companies about Leinster and the borders. When the other supplies arrive, they will be sufficient to make the bands full, and to give a good strength of English to the whole

1599.

1600.

army. Order taken against the desertion of sundry of the supplies from England. Ask that a similar order may be taken in the ports on the west coast of England and in those of Wales.

"Lastly, I, the Deputy, am now in hand to make choice of the thousand men for Lough Foyle, appointed to be sent from hence with victuals to serve them for a month, who I mean shall consist of old companies, and to contain 1,000 by poll, as they shall be mustered at their going aboard, and to send them away with all speed, and have given order for shipping for their transportation, such as are to be had here, together with the great artilleries, munitions, and all other necessities for that expedition; which being to be taken in in several places will require the longer time; but there shall be no time omitted. And, in the meanwhile, I have sent to Chester sundry Captains to be ready to assist Sir Henry Dockwra at his coming thither; and have also given order for setting together the barges that are here; which are to be carried with the ships that transport the soldiers to Lough Foyle.

"We have no means as yet to advertise your Lordships of Tyrone's particular doings in Munster, nor how the Lord Lieutenant of the army doth proceed against him, for that we have no certain report thereof, other than that by a private letter it is written to me, the Treasurer, by one of my paymasters, that his Lordship with the army was not far from Waterford the 27th of February, and that Tyrone was passed up westward as far as the mountain of Sloughloughar."

Will send advertisements with the best speed they can. Have reduced the field-officers and others according to the limitation of the establishment. Order given that the commissions and other instructions, which are usual for the Presidency of Munster, shall be expedited. These being dispatched, the President (who came over with Mountjoy) shall be sent up to his charge, "so soon as we may see how to send him with safety."—Dublin, 1599, March 1. *Signed.* *Endorsed:*—Received the 8th of March at Richmond. pp. 6.

Encloses:—

1. i. "*The remain of munition and arms in the store at Dublin [and other places] the first of March, 1599.*" p. 1.

March 1.
Dublin.

2. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The great danger of reducing the army in Ireland. The plantation of Lough Foyle would be hazarded more than in duty they could answer; for it must be countenanced by a strong force on the north borders, to keep the Ulster rebels in bridle, till the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon have made their landing good. "It is fearful to think what a desolation would be, if the army should be reduced to a less stint than it is."

Tyrone's proceedings in Leinster and Munster. "Continuing still in his action, prevailing and winning without impeachment, as it will be hard to sound the depth of his drifts, till it be seen by what way he will make his return, so, whilst he stayeth abroad, the more time he will have to poison the subjects, and peril the whole state of the realm. So as, so long as he standeth in his strength and pride, at least till he have in some measure felt the edge of Her Majesty's

1599.

1600.

sword, it cannot be safe to decrease the forces of the nation.” Begs that the cashiering of the 2,000 men may be delayed, till affairs are in a better conditon, “which I hope will not be so long protracted as in other times hath been, now that Her Highness hath furnished this government with this nobleman, who in all show beareth a heart sincerely devoted to her service, and the well proceeding thereof.”

Encloses a letter he received yesternight, that Sir Robert “may see what brags that bare-legged traitor Tyrone doth make, to march into the heart of the Pale, and cut from this city the commodity of their water; but I hope he will take better counsel, now that the Lord Deputy is come.”—Dublin, 1599, March 1. *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received at Richmond the 8th. pp. 1½.

Encloses:—

2. i. *John Lye to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Sends further advertisements. Would have been the messenger himself, to have seen the Lord Deputy, but fears his ward would be negligent in his absence, the money being hard by, at Ferren O'Morghane['s], and wishing to get his castle, which is an eye-sore in their sight.*

“First, upon Tuesday last past, the Connors had a meeting hard by here, at Ferren O'Morghane['s], as well to offer for Coll McTeig, O'Connor's son, that died, as also to meet and consult with six of the company of the fort of Philipstown, that came to them with as much powder as they might bring. Those six men have assured unto the Connors that the ward had but one month's victuals, at their departure from the said fort, whereof five days is spent sithence their departure, about which time they think to make an attempt against the fort.

“The castle of Esker, which the Connors got of late, as formerly I did certify unto you, they keep a ward therein, thinking thereby to get the castle of Clonnary hard by it, and lying betwixt it and the fort.

“All the Connors and other enemies with their forces are appointed by O'Neill to meet him in the county of Wexford the week before Easter, which time were fit to relieve the fort, if not sooner.

“Onie McRory O'Moore, as formerly I did certify, is limbless, and never like to be able to do anything, if he live. It were good to devise some draught upon him, fearing he should live.

“O'Neill's full intent in this his journey was, and is, first to join with him all the Irishry in those borders, and all others he may, and after to remain in Munster, till he join with him, and with the usurped Earl of Desmond, all the Lords and gentlemen in Munster, where he doth make full account to have Spanish forces to meet him, and, if he may, to make an attempt against some of the port-towns; and, when he hath done there, he cometh to the county of Wexford, where he appointed the Connors and other rebels to meet him the week before Easter; and from thence he meaneth to come hither to the county of Kildare, and so to Dublin, and to continue a long time with all the forces he may bring.

“It is determined by him to take the water that goeth to the pipes in Dublin from the city, and all other small rivers, and with

1599.

1600.

his forces being on the north side, to keep the water of the Liffey in sort that the citizens should not look out to bring any from thence; for they account that, if they overcome Dublin, all Ireland is their own.

“The said O'Neill looks for authority to come and meet him from the Church of Rome, to pronounce a general excommunication against all the gentlemen and inhabitants in the county of Kildare, Meath, and the Pale, and to keep priests and service from them, besides using the sword against them, unless they all take part with him, for maintenance of their religion; and by this means he thinketh to draw most of the people, under colour of religion, to join with him, and to revolt against Her Majesty. I assure you there are mighty matters intended at this time by O'Neill and his accomplices, to bring all the realm against Her Majesty, before his return to the north; and partly, he doth all this for a policy, to leave all this part of the realm in rebellion, to keep all Her Majesty's forces from the north. I do wish you to cause this to be carefully thought on by the Lord Deputy and Council, and, if there be not forces enough coming out of England, to send in haste for more, for I fear that by their practices and devices many will be drawn that hitherto held. These intelligences I had from one that knew all O'Neill's intents and purposes, all which he meant to perform at his going, and will, unless God prevent him by other courses; for he means to have his will at this time, and that all the forces named to come over are not able to prevent him in this action. It is certainly reported here that O'Donnell with his forces is passed through Connaught to O'Neill.” *Prays for the Queen's victory.*—Rathbride, 1599, March 1 [Sir Geoffrey Fenton has struck out “January” and written “March” above. He has also endorsed the letter, “Advertisements from Mr. John Lye, primo Martii, '99.”] [Postscript.] “After the writing of this my letter, I had intelligence from one that heard O'Neill swear that he would see the Naas before Easter Day; and, where else he would go, that he would keep that to himself, and that he would see what substance was in the Naas. I heard further, by these last intelligences, that there would forces meet with him before he would pass the Naas, besides what forces he had with him.” Signed. pp. 2½.

March 3.
Dublin.

3. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “I do acknowledge no excuse sufficient for the not performing of any of Her Majesty's commandments, but impossibility, or warrant from herself; with both which reasons I must excuse that I do not presently, according to the new establishment, reduce her army unto 12,000 foot. First, the establishment began before I had authority to do it, which taking force the first of February, I arrived not here till the 26th of the same month, and took the sword the next day, and with it my authority. But, finding upon a present consultation with Her Majesty's Council here, besides many reasons wherein they did all without contradiction concur, that the army was so far divided, and the greatest part drawn from these parts by

1599.

1600.

my Lord of Ormonde to attend the rebel in Munster, it was impossible for me to give order for their casting in any short time ; since what company shall be discharged must be presently reduced into some other, and that with great caution, or else so many men and arms are merely lost from the service. Which, Sir, you may the better conceive by this one example before my coming, when the Lords Justices, determining to cast Sir Robert Lowell's company, being in list 150, and consisting of above a hundred by the poll of the oldest and best soldiers of the kingdom, had appointed other Captains to receive them, the next day after this transmitting of them was divulged, there was but three of the whole company and arms to be found. So that, besides the impossibility in any short time to send to so many places, so far asunder, and divided with the strength of the rebels, to execute there what we determine here, I can assure you, Sir, the casting of these men at this time will apparently endanger the breaking of the best part of the army.

"But the warrant I have from Her Majesty is, that it doth appear unto the Council here, and unto me, that the retaining of this 2,000 in list is for the prevention of a notorious peril to the kingdom, which, without any respect or private end of my own, I do protest, on my allegiance to God and the Queen, I do verily believe. Notwithstanding I do prepare, upon further knowledge of Her Majesty's pleasure, to execute her commandment, and with as much expedition as I could have performed it, if we had not these motives to become so earnest suitors unto Her Majesty to retain these forces for some time, to deliver us all from the general despair we shall otherwise fall into. For, although I think it my duty in this case of so dangerous consequence, both to proceed with great caution, and to inform what we do so assuredly apprehend, yet, that duty being discharged, I am ready to obey Her Majesty's pleasure, if it be only to confine myself to the Castle of Dublin. But, I beseech you, Sir, consider how this storm doth grow upon us, with great probability to fall very shortly, and with what confidence of more than a declared party the rebel hath come into these parts out of his own strength, with less than fifteen hundred horse or foot [and] gone from place to place in manner of a progress, without resistance, but making in all parts combinations, and taking pledges for the performance ; and, being now in the remoter parts of Munster, hath gotten a greater access to his forces, as it is reported, than I dare make relation of without more assuredness, the numbers will appear so incredible unto you. But, without all question, he hath by this journey so far improved his power and reputation, that Her Majesty may have just cause to enter into a farther resolution than before, to meet with the growing danger of her kingdom. And, if Her Majesty be resolved to lessen her forces, they may be still cast, as they grow weak, and so insensibly fall into a less proportion, and in the meantime have the uttermost use and reputation of her army. But, if Her Majesty now at the first, when men put on either new hopes or fear[s], and when the danger is to all men apparent to be never greater, shall take away from that army, which before even by the effects was held insufficient, I protest, Sir, I do with too great reason fear an unrecoverable defection ; and with the adding of so small a charge (in respect of the greater she is at), she shall, I hope, save

1599.

1600.

the fruitless expense of the whole. And if it shall please God to bless our endeavours, I hope by this summer we shall yield her a good account of her expense. I do endeavour [by] all means from hence the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, and hope to be deficient in nothing belonging thereunto, for my part. But, Sir, believe it, that without some kind of prosecution in these parts, at or after their plantation, those garrisons will be lost, or at the least the true use of them. I will endeavour according to my instructions and my best discretion to reform all the abuses of the army, but so suddenly I can give no account thereof.”—Dublin Castle, 1599, March 3.

[*Postscript.*] “I have sent you a note (*wanting*) of certain owners of barks that have without leave conveyed soldiers from hence. It would be fit they were punished there; and, if they come any more here, I will call them to account for it.

“I received a letter from their Lordships signifying some dislike of his (*sic*) proceeding in the transportation of the men, whereupon I willed him to give this account I send you under his hand, [*wanting*] which I pray, Sir, may serve for his just excuse.” *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed* :—Received at Richmond the 8th. pp. 2½.

March 3.
Dublin.

4. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received his letter of February 20, enclosing Her Majesty's warrant for the payment of the 2,000 men. Thanks Sir Robert for the same. Prays for a like warrant for the extraordinaries he has paid. Desires that the Auditors assigned to take his accounts may examine these extraordinaries, and that the warrant may be grounded thereupon.

“My Lord Deputy, having now received the sword, beginneth very honourably and carefully to inform himself and employ his mind about the weighty charge committed unto him. He is now putting in readiness the barges for Lough Foyle, and takes up shipping to transport the 1,000 men for Knockfergus, and hath commanded me to provide victuals for them for one month, which shall be done. We hope that, if his Lordship be well backed out of England, some service will be done, especially if the army be well disciplined, the Captains apply their charge, and not live in Dublin, but yield an account of some service. I humbly beseech your Honour in your next despatch advise his Lordship to that end, though I do assure myself his Lordship of himself will have special care thereof.”

His paymasters will be ready to go with such treasure as has been assigned for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, when the 1,000 sail for Carrickfergus. This shall be hastened with all speed. The 100*l.* has been paid to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

“For my Lord of Ormonde's prosecution of this Archtraitor, I refer it to the event; for I hear not yet from his Lordship, neither yet what is done; only I received a letter from my paymaster there, of the 27 of the last, that upon my letter he had borrowed 1,400*l.* of the towns of Waterford and Kilkenny for the army, which then, as it should seem, lay not past 14 miles from Waterford, expecting the Traitor's return, who was then gone far west into Munster.”

1599.

1600.

Reasons against the reduction of the army. Knighting of Sir Edwin Sandes. His own indebtedness to Sir Robert. "God bless Her Majesty, or otherwise perhaps I may come home by weeping cross." Begs a continuance of Sir Robert's favour. Has not received any direction when the Earl of Ormonde's entertainment shall cease, nor when Sir Warham Sentleger's and Sir Henry Power's entertainment shall determine for Munster, or Sir Arthur Savage's for Connaught. Since it is Her Majesty's pleasure that his own entertainment shall cease from 10 January last, cares not how soon the rest do end also. Prays for direction, that he may frame his reckonings accordingly.—"From my house by Dublin," 1599, March 3. *Holograph. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 10th. pp. 3.

March 3.
Cashel.

5. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "Since my last despatch[es] unto your Lordships of the 24th and 30th of January last, sent by Sir John Talbot, wherein I advertised of Tyrone's drawing up with great forces towards the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, with full intent to burn and spoil all Her Majesty's good subjects in those parts, and (as sithence I do understand), according his solemn oath, to hold a meeting at a place called the Abbey of Holy Cross, with James Fitz Thomas, the pretended Desmond, and all the other Munster traitors; upon such intelligence as daily came unto me of his so going upwards, I marched towards the county of Kilkenny, having at first drawn from the counties of Meath and Kildare but 700 foot and 80 horse. And, after I had sent from Kilkenny to Waterford for the paymaster and clerk of the munition, for their repair unto me with their several charges, and also (in regard of Tyrone's great force) for 200 foot of the companies of Sir Warham Sentleger, James Fitz Piers, and Captain Lee, who lay on the borders of the county of Kildare, within a day's march of Kilkenny, and best to be spared from those parts, by reason the traitors of Leix were much weakened by some late services performed against them, I set forwards with them and such other of Her Majesty's forces as were in these parts of the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and, with such forces as I could command of my own servants and others of the rising out, I came to their appointed place of Holy Cross, there disappointing Tyrone and his meeting with Desmond of the performance of his oath, and enforcing him, and James Fitz Thomas with some of his forces, who also met him, to hold themselves in great strength of woods and bogs, within O'Dwyre's country called Killnemanagh, five or six miles near me; who, understanding of so near an approach, and that the next day I was to march towards Dreghedneferin, a castle of my own, standing upon a strait, ready to meet him in the field, they were early in the morning dislodged, taking for their safety the like further strength of wood and bog, at a place called Pollaghbeg and Shanganagh, in the foot of Arlow mountains, wherein their march for one day was 17 or 18 miles. And Tyrone thus gone so far upwards, I laid continued espial after him, and for want of means was driven to divide those forces between the poor corporate towns of Kilkenny,

1599.

1600.

Clonmell, Cashel, and Fethard; whereof, in the time of this my absence, the suburbs of the town of Kilkenny, being but thatched houses called the Irishtown, was (as it were in a despiteful bravery) burned by the traitorous sons of the Lord Mountgarrett. And sithence, upon the Lord Justice Carey's letters (for which I wrote), for borrowing of monies of some merchants in these parts, to be re-paid in London, I have tried to the uttermost, in all being little more than 1,000*l*. And though being out of hope of any more loan of money that way, in that the Archtraitor Tyrone doth still continue in Munster, I am now onwards my journey to those parts to hearken to him, being further assisted (by my sending for [? them]) with some 400 foot and 70 horse out of the Pale, though I wrote for more; who had their means but for 14 days, which now is almost spent. What success shall fall out, I will (with God's grace) further signify to your Lordships.

"According to such directions as I gave to the Earl of Thomond, Sir Henry Power, and other the garrisons of Munster, to lose no opportunity of time to kill, burn, and spoil the traitors, some part of it hath been performed by the Earl in Conolough [Connello], and also by the garrisons of Moyalla [Mallow] and Waleston in the parts near them. By a copy enclosed [*wanting*] of a letter from the Lord Archbishop of Cashel concluded with (*sic*) (your Honour's to use and not to abuse), your Lordships may perceive his cholerick humours, whereof, in presence of Sir Oliver Lambert, the Marshal (who accompanied me), Sir Henry Polliott, and some other the Captains and gentlemen, I reproving him, he presently stood in comparison for a companion with me, and that he was as good a subject as myself, and, if there were any better in Ireland, he was as good as he; and, moreover, that he was as good a subject as any in England or Ireland. With reverence to a man of his coat (and not of his desert), I told him he had sometime been a friar, who answered that then he was an honest friar; and further, making known to him that in birth he was but a follower to Maguire's country, "nay," said he, "I am a gentleman, and a kinsman to Maguire, yea, and of the blood of O'Neill." Whereto I replied, and told him, "well bragged gentry," but wished him to know there was none in traitors' blood. To conclude, after many of his lewd and intemperate words to a man of my place, which I was content to put up (*sic*), regarding him unworthy, I demanded for the matter between him and O'Dwyre, wherein he brought me Her Majesty's letter, was not he tied in bands to abide the arbitrable order of Gerrott Comerford and John Everard, two gentlemen learned in the law? who could not deny such his submission. And then, for the peace, I told him that O'Dwyre in that presence should take his corporal oath that he should do no bodily harm to him or any of his, and withal I offered to give my word for it. Both which he nought regarded, and, time serving not to proceed in such private causes, the traitors being in the field, and O'Dwyre being Sheriff of the shire for this year, and a martial man (under correction) not meet to be further urged for further surety of the peace, having at this time manifested his duty by killing and apprehending some of Tyrone's men, standing constantly with Her Majesty's service in all this time of rebellion, I ended, and parted

1599.

1600.

from the gentleman of so great blood. Wherein, if the Archbishop shall seem to complain, either for want of justice, or that I should otherwise behave myself towards him than were becoming me, I humbly pray your Lordships to forbear to give credit, till my answer may be heard."

Speaks of "the miserable state of the poor corporate towns" in Kilkenny and Tipperary, much impoverished through the waste of the country, and the great sums due to them for the continual bearing of soldiers. The payment thereof would be a great relief to the inhabitants.—Cashel, 1599, March 3. *Signed.* *Endorsed* :—Received at London the 12th. pp. 2½.

Sir Robert Cecil has noted the following on the dorse of the letter :—
"Barry married my Lord Roche his sister. Donogh McCormack married Ed[mund] FitzGibbon's daughter, the White Knight. Derby McOwen married the Lord Roche his daughter. The White Knight's country called Clangibbon; Cosbridy, the [country of the] Earl of Desmond that now is."

March 3.
Cashel.

6. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I know you shall be acquainted with my general letters written at this time to the Lords, yet I would not but let you understand of the lewd and malapert behaviour of the Archbishop of Cashel towards me, standing in comparison for a companion with me, and for a subject equal with me, or a better, if any such were in Ireland; yea, and as good a subject as any in England or Ireland. I revered him in respect of his calling, but not of himself; and to tell you truth, being so much abused by him, in all my life I never used more patience, which was admired by Sir Oliver Lambert, and other the Captains and gentlemen that stood by. Haply he may write something of that which in speeches passed between us, but I know you will not be so easily carried as to give credit to that he may so write, before any answer shall be heard."

Refers to his general letter to the Privy Council. Begs Sir Robert to let the Archbishop know in a few lines, "how it may be taken at his hands to stand in such hateful terms of comparison" with Ormonde.—Cashel, 1599, March 3. *Signed.* *Endorsed* :—Received at London the 12th. p. 1.

March [3?]

7. "Articles against the town of Limerick."

Wine sent by the Mayor, on New Year's eve, 1599[-1600], to James FitzThomas and Piers Lacy, contrary to order. Captain Tyrrell desires the Mayor not to suffer any soldiers to enter Limerick, to strengthen the garrison there. Meeting of Sir Francis Barkley and other Captains with James FitzThomas, in October, 1599. The rebels affirm that they love the Limerick townsmen more than the English churls. The Mayor welcomes great numbers of the rebels into the city, and the latter revile the garrison. Strangers lodged in Limerick. The powder and munition of the city not gathered into its storehouse, but issued to the rebels. Disloyalty of William Stritch, the Mayor, who was young, and insufficient to discharge that place, and of his father, John Stritch,

1599.

1600.

in the latter's first Mayoralty. Opprobrious speech by Nicholas Comyn, one of the Aldermen, at a conference on 4 January, 1599[-1600]. Contention between Tibbott Burke, brother of Lord Burke, and Thomas Stritch, one of the Aldermen, and maltreatment of soldiers by the citizens. Arrest of Tibbott Burke sought for by the Mayor. Dispute as to jurisdiction in the city. The Mayor and townsmen vaunt that they assaulted the Constable of the castle of Limerick, "and cut off his head, and brought the same into the Island, and played at football with it." They brag likewise that they have executed a Lord Justice, and buried many Englishmen in their cellars. The Mayor refuses to cress the company of Captain Brooks. Gift of James Fitz Thomas, the Sugane Earl, to the Mayor. The townsmen "friends and well-willers of" Piers Lacy. Money obtained in the city for his men. Thirty pardons obtained by the townsmen for divers abuses and outrages. The Mayor refuses to supply means for bringing soldiers from Askeaton to Limerick, and to prevent the rebels, if distressed by Ormonde, from passing over the river of Limerick. "Sir Francis Barkley, having his dwelling near the rebels, received advertisements that one Archer, called by the traitors the Pope's legate, plainly affirmed that all the towns here would revolt at one instant, and cut all our throats, that be soldiers and servitors to Her Majesty. The Bishops, Jesuits, and priests, which are with the rebels, have excommunicated all those persons as shall give any assistance or aid to any soldier or servant of Her Majesty's here, or any other place within this kingdom, which maketh the townsmen not to come to aid and assist us at all, nor to come in our companies, but to abandon our presence. I have received advertisements from Sir Francis Barkley, the 25th of February, 1599[-1600], that there is (*sic*) continual messengers between the townsmen and the Archtraitor Tyrone."

Here follow "Articles of the abuses and undutiful dealings of the Mayor and chief citizens of Limerick, committed against the company of Captain Basil Brooks, being upon their guard in the church, usually held the 12th of November, 1599."

Certain witnesses "do all affirm that, the town boys being at play, called 'Fox to hole' in the church, where we usually held our guard, Charles Serny, one of the guard, went to play with them. And he, as the manner of the play is, strake one Maurice Case his servant with his glove, which he had hung in his girdle, whereat the said servant was angry, but said little. There was one Boundfield's man by, not having anything to do, but, as it should seem, only attending an opportunity, [who] took the matter in hand, and asking the soldier what he meant to strike the townsman in that sort; who answered he did but as the rest did; whereat Boundfield's man threw a stone at him. Then came Serjeant Nutter, being one of the guard, and asked the townsman what he meant, to fling the stone at the soldier, and why he played so rudely in the church so near the guard; who answered he might as well play there as all of them, to defile the church. The Serjeant asked him whom he meant. His answer was, 'all of them.' At which words the Serjeant took him by the arm, and thrust him out of the church, which he said he would go and tell the Mayor. The Serjeant said he would go with

1599.

1600.

him and went out after him; who no sooner came out of the church-yard, but this Boundfield's man took up dirt and stones, and threw at the Serjeant, and withal raised the cry, when presently came twenty with their swords and pikes, and laid at the Serjeant, who, in recovering the church stile, was stricken down, and had there been slain, had he not been presently rescued by some of the guard. And this was all the cause given them, for which they sought to cut all their throats, as shall appear by the articles following."

Here follow particulars of the riot, and of the attack on the soldiers in the church, with a list of the wounded soldiers. The names of witnesses are put in the margin of the articles. The whole are signed by the Earl of Thomond and Captain Basil Brooks. Then follow similar particulars of the "murdering and abusing of the company of Captain Thomas Browne" by the said townsmen of Limerick, when Mr. Gromell was Mayor in 1599, the whole signed by Captain Browne.

Endorsed:—1599. Received at Richmond the 16th of March. pp. 13½.

March 4.
Cork.

8. The Commissioners of Munster to the Privy Council. Tyrone and his confederates continued for some space in Lord Roche's country, where they did little or no harm, only taking some horse-meat. While there, they sent horse and foot to Lord Barry's country, and fetched a prey of 1,000 cows, besides a great number of garrans and other cattle. Whence it seems that Lord Roche has in some sort patched with them, and impaired his loyalty. After his departure thence, Tyrone came over the Broad Water, and drew towards Lord Barry's country. John Barry, brother to his Lordship, went to Tyrone and persuaded him not to go into the country. Tyrone said he would not until his return, and so drew back towards Muskerry, and encamped within less than a mile of Blarney, the castle of Cormack McDermody, Lord of Muskerry. The eldest son of Teig, Cormack's brother, was delivered to Tyrone as a pledge, without Cormack's consent, the latter being in Cork at the time, and having both his sons there. Have, nevertheless, thought good to stay Cormack until Tyrone's departure. After coming into Muskerry, Tyrone, notwithstanding his former promise, finding some occasion to pick a quarrel with John Barry, to cause him to forsake their camp (which he did), unexpectedly turned back, and marched, within sight of Cork, into Lord Barry's country, where he remained six or seven days, preying, spoiling and burning. Loyalty of Lord Barry. After leaving his country, Tyrone returned again into the borders of Muskerry. For fourteen days continually, he was within four or five miles of Cork.

"Upon Saturday last, being the first of this instant, we, having received intelligence that certain of the traitors were dispersed from their camp, on the south side of this city, preying and spoiling in those parts of the country, sallied forth with the few horse we had here, and by good hap met with a troop of some five and forty horse, and sixteen foot of theirs, we being, one with another, some fifty horse. Whom having charged, it pleased God that there was slain Maguire, his foster father, and some four or five and thirty others, with his eldest son sore hurt. In token whereof we got

1599.

1600.

their cornet; all without any loss of our side, but only Sir Warham Sentleger, grievously hurt with a staff in the head, so as we are in doubt of his escape."

On Saturday, Florence McCarthy came unto Tyrone; whereupon they are now with their whole forces gone towards Kinsale; to what end they cannot yet certainly learn. As formerly they wrote, they were constrained to make bold with 1,000*l.* of the 2,000*l.* directed to be reserved until the Lord President's coming. Have since been enforced to issue the other 1,000*l.*, chiefly for the garrisons at Kilmallock and Mallow, which places cannot be victualled without ready money. Yesterday, March 3, there arrived from Dublin a ship with the winter clothes for the army in Munster.

"Sithence the writing hereof, it hath pleased God to call unto His mercy Sir Warham Sentleger."—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 4. *Signed. Sealed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond, the 15th of March. pp. 2.

March 4.
Cork.

9. Sir Henry Power to the Privy Council. Tyrone's stay in Lord Roche's country, "the common report being that he temporized with him, the which as yet I believe, because he will not repair hither to clear himself of some objections laid against him by certain of the country, tending to that purpose." On February 18, Tyrone passed the Blackwater, not being able before to do it, by reason of the height thereof, and marched presently towards Cork, about which, sometimes within two miles and sometimes three or four miles off, he lodged until this day. By letters and menaces, he sought all the means he could to draw the gentlemen, who are subjects, into his faction, especially Lord Barry. Finding him resolutely bent to continue his allegiance, Tyrone burned, killed, and spoiled in his country, and, by an unknown passage, passed men into Lord Barry's Island, which he burned. If a certain ford had been defended, they could not have got in. Has secured the ford. Some have given pledges to Tyrone, for he has not used that violent course towards them, which he has towards Lord Barry, Charles McCarthy and some others. Commends the behaviour of Lord Barry.

After Tyrone had used "most extreme tyranny" towards his Lordship, he marched by this town and lodged at Carrigrohan, one mile distant from hence, where Maguire passing with the horsemen to spoil and burn the country, he himself afterwards passed, and encamped fast by the river side, the country burning. With such horse as I had, I went to see what countenance the rebels bore, thinking to get up some stragglers, to whose second Maguire stood with a gross of 45 horse and 16 shot, upon whom my fortune was to happen. With me was Sir Warham Sentleger, whom hardly I drew to consent to the charging of them; but in the end I put towards them, and then the residue followed me; which Maguire perceiving, prepared himself for the encounter. At the first his shot did us some harm, and amongst the rest killed one of my best horses with a bullet in the head. They being dispersed, I joined with the horse, and after

1599.

1600.

some conflict overthrew them. There were 32 of his horsemen slain, amongst whom Maguire made one, his foster-father, his priest, all the commanders of his regiment, and five or six of Tyrone's principal gentlemen died with him. I had one blow at his eldest son with my staff, leaving the head of it buried in him, and him for dead, but since brought into their camp alive, but not likely to be recovered. And the better to make the overthrow manifest, I gained his cornet, a very fair one, and set it on the top of my castle, somewhat distant from the town, in the view of their camp. I left to pursue them any farther, the approaching of the night and the nearness of their camp forbidding me. Of us they hurt not many, only Sir Warham Senteleger with a blow of staff dangerously through the skull; myself, a blow on the head with a sword, and a push into the arm with a staff, but both of them faintly given, and not much hurtful. Thus this ancient traitor to Her Majesty ended his days, having prosperously continued these sixteen years, and being the means of drawing the rest into action, who ever before vaunted of his giving blows.

"This day they are passing farther up into the country. Florence McCarthy is come unto Tyrone, but by his letter assureth us of his loyalty. If he prove false, they will endanger Kinsale, all the town being for the most part of his alliance; but he has protested much, and as yet hath given us no cause to think him dishonest."

Hopes, when he writes in his next of Tyrone's further proceedings, to give their Lordships to understand that the Earl has not found or carried all things as he hoped for. "The Earl of Ormonde is drawn to meet him upon the borders of this province, but by his course taking it should rather seem he will pass over the Shannon, and so through the Earl of Thomond's country, being thereunto aided by certain galleys and boats brought thither for that purpose: which to prevent there shall be no want of good will in us."—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 4. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed* :—Received at Richmond the 15 of March. pp. 2.

March 4.
Waterford.

10. Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being imbarred to go to Dublin by land, by reason that the highways are held by the rebels, and especially near Laghlin and Catherlagh, and missing any passage by sea at Waterford, I was fain to ride toward Wexford, where I remained some 12 days, detained by contrary winds. From thence have I advertised the Lords Justices of the state of Munster and Leinster, and how much the people were seduced by the late libel or letter sent by Tyrone to the inhabitants of the English Pale, and how meet it were to be answered in their names, with the privacy of the Council. And, albeit I took as great care as might be that my letters should not be intercepted, by hiding of those, and causing them to be sewn in his old 'truisse' [trews], which, for the raggedness thereof, none would covet, and by leaving other letters of private matters and of less moment more openly, yet have I heard nothing, neither of them nor of the messenger; those having been sent away more than a month since, whereby I doubt very much of his miscarriage. And therefore have I made bold to acquaint your Honour with some parts

1599.

1600.

thereof, material in mine opinion to be made known. I have, among other things, advertised their Lordships of a letter received by me from a gentleman of the county of Wexford, a student of the laws and of good credit, discovering a conference had by him with that viperous traitor, James Archer, whom they call Father Archer. The original letter I sent to the Lords Justices, and herewith I do transmit a copy thereof, which I then reserved for myself [*wanting, but see No. 136 of Vol. CCVII., part 1*]. I do since understand from some of the Englishry born in this land, who have for a time accompanied the rebels of the Irishry, that they have in Leinster, at the Garkhill near Laghlin, brought forth their Irish books, importing what lands the several stirps of the Irishry have had before the conquest, and leaving the charge and expenses thereof unto them, and because they have disclosed their purposes, if they might prevail, to exclude all the ancient English gentlemen from their possessions, [*? and*] those [*that*] have forsaken them, and submitted themselves to her Majesty's clemency.

"I do also herewith send unto your Honour a true copy of a summons sent by Tyrone and the supposed Desmond to the Lord Barry, together with the like of their clergy, threatening excommunication from the Pope to all that will not join with them, whereby their wicked devices may be deciphered. And, albeit the Lord Barry and some other Lords and chief gentlemen of Munster do continue for Her Highness against those wicked rebels, yet, inasmuch as most of their followers are risen, and [*have*] taken arms with them, I hold it, under your Honour's reformation, very necessary that the President appointed for Munster be hastened over, as also the other forces to be sent to the rest of the parts of this kingdom, with store of victuals, the lack whereof is like enough to be a great help (*sic*) to the overthrow of the rebels." Prays God to "beat down these cursed caterpillars, to the comfort of all Her Majesty's faithful subjects, who now are called out and most hatefully prosecuted by those miscreants." Sends copy of a letter from [*John*] Lord Power to the Earl of Ormonde, containing intelligence regarding Tyrone and the rebels of Munster.—Waterford, 1599 [-1600], March 4. *Signed. Seals. Endorsed*:—Received at London, the 12th. pp. 1½.

Encloses :—

10. i. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* [*"O'Neill"*] and *James* [*Fitz Thomas, Earl of*] *Desmond* to [*David, Viscount Buttevant*], *Lord Barry*. See original in No. 123, i. of Vol. CCVII., part 1.—*Tipperary*, 1599 [-1600], *February 13*. *Copy*. p. ½.
10. ii. *Dermot*, [*Papal*] *Bishop of Cork*, and *Eugenius Hoganus*, *Vicar Apostolic*, to [*David, Viscount Buttevant*], *Lord Barry*. See original in No. 123, ii. of Vol. CCVII., part 1.—*The Catholic camp*, 1599 [-1600], *February 14* ("*12*" in the original referred to). *Copy* [the name of the Bishop is erroneously given as, "*Dionisius Dorenc. Epus.*"] p. ½.
10. iii. [*John*], *Lord Power*, to the *Earl of Ormonde*. "*Those which, according your Honour's direction, I have sent to bring intelligence of the doings of Tyrone and the supposed Earl of Desmond, are this night returned, and do certify that my Lord*

1599.

1600.

Barry's great Island is taken, all his country between that and Imokilly both burned and spoiled, [and] all the castles taken saving three, Barry's Court, Castellyan, and Bealwelley; my Lord's corn and houses there were burned to the gates. They marched therehence (sic) towards Muskerry. Teig McDermody, Cormack's brother, went to them with the most part of the followers of Muskerry, and offered his own son, and three of the best men of the country, as hostages, which Tyrone received; and, understanding that Cormack McDermody did repair to Cork, sent these hostages back, and is now taking the spoil of that country. Finnin [Florence] is made McCarthy More by the followers of the Earl of Clancarty's country, as in right of of his wife, and the bastard Daniel is come to Tyrone's camp. Derby McConnor is come from Finnin to Tyrone with some 200 men, and his brother Carby remains with Finnin still. Tyrone agreed between Derby McConnor and James Fitz Thomas, and the barony of Inchiquin in Imokilly is given him [for] 31 years, he to maintain 700 men there between Cork and Youghal. If your Lordship will have me send to get more intelligence, let me receive further direction."—Curraghmore, 1599[-1600], March 1.

[Postscript.] "*Tyrone's daughter and O'Melan's wife are in the camp, earnest suitors to Tyrone to draw all his forces to this country.*" *Unsigned.* p. 1.

March 4.
Cork.

11. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. The proceedings of Tyrone. His spoiling of Lord Barry's country. His return to Muskerry, and encamping by "the river of Lye, which runs by Cork." Spoiling by Maguire. Defeat of Maguire by Sir Henry Power.

Maguire "made directly towards Sir Warham [Sentleger], who then was singled from the rest of his company, with one or two men, and upon the encounter (knowing one another, as it is thought), Sir Warham sped Maguire with his petronel charged with two bullets, and he sped Sir Warham in the head with his lance, and so they departed. Some of the rest of the enemy were fain to light, and betake themselves to the bog. Maguire's colours were then lost, and some of his horses, and so, the night approaching, Sir Warham being sore hurt, and (sic) the rest of his troop aforesaid retreated towards the city, where all the citizens were in armour at the port of the city, ready to succour them, if there were any pursuit. The next day we had very certain intelligence that Maguire and his base son and others were slain, and lay dead in the field all night, not far from the place of the skirmish. Tyrone, upon notice of the skirmish, assaying with more horse to come over the river to second Maguire, his horse[s] legs failed with the force of the river, and so [he] was in great peril of drowning, and was fain to retire for that time. The next day, being Sunday, the second of March, he passed over and found the bodies of Maguire and one or two more, which he took away with him. The third of March, the camp removed over the river, and made towards Kinsale, Tyrone being accompanied with Florence

1599.
1600.

McCarthy, who is joined with him (as I have formerly advertised), and is greatly allied at Kinsale. I pray God preserve the poor town from their villainy. There are there in garrison some two companies of foot, and they have one great brass piece of ordnance, which might greatly annoy, if it came to the enemy's hands.

"Cormack McDermod, inheritor of Muskerry, and his two eldest sons are here in this city, but I hear that his brother Teig and most of that country are joined with the enemy. I am of opinion that the gentlemen and freeholders of Desmond, having first joined with Florence against Donnell McCarthy, will now join with him and the rest of the rebels. This much I thought fit to signify in all haste to your Lordships, having no other passage than a French ship bound for St. Malo. The bearer can satisfy your Honours touching such other particulars as concerneth these parts. It is reported that Tyrone will remain in Munster till May, and that he expects some foreign assistance."

Begs their Lordships to afford some favourable dispatch to the agents of Cork long resident in London.—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 4, *Holograph.* pp. 2.

March 5.
Dublin.

12. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. Commends the bearer, Captain Clare, Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment. The disloyal dealing of the citizens of Limerick. The bearer best acquainted with their doings. Sent heretofore a book of articles against the citizens. Hopes it has come to Sir Robert's hands. Would have sent another now, but that he stays for the Lord President's going to Munster. Would have written oftener, but that there were no means to send, the ways and passages were so dangerous. His indebtness to Sir Robert. Has kept his poor country hitherto in good quietness, so that it is one of the quietest now in Ireland.

"As for the gentleman that is nominated my brother, who hath been in action against Her Majesty, I have committed him to the gaol in Limerick, to be disposed of as shall please your Honour, either to go for England, or to remain here in prison."—Dublin, 1600, March 5. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 5.
Cork.

13. William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Sir Robert Cecil. Endeavoured to send the enclosed (*wanting*) by Mr. Watson, but he was under sail before the messenger arrived. Proceedings of Tyrone in Munster. He passed within musket shot of the gates of Cork, "but not one shot discharged at them, save that Sir Henry Power from Shandon Castle sent forth some loose shot, and slew of them. There was a culverin with two other pieces, which would have reached much farther than the enemy, as he passed along the side of the hill, which were upon their carriages charged; but the Mayor would not suffer one shot to be made. He was not willing, neither durst he hurt the Catholic army, neither would he suffer the English in the city to go forth to Sir Henry Power. And a town Captain being willing to skirmish with the rebels with an hundred of voluntary townsmen, having Shandon Castle to succour,

1599.
1600.

where Sir Henry Power was, the Mayor denied him. The Commissioners were eye witnesses hereto. I leave the consideration to your Honour. So the traitor went with his whole army into the Lord Barry's country and Imokilly adjoining, where John FitzEdmond dwells, burning and spoiling six days together, and namely the Great Island (an Island of the Lord Barry's well known to Sir Walter Raleigh), wherein were cattle great store, and the greater part of the goods of the country round about."

Supposed agreement between Tyrone and Muskerry, Cormack McDermod's country. "On Saturday last being the first of this month, Maguire with others were sent by Tyrone into Kirriwhiry (the seignory of old Sir Warham Sentleger) to burn and spoil." His defeat. Encounter between Maguire and Sir Warham. Death of both. Loss of the rebels. Maguire "died that night under a bush, and is gone to his place." Florence McCarthy is joined with O'Neill, to whom he surrendered his patent and all his right, and yielded to hold the country of him. This was done in his camp last Monday, March 3, and a gentleman of good account and credit informed the Council thereof. Tyrone then removed with his camp westward, within two miles of Kinsale, where he now is. What course he will take is not yet certainly known. "It is thought he will not leave this province as yet, for, by his being here, he spareth his country in the north (I say in the north, for that he reckons all the land his own: he hath taken a great view of this river). Now is the time for sowing of corn in the north. But where he cometh he maketh great wastness. He hath not attempted any castles or holds as yet in the province."—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 5. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

March [6]. **14.** Letters Patent appointing Sir George Carew, President of
Dublin. Munster.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March [6]. *Copy. pp. 2½.*

March [6]. **15.** Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. The great
Richmond. sum spent on extraordinaries under the government of the Earl of Essex. Allowance made to Mountjoy of 4,000*l.* yearly for that purpose. If sufficient cause be shewn, will be pleased to yield to a further sum. As correspondency will be difficult with Munster, Lough Foyle, and Ballyshannon, Mountjoy is to give a general warrant to the Treasurer at Wars, and to his deputies in those places, to issue monies for extraordinaries within such limits as Mountjoy thinks fit. For the rest of the provinces, the concordatums to be made as usual.—The Court at Richmond, 1599[-1600], March [6]. *Copy. pp. 1½.*

March 6. **16.** Richard Madan, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir Robert Cecil.
Waterford. The extraordinary charges of the city by reason of the rebellion. Her Majesty's former graces to them. Her gift, some years ago, of a culverin, "which shall never be forgotten by us." Beg Sir Robert to obtain them another, which Her Majesty is inclined to

1599.

1600.

bestow, as the bearer, Nicholas Wise, their agent, can relate.—Waterford, 1599[-1600], March 6. *Sir Robert's secretary has endorsed the letter erroneously, "10 March, 1600." Holograph. p. 1.*

March 7.
Dublin.

17. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer [*from the endorsement*, Captain Edmund Fitzgerald], who has received letters of commendation from the Council in Ireland.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 7. *Sir Robert's secretary has endorsed the letter erroneously, "6th of March '99." Signed. p. ½.*

March 7.
Cork.

18. The Commissioners of Munster to Sir Robert Cecil. Since their letters of the 4th instant, Tyrone is returned towards Lord Roche's country, "and, as we are informed, hasteneth homewards, having before his departure made Florence McCarthy Governor of this province, and given him the title of McCarthy More, who is now also parted from Tyrone." The Chief Justice [William Saxey] made suit unto them for license to repair into England. This some of them thought could be granted, but, on further consideration, by reason of Sir Warham Sentleger's death, they utterly denied his request. Notwithstanding he has gone over. Pray Sir Robert to hasten his return, or to send some other in his stead, that the ordinary course of justice may not be hindered.—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 7. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

March 7.
Barry Court.

19. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. Since the writing of his last letters, the archtraitor Tyrone and the rest of his accomplices have dealt extremely and cruelly with him and his followers, and tenants. No house or rick of corn has been left in all his country. All the cattle and beasts have been preyed or killed. Some of the tenants have been murdered. The bearer will give further particulars. Means shortly to visit Sir Robert, and hopes to see him as soon as the bearer, but is staying chiefly for the Earl of Ormonde's coming, to yield his best assistance against the traitors, and that he may carry a report of Ormonde's success.—Barry Court, 1599[-1600], March 7. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 19th. p. 1.*

March 7.
Waterford.

20. Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to Sir Robert Cecil. Encloses copy he has received of a letter from Tyrone and the supposed Earl of Desmond to Lord Roche, whereby (as in the rest) their most traitorous intentions are manifested. "Those rebels, before the writing hereof, are removed westward toward Muskerry in the county of Cork, which is a very wooded country, through fear (as may be thought) of Her Majesty's forces under the Earl of Ormonde, who, with the Earl of Thomond, is drawing toward them with a strong army."—Waterford, 1599[-1600], March 7.

[*Postscript.*] "The rebels have done nothing memorable in Munster since the coming of Tyrone thither, saving the taking of

1599.

1600.

some preys and burning some villages belonging to those that refused to adhere unto them. And by that time Her Majesty's forces shall play their parts, I make myself sure the rebels of Munster shall be not only otherwise weakened, but also like to starve this next summer for want of food."

*Holograph. Endorsed:—*Received at London the 12th. p. 1.

Encloses:—

20. i. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* ["O'Neill"], and *James [FitzThomas, Earl of] Desmond*, to *Lord Roche*. "Let it be known unto you that the Lord Bishop, the clergy, and the Earl of Desmond and we came near you hither, and that we are all of one resolution and mind to entreat you to take our parts in the behalf of God, and for our conscience and country sake, to appear presently before us, to yield us sufficient security, as you ought, henceforward to be at our counsel and direction; and we will likewise secure you to spence (sic) with you henceforward as becometh. And if you do not so, in respect we intend to erect the Catholic religion, and exalt the general good of this realm of Ireland, with God's furtherance, we and all our partakers will labour against you, if you adhere not unto us. At Glamuyerie, this certain day to perform our wills, in Muskerricurke, the 21 of February, 1600." Signed. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

20. ii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* ["O'Neill"], and *James [FitzThomas, Earl of] Desmond*, to *[David, Viscount Buttevant]*, *Lord Barry*. See above No. 10. i. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

20. iii. *Dermot*, [Papal] *Bishop of Cork*, and *Eugenius Hoganus*, *Vicar Apostolic*, to *[David, Viscount Buttevant]*, *Lord Barry*. See above No. 10. ii. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

20. iv. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* ["O'Neill"], and *James [FitzThomas, Earl of] Desmond*, to *Lord Roche*. Another copy of No. 20. i. above. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

20. v. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* ["O'Neill"], and *James [FitzThomas, Earl of] Desmond*, to *Cormack McDermot*. Similar letter to No. 20. ii. above. Arlow, 1599 [-1600], February 13. Signed. Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[March 7.] 21. Another copy of the enclosures to the preceding letter, and also of a letter from Tyrone and Desmond to John FitzEdmund, for which see enclosure to No. 131 of Vol. CCVII. part 1. pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

March 7.
Youghal.

22. [Sir John Dowdall] to the Privy Council. "I am assured that your Honours have advertisements from the Commissioners of this province [of] the whole course of the proceedings of the traitor Tyrone, of his forces, by whom he is favoured, and what they were that he burnt, the killing of Maguire, the death of Sir Warham Sentleger, and the dealings of Florence McCarthy.

"For that I assure myself the Commissioners know not the estate of my Lord General Ormonde, I thought it my duty to signify unto your Honours so much as I know. These 14 days my Lord of Ormonde hath been drawing forces to the borders of Cashel and

1599.

1600.

Clonmell, and on Monday last, the 3 of March, his Lordship came in person to Cashel, accompanied upon the towns of that frontier with 3,000 English foot and 300 horse. Foot of all sorts, 5,000, and 300 horse.

“The traitor Tyrone, removing himself from the borders of this town to the westwards of Cork, I presently sent out of this garrison 150 shot and 50 armed pikes, complete by poll, of 350 resident here; so your Honours may note that assistance goes to him from all parts, where the passage is clear, either by day or night. This traitor with his confederates must pass back the same way he came, by reason of two rivers, the one the Shannon, by Killaloe upon the said river, and the other, Gouldinge bridge upon the river of Shoewer [Suir], which two places are distant 16 miles. To the north, westwards, is the strong country, Kylquige; joining to that is McBrynaryes country, and McBrinagownagh’s country. Joining to Gouldinge is O’Dyre’s country.

“All these countries are sunken with bogs and woods, and the passages are very strait passes, and fords up to the saddle skirts in sundry places within a mile, which is very hard and difficult for an army to pass. I do hear surely that my Lord of Ormonde hath plashed and trenched all those passages, and strengthened them with men, upon which advantage he purposeth to fight with these rebels. If he do, by the assistance of God (who putteth them into his hands), he shall make them repent that ever they came into these parts. The traitors are in number 7,000 foot and 500 horse, good and bad. They are greatly dismayed by some sickness among them, the death of Maguire, and a bruit among them that O’Donnell is slain in Connaught; so they curse Tyrone that ever they came out of their country.

“This present day, being the 7th of this month, the traitor’s army passed the river of Youghal, called Blackwater, at the fords of Formoye and Hyde’s Castle, into Cundon’s country, and so into Edmund McGibbon’s country, called the White Knight; which way leads to Tipperary and the Holy Cross, where my Lord of Ormonde now lieth. If they make no stay, within these four days there is no doubt the two armies will meet, to the advancement of God’s glory and Her Majesty’s honour, for the time and place of their retreat offers no other but their overthrows; doubting nothing but the Commanders of this province will draw a head of all the forces out of their garrisons, which will be (with their assured assistances) 2,000 foot and 200 horse, to follow them upon the rear.

“This incursion of the northern traitors hath done the Queen more service than hurt. The reason is, that they have wasted and spoiled such as her Majesty’s forces could not do with honour, for that they were not in open action; yet did the enemy daily command their goods and cattle for their victualling. If it shall please your Honours to give instructions to the Deputy and Commanders here, as the traitors have wasted by fire and sword all such as were under her Majesty’s obedience, so likewise that without favour or respect, that like waste be made by Her Majesty’s forces upon all traitors and temporising subjects, and all the goods of such subjects as cannot defend themselves under the strength of towns and castles. And wheresoever an enemy shall be taken to eat meat by violence upon

1599.

1600.

a subject, that subject shall presently remove or be wasted by the forces. This being truly executed, a famine must needs ensue, as is well known by former examples. Then the rebellious rout must of force starve in a short time, and Her Majesty's forces [be] strengthened in their several garrisons by victuals out of England. So shall those garrisons consume the whole kingdom in a very short time, except such as are under their protections and sure defence, taking none of them to mercy or protection; for the more they are in number, the sooner they will starve.

"To make these wars short, is not only (*sic*) to raise great forces, but to force famine by all means possible, which is easy to be done as aforesaid. And where they begin to quail in all parts, then may the garrisons be drawn to a head to make incursions into the north, by land and sea, in time of harvest; and the more the enemy is forced to keep together in great numbers, they shall be the cause of their own ruins and waste. When the plough and breeding of cattle shall cease, then will the rebellion end."—Youghal, 1599[-1600], March 7. *The signature has been mostly torn away, but appears to end in "—all," and is probably that of Sir John Dowdall, one of the Captains in Munster. pp. 2.*

March 8.

23. "A project for suppressing the rebellion of Ireland."

"My first project is for the surprising or destroying of the usurping traitor of Desmond his creaght, for the surprising of them after I once know in what places they are kept, and in what manner they are driven and fed. I will propound unto the Lord President such means as shall appear possible, and very probable for the destroying of them as they pass, or where they feed and water. I have secret experience for that purpose. [*Sir Robert Cecil has struck out this paragraph, and written on the margin:—"I like no such barbarism."*]

"The second project is for the surprising or in (*sic*) executing of the persons of James Fitz Thomas and John Fitz Thomas his brother; in the which resolutely I offer to hazard my life by any draft or practice that shall be approved by the Lord President. [*There is no marginal note to this.*]

"The third project is for dividing of his troops, by distracting his forces and driving his followers from him. The White Knight his son, Maurice McGibbon, is of my familiar acquaintance, and [we] were comrades in the Low Countries; whose nature and disposition is inwardly known unto me. I doubt not but by his means, and such others of my acquaintance amongst the followers of James Fitz Thomas, but to effect something of consequence for Her Majesty's service.

"The fourth project is secretly to fire his provision or magazine of powder at such convenient time as the Lord President shall think good.

"There be many advantages of great importance that to the eye of a discerning soldier will be presented, the which I will faithfully put in execution as the Lord President shall command. For the better execution of these services, if it may be so thought convenient, I do desire to have some 15 or 20 persons of Irish and English, such

1599.

1600.

as I shall find in this country, unto whose resolution and secrecy I may give confidence." *Endorsed* :—1599-[1600], March 8. *Unsigned*. p. 1.

March 9.
[Dublin.]

24. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Arrival of Sir Samuel Bagenall from his government of Newry, to inform Mountjoy of his services, and to what forwardness other matters of special consequence were brought, and how with assistance they would very shortly be perfected. Told Sir Samuel of the Queen's command that none were to be retained but those having the entertainment of a Colonel, and that the list could not be increased. Encloses a report by Sir Samuel of his services. General voice in his favour of those of best judgment in Ireland. Cannot assist him, or any other that shall deserve extraordinarily, but by making their services known to their Lordships. Begs that, till some Colonel's place may fall, Sir Samuel may have some entertainment for the government of Newry, which he thinks it very necessary to continue in his charge. Encloses also a note of the confederates of Glasney McOughley, who has been already with Mountjoy, and undertakes to bring them in.—[Dublin], 1599[-1600], March 9. *Signed*. p. 1.

Encloses :—

24. i. "*A just and true account of the service done by the garrison of the Newry, since I had commission for the command of the forces in the province of Ulster, the same beginning the 28th of September, 1599.*"

On November 7, prey of cows and garrans taken from Tirlogh McHenry, killed one of his men called "a dorgan, who was amongst them of good account." Others hurt and slain, but none on Sir Samuel's side. Guided by Edmund Groome.

On November 16, 40 horse and 200 foot sent into Iveagh. Burnt divers towns. Killed some people. Took one of Magennis's horsemen, "one of good reckoning, and of their best men, as appeared by his wounds when he was taken."

On November 28, prey of cows and garrans taken from O'Hanlon. Had neither man nor horse killed or hurt. Guided by Hugh O'Hanlon, one of Phelim O'Hanlon's sons.

"I have divers times sent out soldiers with my thieves, who have at several times bought in a thousand head of cattle, mares, and garrans. They have killed and burned, so that none of our bordering neighbours durst dwell near us by 12 or 15 miles, except Tyrone's force were to defend them; which services were done in his former journey, before the truce made betwixt the Earl of Ormonde and him, Henry Oge McShane being then left to defend the bordering countries against this garrison."

Messages from, and conference with, Glasney McOughley, who agreed to serve Her Majesty. This he has reasonably performed. Conference "with divers of good quality, that are grown weary of Tyrone's tyrannies, and are desirous to become subjects."

At Tyrone's going Munsterward, he left his brother Cormack to "attend" the garrison of Newry. Cormack has ever lain within five or six miles of the same, but with no great force;

1599.

1600.

"yet so it weakened Tyrone, that he was not able to carry with him above 1,500 foot and 150 horse by the head: whereupon I will lay my life, howsoever opinion may make him five, six, or seven thousand men."

In January he had intelligence that Magennis lay in camp with his people at a place called Lough Admghan (sic), some three miles from Cormack, "whither I went, and at the break of day burnt their houses, which they call their camp, cut some of his best men's throats, made most of that multitude leave their arms and clothes; yet men, women, and children were burnt in their houses. We took from there ten or twelve horses and hackneys, Magennis's own horses being burnt with their guard and keepers, which were to the number of fifteen, furnished with the Spanish harquebusses that came to Calbeg. This made him remove from thence some ten miles to his strengthward, and Cormack from the Glins, where he encamped, to Mulloughbane, which is Tyrone's camping place betwixt this town and Dundalk."

On "the 28th of this present February," a leader of Magennis's shot came to McOughley, and assured him, if he could get force, he would bring him on Magennis's camp. Sir Samuel conferred with the man, and, upon good pledges, undertook the journey. Successful attack on the camp, and heavy loss of the enemy. "Took 15 or 16 horses and hackneys, burnt divers towns, some people, and brought from thence 1,000 head of cattle."

If he has left anything undone, prays to be excused, by reason of the continued sickness he has borne since the departure of Essex.—[1599-1600, February.] Signed. pp. 2.

24. ii. *"The confederates of Glasney McOughley."*—[1599-1600, March.] p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

March 9.
Dublin.

25. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Is very sorry Her Majesty will not give him leave to go to England, to deliver the project he has long considered for the advancement of her service. She rather commands him to deliver to Sir Robert "a taste of this project," by writing, or by some confident person well instructed. Cannot well express his full meaning, nor answer all objections, by letters. Has sent Edward Hayes, with whom he has had many conferences about this matter. Hayes is sworn not to discover anything thereof to any living creature but Sir Robert. If Her Majesty be pleased to embrace this public good, hopes that no other may enjoy the fruits of his travail.

"I see by experience that these Irish wars do exhaust the treasure of England, that the state of England doth even groan under the burden thereof, that we expend faster here than you can gather it in in England; and, that which is worst of all, I see by proof that Her Majesty's exceeding great charge doth enrich the rebels, and enable them to continue a war against her."

Begs Sir Robert to "take some taste" of his project, by which Her Majesty will gain in one year 150,000*l.*, and make the rebels unable to continue any long war, and answer Her Majesty 1,000*l.*

1599.

1600.

per annum out of the exchange during the time of the wars. Sends the project by the bearer. The sooner Her Majesty enters into this business, the sooner will her profit grow.—“From my house by Dublin,” 1600, March 9. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

March 9.
Dublin.

26. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, Captain [T.] Jackson, who has been discharged of his company for a fault committed by his lieutenant. Jackson is “an experienced Captain in the wars,” and desires to justify himself.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 9. *Holograph.* p. 1.

[March 9.]

27. Account by Captain T. Jackson of the deceit of his lieutenant with regard to the musters. Other charges against the lieutenant. Character of the chief informers against Captain Jackson.—[1599-1600, March 9.] *Signed.* p. 1.

March 11.
Dublin.

28. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “Sir, I thank God hitherto I have no such disaster happened in my government as to be driven to mark the first face of my letter with so ill news as you have been accustomed to receive from this kingdom ; and therefore I will first show you my hopes, and no more of my fears than do more concern the estate than me.

“I have assuredly informed myself that Tyrone passed these parts with an army of some fifteen hundred horse and foot, compounded of such a sort of people in appearance, as, except they have the virtue of some secret charm with them, might, for anything I can conceive, have been with great advantage encountered by so many of the worst men the Queen hath here in pay. And now he is in Munster, with an army of some four thousand in reputation, attended by the Queen’s army under the Earl of Ormonde, consisting of three thousand heads and three hundred horse. From my Lord of Ormonde I have received no particular intelligence since I came, but, by some Captains of good judgment that came from the army, I have learned thus much of ours and the enemy’s strength, though I hear nothing of either of their counsels, how they determine to use it. Although the Queen’s forces in these parts be but now the dregs of the army (my Lord of Ormonde having called out the best of every company), yet out of them I am able to draw fifteen hundred foot and very near three hundred horse, to make head against Tyrone’s return by these parts ; with the which, though the Earl of Ormonde should not come up close with him in his rear, I would not doubt, by God’s grace, but either to make him quit his carriages, which they say are many, and to steal away, or else to give him a greater blow. But, Sir, I beseech you, consider how this occasion is taken out of my hands by the directions I received (and determine to obey) when I was in England. Out of this 1,500 foot, I must presently draw 1,000 to send for Lough Foyle, and, whatsoever may happen here, leave all these parts naked unto him in his return, and to his mercy, for anything I know, except

1599.

1900.

my Lord of Ormonde do follow him more close than I fear me he will. For I dare draw these forces no farther from this place than I may in one day send them back to be shipped, as soon as the ships we find here can be made ready, or that the wind shall serve. But if I had been left to my discretion, as I should have found cause to proceed here, I would now have sent away all the munition and treasure appointed for Lough Foyle to Knockfergus, with 200 old soldiers, and appointed Sir Henry Dockwra to have taken out 500 old soldiers more from thence, and to have left so many more new men in their places, and with the full number of men, munition, and treasure, appointed for Lough Foyle, to have gone presently, and to plant in that place, which they might better do with so many in Tyrone's absence, than with the number added unto it that is appointed for Ballyshannon. I would have attended Tyrone's return with great advantage, as we are never likely to find him again at the like; and, if by any shameful evasion he has escaped me, I would have followed him into the north, where I assure you, Sir, an army will make the greatest part of his strength to quit him. For in general I receive overtures from many inclined to a defection from him upon the plantation of Lough Foyle, and some such prosecution in these parts, as may give them appearance to be defended, if they become good subjects. But they attend the issue of Tyrone's journey, and this first appearance of the war that is likely to be made against them will utterly confirm them and draw out others, or assure the doubtful to become good subjects, and make all the rest hearken after mercy. Neither should my keeping this army together have omitted the plantation of Ballyshannon, but by it sought out some opportunity to have planted in that place with more safety. For as I ever held the fortune of that garrison to be exceeding hard by the way and means they are appointed to go, so I do continually see more reason to be fearful of it. But I will follow the directions I have received, and make the best of the worst that can happen here; and if whatsoever concerns my part for this dispatch of Lough Foyle were performed, I would, as soon as I might, put myself in the head of the army my Lord of Ormonde now hath, and draw them towards the north, and do the Queen there the best service I could.

"But I pray, Sir, be a means to Her Majesty to send sufficient treasure to pay her army in my time their weekly lendings in no worse sort than they were in my Lord of Essex['s] time; for otherwise I shall be able to do nothing with them, nor to keep them in any order. For you cannot believe into what a confusion and disorder their slack payment since his departure hath put them all; and believe this to be so material a point, as, if it be not redressed, I dare boldly say that the Queen will lose her whole charge that she is at in this kingdom. The particular reasons whereof, and many circumstances which would make it plainly appear unto you, I protest at this time I am not able for want of time to write; and therefore I pray, Sir, let me be pardoned, if I omit to give an account of many things which might be required of me, being even oppressed with the burden I sustain, that, in the government of such a kingdom and of such an army, have so little assistance, that, if I missed the

1599.

1600.

President of Munster, I protest I know no assistance of any value that I received from any other; for neither the Marshal nor Sir Francis Stafford are here, nor any one hath arrived in these parts since my coming. Wherefore I pray, Sir, let the President of Munster be excused to Her Majesty, if his departure be not so sudden as is expected, for until this time he could not have gone, neither by any means can he be spared, till these munitions and men be sent for Lough Foyle. For whatsoever others should be, yet he is only able to see such a provision in so short time, and shipping for them fitted as they should be. Besides my own particular that now sustain a public person, and am the more to be heard for what I speak in respect of that person; as I am such a one [as] shall find so great a miss of him, as, when he is gone, I know not one here that I dare commit any trust of importance in (*sic*), nor from whose counsel I can receive any assistance. And yet, if I were aided by a council of Solomons, I think this kingdom and this army, as now they are, would afford them matter enough to try their best wits.

"Sir, I am driven to leave you abruptly, being weary of thus wearying of you, and called to give order for a number of rogues, that even now, they say, are burning certain villages in Kildare; and I beseech God send you more contentment than I have."—[Dublin,] 1599[-1600], March 11.

[*Postscript.*] "I have sent you a letter from Sir Arthur O'Neill to one Fleming, that himself delivered to me, that you may by his humour guess of a number of others which I find in the like; of the which there will be great use, if the Queen at the first will countenance her wars. And I cannot but give unto Sir Samuel Bagenall his right, and desire you to let Her Majesty know that I find he hath in his charge done her very good service, but now by her order is without all entertainment, but of a private Captain. The original of this letter I send you I keep, written in Irish." *Endorsed*:—"Lord Deputy to my master, from Dublin. Received at Richmond the 16 of March 1599[-1600.]" *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

28. i. *Sir Arthur O'Neill to John Fleming.* "I do much marvel that I could hear nothing from you touching the effectual business that I sent with you when you were with me. And we thought that when the Earl of Essex came into Ireland, that English men would come in Lough Foyle, and that we should have good play with O'Neill. But God or the devil defended him then, and since. And we hope in God and in the Queen of England that she will send her forces to Lough Foyle the next summer; and if she do, come you in company with them to me, with what answer and requests that I sent with you, under Her Majesty's hand, or under my Lord Deputy's hand, when he comes, and the Council's hand, or whether of them Sir Samuel Bagenall and yourself will choose for me. And I hope in God to deserve well what Her Majesty will give me, and I will help to put these wars to an end, with the help of God, with a smaller charge to the Queen than it is thought. And if I had but a little help, and stand sure of my demands, I would make O'Neill, since he went to Munster, to return home quickly to defend Tyrone itself.

1599.

1600.

"Have me commended to Sir Samuel Bagenall, and let him remember there is a great friendship between us, and (sic? as) between my father and the great Marshal, Sir Henry, that was killed by O'Neill. And tell him that I will help him to revenge the death of his cousin upon O'Neill, with the help of God; and let him not forget to do me what good he can, as I hope of him. You know my mind wholly, and deal for me accordingly. Let Sir Samuel Bagenall know my demands, and, if he think them too much, as he and you will cut them short, I will be contented. No more at this time, but God be with you. From the Cargyen. Let them bring great pieces with them, for I hope to get all O'Neill's money, armour, and powder. And come yourself with my requests, and Neale Garve's." Unsigned. p. 1.

[Mar. 11.] 29. "The service that Sir Arthur O'Neill will undertake for Her Majesty, if his requests be granted."

When the Queen's army shall land at Lough Foyle, the said Sir Arthur will undertake to pursue O'Neill from place to place in Tyrone with fire and sword; and will have spies in his camp, anywhere in Tyrone, whereby to draw upon him Her Majesty's forces both by day and night.

He will undertake that Neale Garve O'Donnell shall keep Tyrconnell in such fear, with the help of the Queen's army, that they shall not be able to dwell in any part of the plains thereof.

He will also undertake that, when it shall please God that the countries of Tyrone and Tyrconnell shall be in peace and quiet, those countries shall pay as many English soldiers for the Queen and their defence, as Tyrone himself doth now keep there to make wars against her; and besides, that those countries shall yield as great a revenue to Her Majesty, as ever they did to any of her ancestors.

Also, that if Coconaght Maguire may have Fermanagh to him and his heirs, he will keep the same in such fear that all the inhabitants thereof shall quit their dwellings, except such as shall be subjects to Her Majesty; and that he will keep as many men for the Queen as shall cause the same to stand in obedience, and to pay all former accustomed rents.—[1599-1600, March 11.] p. 1.

March 11. 30. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Having given directions to Sir Arthur Chichester to draw the better part of the forces in these parts to a head about Trim and Athboy, I received from him this evening a letter, which I am desirous you should read, to see into what inconveniences this casting [cassing] of companies doth put us unto (sic), and what diversion it may prove to any service, not to have an army orderly paid. I do send you this, that you may judge *ex unguibus leonem*, and think it not impertinent to trouble you with the inserting this in our despatch."—[Dublin, 1599-1600], March 11. Unsigned. Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 16th. Holograph. p. ½.

Encloses:—

30. i. Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.
"I here find the companies in worse state than I left them."

1599.

1600.

This rumour of turning over and cassing, together with the carelessness of the officers, hath diversely dispersed them. If present order be not taken by proclamation, and punishment for runaways, you will lose the third part of the army very shortly. There hath been an ill custom among the Captains in entertaining one another's men, which must be altered by your Lordship's severe punishing those disorders. Every port suffers them to pass into England, and will not stay them, for that they are allowed nothing for detaining them, and they will give all they have for passage. Most of the officers of these parts are following the runaways, and at Tredath for victuals this store affords us not means for one day; and the paymaster that I brought with me will issue no money without order from your Lordship. So, till we hear from you, the honest must live upon credit, others upon shift, and that hath undone the land. The absence of the officers, foul weather, and mustering to reinforce the company of Sir Henry Dockwra, to be sent to Dublin and Tredath according to your Lordship's directions, stay us this day from our march. To-morrow by one of the clock, we shall be at Athboy, from whence your Lordship shall hear the certainty of our strength. All is quiet upon these borders, and I have given in charge to the gentlemen to have care to guard the country in our absence. May it please your Lordship to cause more treasure to be brought, for this thousand pounds will serve but a short time, the troops having no other means but money. Your Lordship hath given me order to deliver companies to Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Thomas Wingfield, and others. None of their officers come to receive them, but Sir Robert Lovell's, who shall presently be entered; the rest I will keep together with my best care."—Navan, 1599[-1600], March 11. Holograph. p. 1.

March 11.
Dublin.

31. The Lord Justice Carey to the Privy Council. Begs for more money with all expedition. Encloses breviat of the issue of the last proportion of the treasure. The army in great want both of money and victuals. Constrained to borrow what he may.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 11. Signed. Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 16th. p. ½.

Encloses:—

31. i. Breviat of the issue of 20,821l. 7s. 7d., received out of England in February, 1599[-1600]. Unsigned. p. 1.

March 12.
Dublin.

32. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "Since our last despatch, albeit we have received no certain advertisement from the Lord Lieutenant of the army, either concerning the doings of Tyrone in Munster, or in what sort his Lordship proceedeth against him with the army, yet, by sundry particular letters written out of Munster to some of us in private, we find that that archtraitor remaineth still in the province, ranging from one country to another, and drawing to his faction the Lords and chieftains of countries, whereby he doth not a little strengthen

1599.

1600.

his combination, and exceedingly countenance his rebellion. And as by most of our advertisements it may be probably gathered that he is near the time of his returning, and that by some other advice, written to some of us out of Ulster, it appeareth that his brother Cormack, with others, upon whose trust he left the country in his absence, have very lately written to him to haste his return thither, so nevertheless we cannot yet discover by what way he will return ; whether over the Shannon, and so through Connaught, or by the Irish countries of Leinster, by which he passed up, or through the more inner parts of the English Pale. For by one of these three he must make his way, if God, for the sins of this country, will suffer him to carry his passage clear, though we hope he will have much to do to escape without some encounter by the Lord Lieutenant of the army, who, it seemeth by our last advertisements, was about the parts of Limerick, both ready to cross him in his passage over the Shannon, if he should take that course, and also to accost him or follow him, if he should seek out any byways to slip from him. And for our parts, to the end to lay for him as much as in us lieth, at least if in his return he hold the tract of Leinster or the English Pale, I, the Deputy, by the joint advice of us all, have given order to draw to a head these few weak companies of horse and foot remaining in Leinster and the Pale, which is but a remnant of the forces assigned to those parts, after two or three callings made before by the Lord Lieutenant, besides some guard left to countenance the defence of the frontier towns. And with these companies I mean, God willing, to draw up in person to the parts of Westmeath, a place indifferent either to stop him, or turn him out of the way, if he make his return through Leinster, and to be ready for him also, if he should break through the more inner parts of the Pale. For the army to be quartered about Mullingar in Westmeath, that place is indifferent to answer any of these two ways for the archtraitor to pass, yet, till there be more certain intelligence which way he will return, I have directed the companies to assemble about Trim and Athboy, and not to pass on till they hear further from me, hoping, ere it be long, we shall receive from the Lord Lieutenant of the army to whom I, the Deputy, have written to be fully informed from him of all matters appertaining to these affairs, such certainty of the traitors' purpose to pass, as I may be able with better correspondence to take my course, as shall be most meet for so great a service. We have, besides, employed several espials into the Irish countries to hearken after Tyrone's doings, and to discover his purpose and manner of return. From whose advertisements I, the Deputy, may haply draw some light for the better carriage of my course to lay for him, which is all that as yet we can certify your Lordships touching this matter ; wherein, as further accidents and events shall break out, your Lordships shall be advertised of every particularity with all the speed we can.

“Touching some demonstration of the estate of Munster, and of Tyrone's practising and prevailing with the Lords there, and in what part he was, not many days past, your Lordships may be pleased to see by a late letter written hither from the Council of that province, the copy whereof is now sent to your Lordships by

1599.

1600.

me, the President. And, particularly, your Lordships may see a resolute encounter, which Sir Warham Sentleger had with Maguire, in which they were both slain at the first charge. The manner whereof we leave to the letter, being not a little grieved for the loss of so worthy a servitor as Sir Warham, though with his own hands he revenged his death upon Maguire, being a great Lord of a country, and one of greatest reckoning with Tyrone, who died in the place. And for the revolting of Florence McCarthy, noted in the letter, we that have known him longest, did never look for other fruit out of such a Spanish heart.

“We have long expected the soldiers appointed for supplies to come by the way of Bristol, and likewise the ships and hoys laden with victual and other provisions from London, but as yet we hear nothing of either of them, which maketh us think that by some great contrariety of wind and weather those matters are so long retarded. For, by our observation here, there hath been no passage made from England hither, since I, the Deputy, landed; and, if I had not taken that start of the wind as I did, I had been yet in England. Nevertheless there hath been no time lost by us to advance the plantation of Lough Foyle, for so much as can be done here. The bulk of victuals being not brought, nor the proportion of shipping thought upon there to transport the thousand men from hence, with munition, artilleries, and other requisite provisions for that service, being not yet come out of England, we could not answer that which was to be performed here, other than to prepare things ready for the time. And yet, for supplying of that which is to be done here, lest that action, being so weighty and necessary, should receive any loss of time, and seeing the coming of the other shipping from England is so uncertain, we have taken up, in this harbour and Tredagh, so many barks as will suffice for transportation of all things from hence to Knockfergus; which, though it be somewhat more chargeable to Her Majesty by the impresting of the ships [and] mariners, and victualling the soldiers, and some other expenses which could not be avoided, yet the necessity and consequence being duly weighed, we doubt not but your Lordships will allow of this charge, where there was no way to avoid it. And if this should not have been done, that great work to plant at Lough Foyle might have been too long deferred, if not dangerously hazarded. And for the thousand men to be sent thither from hence, I, the Deputy, have already set them down, and do hope to have them ready to answer the time when their victuals, shipping, and all other provisions for that expedition shall be accomplished; which will draw some time, for the many difficulties occurring in those provisions. But it is not safe that the companies do know of their going till they be drawn to the place where they are to be embarked, so generally are they all distasted to go to any service in the north. But the way is to draw them together under some other colour of service; and therefore being a part of this regiment in Leinster, I have caused them to assemble with the residue of the army at Trim and Athboy, from whence I may make use of them with the rest against Tyrone in his return, if that should happen before their shipping and other provisions could be prepared for their transportation; or, being otherwise drawn

1599.

1600.

together under this pretence, they may with more convenience be kept together, till the instant time of their drawing down to their shipping, so as no way there shall be any time lost for them. For, though I, the Deputy, be abroad with the army upon this occasion of Tyrone, which in good foresight, to cover the Pale, and to avoid dishonour in letting the traitor pass unlooked upon, is the only main cause of my going abroad, yet I will leave the President of Munster, the Treasurer, Master of the Ordnance, and the Secretary, to expedite the preparation of the ships, and all other provisions requisite for that business. For so do I take to heart this planting in the north, as there shall be neither occasion nor opportunity pretermitted, which may advance that service, and to it shall all other business give place for the time. Likewise, the Captains that are to be sent from hence to meet Sir Henry Dockwra at Chester, some of them are gone already, and some are to depart this day, who, with the rest not yet come, could not be sent away before, by reason of the remote places from whence they are drawn; some being with the Lord Lieutenant in Munster, some in Connaught and some in Ulster; from which provinces, the ways being strongly laid by the rebels, hath been no small let to their speedy coming, and that let could not be avoided without manifest hazarding their lives, which we humbly submit to your Lordships as a consideration that by us no greater expedition than this could not be used. And yet, neither for the Captains nor the soldiers, nor any other preparation to be made here, shall be found any just impediment to the plantation of Lough Foyle.

“And touching the certificates of munitions, which from hence were sent into England in January last, and, as it seemeth, compared and examined there by Sir George Carew and Sir Henry Dockwra, where it did there appear that here was sufficient to supply all the demands for the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, now it is found that in divers natures here will not be sufficient to answer that turn, but that we are driven to make up those wants by way of some emptions in this city of Dublin. And in truth we find that the several magazines of munitions in the whole kingdom are low drawn, and little store remaining in any of them, considering the greatness of the action now in hand, except the store of Dublin, which being the nursery to feed all the realm, hath nevertheless but a small remain to answer so great a matter; the certificates whereof are sent herewith to your Lordships by the Master of the Ordnance and other ministers that are here, humbly beseeching your Lordships that some round supply, especially of powder, lead, and match, with culivers, may be sent out of hand, as well for Dublin as for the magazines in Cork and Galway, both which we understand to be very weakly furnished. And, as in the case of munitions, so touching money, we are driven to press your Lordships to be relieved out of hand, for that the last twenty thousand eight hundred twenty and one pounds, 7s. 7d., though it is not long since it arrived, yet it is already divided and expended, and so little left, as we are driven to deal with this city of Dublin, and other particulars about the state, to borrow money to bear up the lendings of the army, and to answer many other unavoidable occasions in the service. The particular issue of the said twenty

1599.
1600.

thousand eight hundred and odd pounds is herewith sent to your Lordships by me, the Treasurer, and we do all join to beseech your Lordships eftsoons for a further supply of money, without which this army cannot be sustained. Likewise, for that the store of victuals through the whole kingdom is in effect spent, and the country in an universal dearth and scarcity of victuals, which daily riseth more and more in every place, it may please your Lordships to haste away, with all the speed that may be, the proportions of victuals so long expected here, and, as we understand, prepared there, humbly beseeching your Lordships to consider to what hard terms we are reduced, when we have neither money to pay the soldier, nor victuals to feed him; and yet the charges of the service increasing upon us still by many unexpected accidents, humbly submitting our remedy and help herein to your Lordships' wonted honourable considerations.

"We have considered of such commissions of authority and other instructions as are thought requisite for Sir Henry Dockwra for Lough Foyle, and Sir Matthew Morgan, whom I, the Deputy, found a Colonel standing in list, and have appointed him for Ballyshannon, having distinguished their governments into limits and circuits, such as we thought best for their several commands. And I, the Deputy, have given commission and instructions severally to the Lord Dunkellin and Earl of Thomond for their jurisdiction over the martial forces in Connaught, as is prescribed out of England, and to the Justice and Council of that province for managing the civil affairs there.

"Sir Samuel Bagenall, having charge of Her Majesty's forces at the Newry, Carlingford, and other parts thereabouts, and having done sundry good services there, as well by killing the rebels and burning their corn as by spoiling them of some of their creaghts, hath brought hither of late one of the best of the Magennises, called Glasney McCooley ['McChowley'], a competitor to the country, and made Magennis by Tyrone not long since, but depressed and now is drawn from him by Sir Samuel to serve Her Majesty; by whose means Sir Samuel hath had many good drafts of service against Magennis and other the northern rebels by drawing blood of them. Some reward there hath been given to him, and the *custodiam* of the country, which he standeth for in right, young Magennis, the Lord thereof, being in actual rebellion. All which we thought good to touch to your Lordships, as well by way of commendation of Sir Samuel's service, as to move your Lordships to give allowance to the reward given to Glasney McCooley and his followers, being 200*l.*, of which he spent the greatest part in entertaining of men for service, and also to such others as in the like kind may be distributed hereafter for causes of service, wherein we will use as sparing hand as we may, and not to (*sic*) give away Her Majesty's money but upon extraordinary services and urgent occasions.

"Lastly, there cannot be as yet any course taken for the safe sending up of the President of Munster to his charge, as well for the impossibility of shipping, if he should pass by sea, all the barks being taken up within this harbour and Tredagh for transportation of the thousand soldiers to the north, as also for the apparent

1599.

1600.

danger of the ways, if he should pass by land. For that the rebels lie strong in the ways, and there is no means to give him sufficient convoy from hence, by reason the best part of the forces here are with the Lord Lieutenant of the army, and the rest, upon this occasion of Tyrone's returning, are to attend me, the Deputy, into Westmeath. So as he is enforced to remain here for a time, and yet his stay is to good purpose for furthering of the northern plantation, which for the most part dependeth upon him. But so soon as there is means to send him away, there shall be no time omitted, and himself is most desirous to be at his charge."—Dublin, 1599 [-1600], March 12. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received at Richmond the 16 of March, '99. pp. 6. *Enclose* :—

32. i. *The Commissioners of Munster to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey.* Since their last letters, signifying the coming of Tyrone into those parts, he removed out of Lord Barry's country on Tuesday last, and encamped near Blarney. The next Saturday he sent out of his camp 100 horse and 200 foot, to burn the country of 'Kerichurchid' [Kerrycurihy].

"On which day Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power, with some horsemen, did rise forth to see if they might meet some of those companies straggling from the rest, and at length they descried a cornet of horse and drew toward them. And knowing the same to be Maguire, they made a charge upon him and his horsemen. Sir Warham encountered Maguire, and with his pistol shot two bullets into his breast; he with his staff strake Sir Warham into the brain, of which blow within four days he died. And Maguire was not far gone, but he fell from his horse dead."

In this conflict 20 of the rebel horsemen were slain, many hurt and unhorsed, but none hurt on the English side, save Sir Warham. Tyrone is at present near Kinsale, and threatened to win the town. Cannot believe he may, for there is a garrison of 250 foot there, besides the townsmen. Florence McCarthy has been with Tyrone these six days, and, as they learn, has joined with him, waived the benefit of Her Majesty's patent for Desmond, surrendered his right therein to Tyrone, took the same back by Irish tenure, sware to deliver his eldest son unto him as pledge, and to join with him in this rebellion to the end. Cormack McDermody, Lord of Muskerry, is in Cork, but all his country are revolted, and his brother and the rest of them have delivered pledges to Tyrone, to hold of his side. Young Charles is at Cork, and all his tenants are spoiled. "It is expected that all the rest of the McCarthys of Munster and their followers are to deliver pledges to Florence as (reputed by them) McCarthy More, Chief of the Irishry, and his pledge as Chief to remain for them with Tyrone." Under pretence of this agreement, all the McCarthys and their followers lands and tenants are preserved from spoil, saving young Charles and his brothers, but the rest of the subjects' countries are destroyed. Last night there arrived at Cork the winter clothes for the soldiers. Sir George Thornton prays that he may have bestowed upon him Sir Warham's place in the government, until the Lord President come.—Cork, 1599[-1600], March 5. Copy. p. 1.

1599.

1600.

32. ii. "*The remain of all sorts of munitions at the Newry and Carlingford, with an estimate of those at Galway and Cork.*" Signed by Anthony Ersfield. Endorsed:—1 March, 1599[-1600]. pp. 3.
32. iii. "*An estimate of the remain of munition at the Newry, after the proportion of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon is supplied.*" Signed by Anthony Ersfield. Endorsed:—1599[-1600, March]. p. 1.
32. iv. "*The remain of munition within the store at Dublin, when the proportion is shipped for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.*" Signed by Sir George Bouchier. Endorsed:—1599[-1600, March]. p. 1.
32. v. "*A report of the state and store of victual remaining at the several magazines in Ireland, the last day of February, 1599[-1600], and of the several numbers of men victualled with the same.*" Attested by George Beverley. Copy. p. 1.
32. vi. *Original of the preceding. Signed by George Beverley. p. 1.*

March 12.
Maynooth.

33. Mabel, Countess of Kildare, to Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty's princely favour towards her. Loss of her sons. Begs for a continuance of favour, and that her "poor, desolate, and distressed estate" may be recommended to such as are appointed Governors over Ireland. Prays for her Majesty's long and happy reign.—Maynooth, 1599[-1600], March 12. Signed. p. 1.

March [12].

34. Warrant from the Queen to Sir George Carey to pay the sum of 220*l.*, due to the Earl of Kildare, to such person as shall be appointed by the Countess of Kildare, now attending Her Majesty. —[1599-1600, March 12.] Draft. p. 1.

March 12.
Dublin.

35. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "By these extracts enclosed, your Honour may see that the army hath not as yet touched Tyrone, though they be both in one province, and not far distant one from the other. Only a face is made to lie for him in his way, which is a casual manner of prosecution, to beat an enemy out of a country, who should be sought and followed close, to give him no breath, specially where there is a force strong enough to make good all opportunities and occasions that may be taken to distress him. But I hope the purpose of this lingering is to draw on a fight at last, which is a matter (as I hear) that the Lord Lieutenant seeketh, and the Traitor shunneth. And I assure myself his lordship will not let him slip without some honourable encounter. But, by his long tarrying in Munster, he maketh strong his rebellion with those Irish Lords, and draweth away the hearts of the subjects from Her Majesty, when they see her army to give sufferance so long time, in the heart of their country, to an enemy stranger and a rebel of Ulster, far from them, and not known to them before.

1599.

1600.

"He beginneth now to cast for his return home; and, to waylay him here, if he should bolt by these parts of Leinster, or the Pale, the Lord Deputy prepareth himself with his handful of men in Leinster to cross him in Westmeath, which is the passage (I think) he will seek, if he can make it clear. It is Lough Foyle, and the plantation intended there that bringeth him so suddenly out of Munster, which having passed heretofore but as a rumour, he seeth now it is sorted to a settled resolution. I am written unto that he hath vowed to spend his life in resisting that garrison to land there, and I doubt not, with God's help, but they will make their landing good without much effusion of blood. But I am not of that mind for the landing at Ballyshannon, which should be countenanced with a force by the way of Connaught, but I see that cannot be."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 12. *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 16th. *Seal.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

35. i. "Extracts of several letters written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, concerning the Archtraitor Tyrone."

(a.) "From my Irish priest, by letter of the 6th of March, '99.—That Cormack, hearing that the Lord Deputy was drawing the army to a head, is in fear that his Lordship will enter Ulster in the absence of Tyrone, and plant garrisons at Armagh and Blackwater. And for that cause, Cormack hath sent up in haste sundry messengers to call Tyrone home out of Munster, to the end to withstand the Lord Deputy; and, in the meanwhile, Cormack having charge of the country in Tyrone's absence, hath sent for all the risings out of Ulster, to meet him by a day, for that he will be in readiness to stop the Lord Deputy."

(b.) "From a soldier in Tyrone's camp, by letter dated 5^o Martii. That Tyrone hath written to Cormack, that he is now thinking by what way he shall return home, for that the Queen's army lieth in his way, and therefore he requireth Cormack to gather all the strength of Ulster, to be ready to give help to his returning, and to keep the Lord Deputy occupied till his return. That Tyrone heareth that the Lord Deputy is presently to send forces to Lough Foyle, and that he will haste home to prevent that garrison, if he can. This matter of Lough Foyle troubleth Tyrone much."

(c.) "From Garrett Comerford, by letter dated 8^o Martii. That the Lord Lieutenant with Her Majesty's army is at Limerick, to stop Tyrone's passage over the Shannon, and to follow him, if he seek any other way. That if Tyrone break not his companies, and flee by some obscure ways, he will hardly escape the Lord Lieutenant. That he thinketh Tyrone is very desirous to return into Ulster, if not openly, yet by night, and will scatter his companies, to the end to pass with more safety."

(d.) "From the Provost Marshal of Munster, by letter dated 4^o Martii. That Tyrone is within two miles of Kinsale in Munster, thinking to attempt that town, which I believe not. That the Lords of Carberry and Muskerry have given their pledges to Tyrone, and Florence McCarthy hath thrown away his English patent, and is created McCarthy More by Tyrone, and is now with Tyrone. That Sir Warham Sentleger, encountering with Maguire in a ford, they were both slain. That the province of Munster

1599.

1600.

doth begin to curse Tyrone, for that, by his coming thither, he hath spoiled the country which the advertiser thinketh will turn to a good service to Her Majesty.”—*Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton*, “Advertisements concerning Tyrone.—Martii, ’99.” pp. 1½.

March 12.

“From my
cell.”

36. A. Standen to — Cuffe. “By the hand of Mr. Cranmer, I received yours of the seventh of February, and have dealt with Mr. Treasurer about your ward, for whom it seems there can no more be drawn than 350 pounds, Sir Patrick Barnwell being the man, as before I wrote unto you. The matter seems hard to me, being of such living; but much thereof (as I am given to understand) his father held, more out of force and authority than by law or reason; whereby, and by the misery of the State here since your departure, all things are under foot. I see Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Cranmer will grow to a conclusion. For the 100*l.* in dispute, supposed to be but 80*l.* upon better inquiry, it seems Mr. Treasurer to be now satisfied, and so silence to that.

“You have sent hither an honourable personage, to yield him as well as others a subject of misfortunes and miseries, being arrived in a place to lead men, and no kind of thing to feed them with, the Pale growing all to spoil and desolation. And if there were aught, here is no money to pay the army; so that the poor gentleman is in a mighty labyrinth of puzzle, the rather for that Tyrone with his forces hath, *malgré* the Earl of Ormonde and his army, passed out of the north into the south, and is yet in Munster, spoiling and burning as many as him best hath liked, and namely the Lord Barry utterly ruined. These here of the Byrnes, O’Tooles, and the Connors and Macegeoghans, to welcome my Lord Deputy withal, have burned between us and the mountain, and about the Naas, 20 villages and what they will fire more we know not. And so I conclude with Francis Plutarch, *in questo stato son donna per voi*. At my Lord’s coming, we had some hope of the Earl Marshal’s removal to his own habitation, after having escaped *la camera stellata, et che le cose piglierebbero altro piegho*. I thank you for my acquaintance with Mr. Cranmer, a mild, modest man, and, as I see, chief about his Lord. In few words, I am ready at all your employments here, and therefore direct, command, and dispose, and so I commit you to God. From my cell in the wonted place, the 12th of March, 1599” [1600.] [*Postscript.*] “At a rencounter some ten days past between Sir Warham Sentleger and Maguire in Munster, the one slew the other with a pistol and a staff on horseback; and ‘Cowebabye shalle shortlye lubberlepe the wydowe Gyfforde.’” *Signed.* p. 1.

March 13.

37. “A note of such principal leaders as were killed by Owen O’Callaghan, nephew to the Lord Barry, on the 13th of March, 1599.” There are eleven names in the list, including two Scottish captains, “Gilliasbing McDonil Gorrom” [Gilliasbeg McDonnell Gorme], and “Donil Gorrom McVieDonil” [Donnell Gorme McVieDonnell]. *Lord Mountjoy adds a note*:—“Besides this news we had out of Munster, we can reckon three hundred that have been killed in

1599.

1600.

these parts of the rebels, since my coming, whereof there were six of the McGeoghans killed at one time by Francis Shane.”
Unsigned. p. 1.

March 15.
 Dublin.

38. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “The archtraitor Tyrone, after so long ranging in Munster, and drawing so many Irish Lords to his confederacy, is at last start back into Ulster, making his way through these Irish countries in Leinster and Westmeath, by the which he passed up at first. The 13th or 14th of this month (as I am written to), he passed over the Enny in Westmeath, bordering upon the Brenny, having left most of his baggage in O’Molloy’s country, with the traitor Captain Tyrrell. And I hear not that he did separate his forces, but carried them with him over the Enny, except some companies which he left with Tyrrell, to guard his carriage. I understand not as yet that he was fought withal in Munster or elsewhere, nor any force of ours following him in his back, to the end to put him in rout and disorder. If it be advertised hereafter that he was fought withal or chased by the army, your Honour shall have it with the first. But in the meanwhile it is no little grief to see so great an expectation, that he should be beaten in some measure, utterly frustrated. The cause and reason thereof it is not safe for me to scan, but it is meet Her Majesty should have it searched out by some strait examination, seeing the Traitor, by this manner of slipping away, hath given himself a greater reputation with the Irishry than ever; and how far the state of Her Majesty’s service is blemished, it is easily discerned.

“The Lord Deputy, Lord President, and myself, have been long considering of the limits for the several governments of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, which we have at last quartered into several meres and bounds, to answer both governments; the particular heads whereof I have sent your Honour herewith, which it may please you to compare with the card. Touching their commissions of government, they are already under the seal; and for their instructions, I am now in hand to draw them, the doubles whereof shall be likewise sent you, when they are perfected.

“Upon Thursday last, the Lord Deputy rode to Trim, upon the first alarm of Tyrone’s passing into Westmeath, thinking to have crossed him there; but it was too late, so as his Lordship is to return again to Dublin this day.”—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 15.
Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 22nd. *Under the address is a note*, “This letter should have been sent away five days since, but there was no ship for passage.” *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

Encloses:—

38. i. “*Limitation of the governments of the north.*”

(a.) “*Sir Henry Dockwra, knight, chief commander and governor of all Her Majesty’s forces of horse and foot appointed for Lough Foyle and the parts thereabouts.*

“*The circuit of his command doth contain the whole country of Tyrone; the county of Armagh to the Blackwater, with all O’Cahan’s country, and all other countries between the river of the Bann in Tyrone and Hornehead in Tyrconnell, all*

1599.

1600.

O'Dogherty's country, all McSwyne Fanaght's country, Lough Swilly and McSwyne Ne Doe's country, with all Hugh Duff McHugh Duff's country, his sons and followers, and all Con O'Donnell's sons their countries and followers.

"And he hath commission, either by himself, or any other whom he shall employ, to enter at any time as occasion shall serve for Her Majesty's service, into the country of Fermanagh, called Maquire's country, either for prosecution or pacification with any rebels and others in that country, at all times, as he shall have occasion for Her Majesty's service."

(b.) *"Sir Matthew Morgan, knight, chief commander and governor of all Her Majesty's forces of horse and foot appointed for Ballyshannon and the parts thereabouts.*

"The circuit of his command doth contain Ballyshannon, Asheroe, Tirhugh, and all that country between Ballyshannon Donegal, and Barnesmore, unto the utmost parts of Barnesmore eastward, all O'Boyle's country and his followers, and all McSwyne Banaght's country and his followers." With commission, similar to the above, to enter into the counties of Sligo and Leitrim. p. 1.

March 17.

Dublin.

39. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "According a clause in our last despatch, that by some private letters written to some of us, as well out of Munster as from the county of Kilkenny, we found cause to gather that Tyrone was then casting for his going back into Ulster. But then, as nothing was advertised in certainty, neither had we received from the Lord-Lieutenant of the army any light thereof, nor so much as a letter or advice from his Lordship, so nevertheless to the end we might be ready here to lay for that traitor (if he should make his return through Leinster or the Pale), I, the Deputy (as in our last is touched) gave order to draw to a head the remnant of the few companies left in these parts by the Lord-Lieutenant, staying them about Trim and Athboy, till, upon more certain intelligence of the traitor's returning, and the way he would take, I might with better commodity carry them to do service upon him, expecting still to hear from the Lord-Lieutenant of the time, manner, and way of the traitor's passing, to the end that, by the certainty of his Lordship's advertisements, I might apply all opportunities and occasions to the best for that service. And because I would be at hand as near as I could to fit the time for that purpose, I drew up in person to Trim the 13th of this month, where I understood that Tyrone was passed the night before over the Enny water in Westmeath in great haste, making extraordinary speed in his march, so as by reason he had got so great a start, there was no possibility for me to cross him, he having freed himself of Leinster, and passed over the Enny into the bounds of Ulster, almost two days before I had the first certain knowledge of his coming into the country; neither did I receive any advice therein from the Lord Lieutenant of the army, till I came at Trim, where his Lordship's letter was delivered to me, the copy whereof we send herewith to your Lordships. Upon this occasion, I, the Deputy, returned the

1599.

1600.

15th to Dublin, from whence we made a joint despatch this day to the Lord Lieutenant, requiring his Lordship to send hither with all speed the army under his charge, as well the companies he withdrew from hence at his going up, as the rest remaining with him before, reserving some competent guard for Ballyragget, the Lord Mountgarrett's house, and other places which he should think requisite for defence. Wherein for some reasons of our so doing, we wrote to his Lordship that, as Tyrone was now passed into Ulster, and therefore the cause taken away to have so great a part of the army kept absent from these parts, where do rise daily many occasions of their employment; so, considering how weakly Leinster and the Pale are left, not in case to make defence against the several bordering rebels, and much less able to break into their countries to offend them, and that now the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon is to proceed, for the which all preparations here are drawn to a readiness, and for the countenancing of that action, and to make diversion of Tyrone's forces, the better to give way to the landing of those garrisons, it is requisite that a force be made towards the north, for the more entangling of the traitors during that time; for these respects, we thought it most convenient to require his Lordship to cause to draw hither that part of the army, as well for the countenancing of these great occasions, as to be doing with the rebels of Leinster, to keep them in some measure in bridle, that they break not into open violence against the subjects. And being upon this matter of Lough Foyle, the several provisions to be made here for that expedition, we hope will be all ready to be embarked by the latter end of this week, for which purpose we have had a tough work to provide competent shipping, here and at Tredagh, for their transportations.

"We find by all our advertisements that Tyrone was as high in Munster as Kinsale, where he made confederacy with the Lords of Carberry, Muskerry, Florence McCarthy, and others, and from thence disposed of his return by long marches, and the safest ways he could find out, the Lord Lieutenant with the army being then about the parts of Limerick, as by his Lordship's own letter appeareth. Only it cannot be, in our understanding, but that Tyrone in his coming up into Munster, in his so long remaining there, and in his returning back altogether untouched, hath insinuated a great reputation of himself with the Irish, and such as will make himself prouder than ever before. In which humour it is not unlike, but that now upon his return into Ulster without encounter, he will presume further of his strength than before. And therefore we are the more strongly to countenance those plantations in the north, which we see could not be done but with hazard and danger, if the list of the army of 14,000 foot should not stand entire without diminution. For the only confidence we have, either to defend or offend, is in the strength of this army, no hope remaining in the forces of the country, to whom I, the Deputy, the last week have addressed straight commissions to muster and arm all their able men, and to have them in readiness to answer the service at the borders upon the next warning; but, by the certificates of their doings, we see no likelihood to have any help from them; and this same course (as I hear) they held

1599.

1600.

with the Lords Justices before. We humbly pray your Lordships, with all the earnestness and duty we can, to haste away both money and victuals, of both which here is such want, as we are grieved to express it. But your Lordships may be pleased to conceive our extremity in both, for that, touching money, our credit in borrowing is already extended and passed to the uttermost ; and, for victuals, the store here is utterly wasted, and no hope to be relieved by the country, such is the universal dearth and scarcity in every place ; and yet the two forts of Philipstown and Maryborough are now in great want, and must be presently revictualled.

“ William Brymigeam, a chief man of that nation, and lately in actual rebellion, having made means to me, the Deputy, to come to make his submission, hath now performed it publicly in humble and penitent manner, with some tokens that he will become a new man and redeem his former offences with some better course of life hereafter. In the meanwhile, we will take as good assurance as we can of him by pledges, expecting some service to be done by him ; and by his example being mildly dealt withal at his coming in, it may be that other new start up rebels of the Pale may seek for the like mercy ; by which course the knot of this great rebellion may be broken, which hitherto hath not been done by force.”—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 17. *Endorsed* :—Received at Richmond the 22nd. *Signed*. pp. 3.

Enclose :—

39. i. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.*

“ Since my last letters written to the Lords Justices and Council, signifying my repair into Munster to hearken to Tyrone, I received sundry advertisements of his going far upward, to the countries of Muskerry and Desmond beyond Cork, and, among other, an advertisement from the Earl of Thomond of Tyrone’s purpose to pass the river of Shannon, many boats being gathered together to that end. Whereupon I wrote my present letters to the Earl, and also to the Mayor of Limerick, to set forth and man some shipping and boats to interrupt his passage that way, if he attempted the same, and also appointed the Earl to meet me with the best forces of horse and foot at a town called Balletarsne, between Cashel and Limerick ; which, as he said, he could not perform, for that the Mayor would not suffer some of his company to lodge in the city, nor afford him carriage for his victuals out of the store, notwithstanding, upon this occasion, my earnest letters of commandment in that behalf. This being grievous unto me, and no advertisement coming, though I employed many, but that Tyrone was in those remote parts, till the coming of a letter from the Lord Roche of the 6th of this month, which I received not until the 8th, the copy whereof I send hereinclosed. Having stayed at Limerick but one night, leaving the camp within three miles on this side of it, Tyrone, in scattered and cowardly manner, hastened his return with that speed, both by night and by day, through the mountains of Mow and Sleuemark, as he held a continual march for 27 miles this present day, till he came to Bellagh Cahil in the north border of Elyogerty, towards Sleuvarnan in Omagher’s country. I did heretofore oftentimes write to Sir Warham Suttleger and Sir

1599.

1600.

Henry Power to be stirring in the province, having regard to their safety, marvelling I heard of no service performed with such forces as were under their charge. Whereupon, as it should seem, Sir Warham took occasion to rise forth, and in an encounter with Maguire, as I hear, he [was] slain, and Maguire also slain, at one instant. The manner and certainty whereof I do not yet fully know more than by report, seeming to carry likelihood of truth. In my travel I caused to be burned and spoiled the towns and villages with all their corn, which might serve for the relief of the traitors' countries. Tyrone used the like burning towards Her Majesty's subjects in his way passing through the country, with loss to him of some of his men in several places. I formerly wrote to the Lords Justices and to Sir Arthur Chichester, the Serjeant-Major, in the doubt of Tyrone's return through Westmeath, having large scope and many ways here to pass, that the greatest bulk of Her Majesty's forces in the Pale, and a general rising out of the country between the age of 16 and 60, should with armour and weapon draw to the county of Westmeath; for by all likelihood Tyrone taketh the same course in this his return, as he did in his coming up through the Irish countries, being for most part wood and bog. Wherein, for the rising out, the late Lords Justices do know as well as myself their backwardness in former times, though both their Lordships and myself did often command their service."—Whitestone, 1599[-1600], March 8. Copy. pp. 1½.

39. ii. *The Lord Roche to the Earl of Ormonde. The encounter with Maguire. Report that the rebels would take the way to Desmond. Panic among Lord Roche's tenants. Spoiling and burning of his lands by the rebels. The inhabitants stripped. The rebels "do encamp this night at my manor of Castletown, and do take all that they find without the walls thereof."*—Castletown, 1599[-1600], March 6. Endorsed:—*Received from the Lord Roche at Limerick, the 8th of March, betwixt 9 and 10 of the clock in the morning. Copy. p. ½.*

March 17.
Dublin.

40. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Tyrone is now returned untouched, for aught I can learn, other than the death of Maguire, which is nothing to answer the long expectation conceived of far higher services to be done upon him. But howsoever the hope of great services is now utterly frustrated by his going away (as it were unlooked upon), he hath much increased his reputation with the Irish, with whom he could not leave stronger impressions of his greatness than in his return to clear his way without touch. Now the Lord Deputy very wisely turneth his counsels and cares to entangle him in the north, by facing him with some reasonable force upon the borders near his country, to work thereby his diversion whilst the plantation at Lough Foyle doth pass and settle. His Lordship, nor any of the Council, had not so much as an inkling of his coming into Leinster, till above 24 hours after he was passed the Enny water in Westmeath, his Lordship having received that intelligence after his coming to Trim, and not*

1599.

1600.

before, such was the looseness and treachery of the country, and so speedy and extraordinary the Traitor's marches. This day I received advertisement that, passing by Monaghan, he is gone to Dungannon, where he prepareth mightily to resist the landing at Lough Foyle; in which action I am advertised that he hath sworn to set up his uttermost rest; and so it behoveth him, for that he knoweth the settling of that garrison will be the heavy stone that will overwhelm him in Ulster. But while that garrison is in planting, it is requisite the matter be countenanced with a round force here, to keep the Traitor occupied far off; which cannot be performed till the army be returned from the Earl of Ormonde, neither could it be done with safety, but by continuing still the list of 14,000. The Lord Deputy, I find, maketh it one of his chiefest cares to settle these forces in the north, wherein his Lordship beginneth at the right way to break through these long-festered rebellions, and to drive the rest of his service to an honourable issue. But in the "well seconding of him from thence, resteth the whole honour and fruit of the work."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 17.
Signed. Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 22nd. p. 1.

March 18.

Dublin.

41. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Upon my first arrival here, I found this State to have so ill intelligence, as they were not well assured whether Tyrone were in Munster or no, although since I perceive that he was about thirteen days passing that part of Leinster, by the which he took his way, and sent out his mandates (of the which I have myself seen many) to all the subjects and others in those quarters to appear before him, and to join with him; neither received I any advertisement at all from the Earl of Ormonde of his own purpose or the rebels' proceeding; but hearing from others that Tyrone was still in Munster, and that he had threatened to do great matters in his return in the English Pale, whereof I found the rebels in great hope, and the subjects in greater fear, I thought it fit to make some head against his return, when or which way soever it should be, and to draw such forces as I could raise to the likeliest place to answer any intelligence I should receive of the way he should bend homewards; and to this purpose had gathered together about Athboy 1,200 foot and about two hundred horse, when the first news I heard came in one day, and almost at one time, that he was looking backwards out of Munster, came into Leinster, and passed over the river of Enny; and the next day, being assured of his escape, when I was drawing the forces back to ship one thousand of my twelve hundred for Lough Foyle, I received the first and all the intelligence I have had from the Earl of Ormonde since my coming into this kingdom, which in our letter to my Lords of the Council we have sent you. For Tyrone's unwillingness and my desire to fight at this time, I can say no more, but that he was but three days in his return passing that which but in thirteen he did at his going out, and that he marched seven and twenty miles in one day away, and I marched twenty miles in four hours after him, and immediately after my receiving the first news of him; and if it had been my fortune with that poor troop I had, being the refuse of every company,

1599.

1600.

and such as were left behind as not fit to be drawn out of their garrisons, to have but encountered with this proud rebel, I do speak it advisedly, that I had just reason to have assured myself to have done the Queen the best service that hath in this kingdom been ever performed; but now I will look forwards, and make the estate of all things as much better than I found them as I can, and do not despair, but if the Queen will enable me, to turn the fashion and fortune of these wars, and to give her a good account of her expense, of the which already I have gotten the reputation here of being but a miserable steward. But at this time we have neither victuals, money, or credit left; the country and army unsatisfied and uncontented; and what the consequence will be thereof you may judge, except there be present order taken. I beseech you, Sir, let it be apprehended with you, as, believe me, it is of extraordinary importance. For I do protest against any hope to do the Queen any service here except you can devise the means to have the army orderly paid their lendings, and that some course may be taken to perfect their accounts for the time past; and, till their due may be fully satisfied, to pay them orderly from my time and during the war. If it shall please Her Majesty at this time to countenance her proceedings here, and that it please God that these plantations succeed well, I do see many reasons to hope for good success. For this prosecution in the north hath stricken the rebels with a fearful apprehension; which, if it be well followed, will, I hope, in short time clean alter the face of this kingdom. As soon as my Lord of Ormonde cometh up with the army, I will employ it with the best advice I can take, and with my best endeavours. For something must be done to divert the rebel as much as may be, who hath set up his rest to interrupt these plantations. There hath not one man or messenger come hither out of England since my arrival, from whence I do now infinitely long to hear of Her Majesty's prosperity, unto whose service I have bent my back entirely, and will commit no errors therein, but such as my best judgment and the soundest advice I can get cannot tell how to amend; and, if there be not *malitia in voluntate*, I hope Her Majesty, with God, whom she doth represent, will pardon *defectum in intellectu*; and the rather because I did think myself unworthy of this charge, but have taken it as obedient to her choice. I pray God send me matter worthy to be presented to her fair and royal eyes, and make my service as acceptable unto her, as I do strive it should be."—Dublin, 1599, March 18.

[*Postscript.*] "Beside the general apprehension how impossible it will be for Her Majesty's war to be made at this time with twelve thousand to that purpose which she intendeth, to make a speedy end thereof, I can assure you that I have already found this inconvenience, in the casting [cassing] of these companies, the Captains whereof were appointed for Lough Foyle, that, notwithstanding my uttermost care for prevention, we have lost in their turning over very near one thousand men with their arms, and of sundry men being old soldiers, as were more worth than three thousand of these new supplies. And if there should be at this time two thousand more utterly cast, beside the apparent disenabl[ing] us to do any

1599.

1600.

service, it would hazard the break[ing] of the army, the remnant whereof do[th] consist of as good men as Her Majesty hath [at] any time been served withal in this kingdom. And if I do not presently make some head towards the north, Her Majesty's garrisons to be planted there will run a very dangerous fortune; wherefore I pray so let it be considered of according to the great importance, which, as we think, we do justly conceive it to be of." (Signed.)

[*Further postscript.*] "I have received many advertisements, and some out of Tyrone's camp, that the cause of his great marches and sudden resolution to return backwards, was the intelligence he received of my drawing into the field to intercept him. There is neither shipping nor means to convey my Lord President into Munster, but, as soon as may be, much against my will, he shall be dispatched from hence; for, after his departure, I shall find my burden as heavy again as now it is."

Endorsed:—Received at Richmond the 22nd. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 3.

March 18.
Poole.

42. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Through this rebellion in Munster, the ordinary course of justice is "put to dumb silence." Cannot find wherein he might do better office than by advertisement of such matters concerning the state of that country and people, as he has observed, and received by intelligence from others of good credit and experience. Has presumed to accompany the discovery of these advertisements with his personal attendance, being forced thereto by hope of recovery of his health, impaired in that country.

Last October he advertised Sir Robert of the means that first moved this rebellion, and of the ready inclination of the pretended subjects to embrace the same; of its generality, the means whereby it is maintained and increased, and how to suppress the same. Is now to discover some later occurrents; the just cause of suspicion on the part of the lords and chief gentlemen that are reputed subjects; the strength of the country against Her Majesty, and the weak service done for her; the great relief yielded by the reputed subjects to the rebels; the treachery of the pretended subjects, whereby they cover their disloyalty; and, lastly, how Her Majesty's forces in time of future quiet may be sufficiently maintained, with small charge to Her Majesty, whereby the country may continue quiet without rebellion or open hostility.

"Florence McCarthy, having received gracious favours from Her Majesty, and pretending title to the country of Desmond under Her Highness[']s grant, hath lately (as McCarthy More) taken a rod according to the Irish custom, holdeth the possession of that country by that abolished custom, and not by Her Majesty's laws. The banishment out of that country of Donald [Donnell] McCarthy (backed by the traitor Desmond before Florence[']s coming over) did argue that Florence was greatly graced, if not supported by Tyrone. And Florence himself, being charged both therewith and with private conference with Desmond, hath lately confessed that, since his late coming into Ireland, he lay with the traitor Desmond

1599.

1600.

two nights, and gave out that it is Her Majesty's pleasure that he should converse with him. About the fourth of March, Florence came to Tyrone, then being in the county of Cork, and there took his oath to be true to him, and to serve him against the English, and gave him his brother for pledge, until he might send unto him his son and heir. And thereupon Tyrone appointed him Governor of Munster, and preferreth him, for that he is mere Irish, before Desmond, because he is of English race.

"McCarthy Reogh, Lord of Carberry, is brother-in-law to James FitzThomas, the supposed Earl of Desmond.

"Cormack McDermody, Lord of Muskerry, is of consanguinity to Dermond O'Connor, a principal traitor and head of the Connaught rebels, which Dermond married the old Earl of Desmond's daughter.

"John Barry, a notable rebel, married Cormack's sister.

"Teig McDermody, now in action of rebellion and joined with Tyrone, and given him his pledge, is brother to Cormack.

"Desmond the traitor, cousin-german to Cormack's mother.

"Cormack's mother sister to the archtraitor, James FitzMorris, that brought the Spaniards into Ireland.

"Carberry can make a thousand armed men against Her Majesty, but to serve her Majesty there are not 30.

"Muskerry can make a thousand armed men to do service against Her Majesty, but for Her Majesty scant 60.

"The like of Barry's country. The like of Roche's country.

"The traitor, James FitzThomas, hath out of Carberry above 300*l.* yearly pension; and, upon every rising forth against Her Majesty's forces, most of the inhabitants of that country (though reputed subjects) do aid the said traitor, and have of his company at cess.

"Dermond O'Connor, a principal traitor and head of the Connaught rebels, hath out of Muskerry a yearly pension of 300*l.*

"And the traitor Desmond had a pension out of Muskerry in November last, upon condition that he or his forces should not come amongst them. Some of his Connaught rebels scattered in that country and did some spoil, and Cormack finding breach of promise (under pretence of service) killed some of them; whereat the traitor James grew angry, and Cormack, to appease him, delivered him a pledge to make satisfaction unto him for this slaughter to his own content. This Cormack thinketh to be good service, which is no better than relieving of traitors.

"The traitor James FitzThomas hath a pension of 200*l.* yearly out of Barry's country and Orrery, which is duly paid unto him. His and his tenants' cattle do pasture in common upon the Lord Barry's lands called Cosbride, with the Lord Barry's tenants. And John Barry, brother to the Lord Barry, doth levy for the said James in Ibawne 50*l.* yearly. John FitzThomas, brother to James, hath a yearly pension out of the countries of Rosscarberry, Bear and Bantry, and Barry's country.

"To colour these payments of pensions or other relief of the rebels, the inhabitants of every country meet at a parley, and if they propose to furnish the rebels with beeves, the same are levied upon the country, and driven together into such a place as the rebels shall have notice of, and easily come and take them away under

1599.

1600.

shew of taking of a prey. And if the relief of the rebel be intended in money, then the Lord of the country at a parley shall request relief as for himself, and the same shall be granted and levied of the country, and if the Lord retain thereof some small portion, the rebel hath the most part. So appeareth manifestly that the Lords and chief gentlemen of the province, having sufficient strength to have suppressed the rebellion in the beginning, did not only forget their allegiance, in not joining with Her Majesty's forces, but also in treacherous and subtle manner have relieved and maintained the rebellion from time to time. And the late coming of Tyrone into Munster doth necessarily prove a general secret consent and adherency of all the country, which emboldened him to come out of the North hither. And at his being there, if the reputed subjects had performed the office of good subjects, they might have driven him out of the country, or at the least have cut off his carriage and provision, and have wrought him a hard return. But it is more proper to their treacherous disposition to make show of loyalty, and secretly to tie themselves unto the traitors' obedience by pledge or oath, upon receipt of the sacrament, and so they remain more hurtful enemies to Her Majesty than the open rebel."

Her Highness's forces, within five or six years past, used to be cessed upon the country. In place thereof a composition was yielded to Her Majesty, whereby divers inconveniences grew. First, a loss unto Her Majesty; for, if the cess had continued, there might great numbers of soldiers have been maintained upon the charge of the Irish, which in like time of trouble would soon have saved Her Majesty treasure more than double the value of the composition. Secondly, it is a great weakening of the country; for the forces maintained at the charge of the country would have been always ready, both to defend the English, and to offend the thief and rebel. Thirdly, the traitor and rebel hath thereby opportunity to enrich himself, for by the composition the Irish are charged with a trifle in regard of the cess. And lastly, the rebel gaineth liberty to enter into all traitors' parleys of matters hurtful to the State, which the English forces (cessed amongst them) might and would soon have espied and prevented, and the Irish themselves for fear of detection would have forborne to conspire such treasons and rebellion. Whereupon may be concluded that when that country shall be reduced to quiet, if the ancient cess be revived, Her Majesty's forces shall be sufficiently maintained with small charge to Her Majesty, and thereby the country shall the rather continue quiet without rebellion or open hostility.

Has served Her Highness, in the place of Justice, for almost seven years, with great danger of his life, being laid for by rebels, by which service his state is decayed more than 2,000*l*. (which he would have got by his practice in England), besides his great losses, his horses at one time maliciously burned, and, in the beginning of this rebellion, his corn, cattle, and other goods of value, stolen, spoiled, and carried away. Is above three score years old, his life is threatened, and through being in Ireland his body is weak and diseased, making him unable to perform the duty of his place any longer. Has a wife and many grown up children, besides two lately dead in Her Majesty's service. Prays that some other of his

1599.

1600.

profession may be sent to supply his place, and that he may remain in England, and pass the residue of his aged and sickly years in some other place of service.

Servicia tamen per moderata compendia provocantur. Preferments of others for some small and quiet services in Ireland. Mr. Snagg, for two years' service as Attorney-General at Dublin, was made Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-law; Mr. Rookeby, for his service in Connaught, three years at most, and those quiet, was made Master of the Requests; Mr. Walsh, his predecessor, was rewarded with the Abbey of Mayne, of the yearly value of 100*l.*, to him and to his heirs; and his last predecessor with a seignory worth 500*l.* Craves no extraordinary reward for service, nor relief in respect of his losses, but that he may be made a Serjeant-at-law, so that his dignity may receive no disgrace, and that he may live in no worse condition than heretofore. "So shall others to be employed in like service hereafter take upon them the like charge with the better comfort and hope, and myself apt and most ready, by intelligences and advertisements of the state of that country and people from time to time, to do Her Majesty better service here than ever I could do there; and for that purpose would tie my dwelling so near London, as thereby I may be ready to attend at all command."

Prays for payment of the arrears due to him. Has already spent 100*l.* in his suit for them. Will be satisfied with the portion Sir Robert awards him. Will be ready to attend his Honour, as soon as he is stronger.—Poole, 1599[-1600], March 18. *Holograph.* pp. 4½.

March 18.
Moghelly.

43. Henry Pyne to Sir Robert Cecil. "My excuse and fault in not having written unto your Honour must be with craving pardon, and promise henceforth to offend no more. And, seeing the bad courses hitherto taken by these rebels will rather increase than be in any short time ended in this province of Munster, if they be not by other means prevented than hitherto hath been used, I will make bold to deliver unto your Honour my opinion therein.

"The cause of the little service done with so great a number of English soldiers as have been employed in these parts, hath been the continual keeping them garrisoned in towns, viz., Limerick, Kilmallock, Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale; where if they had been placed in castles, scattered abroad, they might have so spoiled and wasted the country, that no cows could have pastured nor ploughs gone; which course now, as it seemeth, the Earl of Ormonde beginneth to take. The experience hereof I have in this place, being (as Sir Walter Rawley can inform your Honour) adjoining to the strongest woods and strengths the Desmonds have in their rebellious holden for their refuge. Where I, having but 50 men and some few horses, have forced most of Desmond's tenants in these borders to take protections, and to bring in all their corn and cows under my walls, where I may command them, and thereby do prevent their victualling rebels, which otherwise they would do. If the like courses were taken in places fit, it would either starve or force the rebels to yield. Desmond, finding that those bonnaughts Tyrone sent him could not

1599.
1600.

so, speedily force the nobility, and others that here hold for Her Majesty, to join with him; and that in August last, they seeking the spoil of the Lord Barry and his country, when they were to the number of 3,000 within 8 miles of his country, the White Knight, John Barry, Piers Lacy, the clergy, and divers of the English race, seeing those bonnaughts' intention was only to overthrow them all, vowed to Desmond that, if he did not presently discharge his said bonnaughts, they would all join with the Lord Barry, and so threatened him that he presently discharged 2,000 of them. Which being done, shortly after John Barry and divers others took protection and left Desmond; whereupon he sent to Tyrone that, if he did not presently assist him with forces, he could no longer resist; which caused Tyrone to take his journey hither, and finding all to rely upon Barry, he first began with him, as by the enclosed papers, which I have had of my Lord Barry, your Honour may see what service I have done in persuading the said Lord Barry and others upon these occasions to stand fast for Her Majesty; and what more hath passed I dare not commit to paper, but I refer the same until my coming to your Honour, which shall be with the Lord Barry presently after the Lord President's arrival to his charge.

"What spoils Tyrone hath made, and what service sithence his departure the Earl of Ormonde hath done upon the White Knight, I doubt not but your Honour hath been by others advertised. Desmond is now retired into Connello and Kerry, where (as they give out) he expecteth the arrival of Maurice FitzJohn from Spain, with munitions, great ordnance, and money. If there were some such hoys and flat-bottom vessels sent into the river of Shannon, as the States do use in their wars, and with them two pieces of great ordnance to batter those 5 or 6 castles that, near and upon that river, are holden by FitzMorris, the Knight of the Valley, O'Connor, and others, they would do good service there.

"The Lord Barry's coming into England is to inform Her Majesty and your Honour of the estate of this province, and for himself and others to crave entertainment and armour, and, in regard of his great loss, to have Desmond's lands which bordereth upon him. He would have now put a ward into the castle my Lord of Essex forced Desmond to quit, called Conoghe; but, because it is fit to be joined to these lands Sir Walter Rawley holdeth of Her Majesty here, I have told him, the Earl of Essex not finding fit to put a ward into it, he should beware how he ventured to fortify any places without warrant; so he forbeareth. I beseech your Honour not to acquaint him when he cometh with this my writing; for, where now he is much ruled by me, he will seek revenge, if he prevail not in his suit; the nature of the Irish being to forget good turns, and ever to remember and revenge bad. There hath been some bickering between a nephew of my Lord Barry's and Florence McCarthy's bonnaughts, in which of my Lord Barry's people his nephew only was slain, and of Florence his men some 50 or 60."

Will be happy to be employed in any service in those parts for his Honour.—Moghelly, 1599[-1600], March 18. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2.

Encloses:—

43. i. *David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Henry Pyne.*

"Notwithstanding the late tyranny and spoils of the Archtraitor

1599.

1600.

Tyrone done to me and mine, yet now his new created and elected McCarthy More (Florence McCarthy) being not contented to relieve all his Connaught traitors, that he had gotten from James FitzThomas (by his alliance and confederation with them), upon my poor tenants and followers in the barony of Ibarne, for the space of six weeks together before his going into Desmond, but hath now, the 12th of March, traitorously and maliciously assigned one Rickerd Bourke, one of his chief captains, with divers others of his principal captains and gentlemen, whose names are hereunder written, to come into the said barony of Ibarne, by the said Florence's direction, and there to take up their wages, with meat and drink, of my said poor followers, and being thereof denied, they took some of the gentlemen of that barony prisoners, and besides took all the spoils they could get. Whereupon, notwithstanding their great force, a nephew of mine that I put in charge to oversee both my wards and the rest of that barony, who had a hundred men in pay from me, with the help of those of my wards that he sent for to assist him, did follow the said traitors the next morning, and overtook them near the borders of the country in Carberry, and fought with them, and gave them the overthrow, and killed their Captain and all their chiefest men of account, together with the number of some three score of their private soldiers, besides many that escaped deadly wounded and hurt, and my prisoners rescued. Yet such is my hard fortune that, among all the rest of mine, there was none slain but my said nephew, and some forty hurt grievously, which is to my no small grief, if I might remedy it, this being a weighty cause unto me, considering that the safety of that barony depends upon a sufficient man (being environed round with the enemy) to be placed there to oversee both my soldiers and wards. And moreover, the report that we hear of the landing of both the Lord Deputy and our Lord President of this province is a let unto me not to hasten away for England so speedily as my necessity requires, hoping that my stay might be a help unto their Lordships concerning the state of this province, in which I hope to discharge my duty to God and my prince. That being done, I cannot but make a start into England, there to acquaint Her Majesty and the honourable Lords of the Council of my impoverishing by the Archtraitor Tyrone and his associates at his being here, as partly you know. And in that I had not convenient leisure to acquaint you with two several letters of Tyrone's unto me, and a letter from his clergy, nor with my answer unto them, now I send you their copies hereinclosed under my hand, because you may be the better acquainted with their malicious inventions. Other papers they sent me, which I will, God willing, safely keep unto I deliver them myself (sic) unto my honourable good friend Sir Robert Cecil in England, assuring you that no copy shall be drawn of them till then."—Castlelyons, 1599[-1600], March 17.

[Postscript.] "The names of those Captains and leaders that were slain, viz., Rickerd Bourke, Theobald Bourke, Teig O'Malley, Owen O'Malley, Donnell Oge McDonnell Gorme,

1599.

1600.

a Scots captain and leader, McTheobald Bourke's two sons, Theobald McGaderug, the chiefest trainer of all the Connaughts, with others, whose names are not as yet to me inserted" (sic). Signed. pp. 2.

43. ii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone ["O'Neill"] and James [Fitz Thomas, Earl of] Desmond, to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. See last volume of this Calendar, p. 493.*

43. iii. *Der[mott Creagh], Bishop of Cork, and Eugenius Heganius, Vicar Apostolic, to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. See last volume of this Calendar, p. 494.*

43. iv. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone ["O'Neill"], to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. See last volume of this Calendar, p. 497.*

March 19.

Letrom.

44. R[ichard Burke], Baron Dunkellin, to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "When I came from the Court, I did then understand that it was Her Majesty's pleasure I should command and direct her forces and martial affairs in Connaught; and though I did urge the necessity of managing civil causes withal, for the better enabling of the proceedings in the place, yet, seeing it was not thought convenient, I held myself satisfied with that that was most agreeable with her gracious liking. Since, upon the receiving of my commission from your Lordship, I find that I am also exempted from the commanding of the garrisons of Galway and Athlone, by the means of which places all the service that hath been or can be done is chiefly to be perfected; neither is there any service of importance within this province to be undertaken, but for the most part must have their means and directions from those places. Besides, here is not any place for a garrison, nor any to be commanded, those being taken away, all the province being out, saving a few that depend upon my father and myself. I cannot but acquaint your Lordship with the inconveniency of this course, which will quite weaken and disable my reputation, both with my own friends, whom God knows I have long laboured in this mischievous and troublesome time to hold firm and stedfast to Her Majesty, and also with such as I had hope either with force or persuasion to reduce and bring to their former obedience, when as they shall perceive that the things of which there is any account made of, and without which no acceptable service can be performed, are not committed to my care. For Galway, because it is a place of importance, being a haven town, and no other in the province but it, it were fit I should be enjoined neither to admit nor place any there but English, of which I protest I would be most careful of myself, and which were sufficient for the safety of the town. For Athlone, of necessity, he that will do any good in Connaught, commanding the force in chief, must lie there most part of his time, in regard the greatest strength of the rebels are round about it, and which must be quickly mastered, or else they will starve that place, and grow careless of any course that may be taken against them any where else. These things I humbly entreat your Lordship to advertise into England, and how necessary they are to be redressed, without the which no good can be done here, and wherein I know I

1599.
1600.

shall quite perish. I protest, if I might be so happy as to be able to settle any reasonable quietness in this place, and to leave my father in any security, Ireland should not long lodge me; and with this I conclude, that all the fortune this land can afford me can[not] make me disloyal to Her Majesty, nor a stranger to so many my worthy friends in England.

"There must some order be taken for the victualling of the Boyle, Tusk, and Roscommon, with expedition, for they want relief. The number of the force here being so small, I shall, I believe, find it somewhat difficult, especially when I cannot victual it from Athlone, for from thence it were far more easy, and I may not take the advantage of that, because I am barred from meddling therein. Notwithstanding I will do my best, and will hope for speedy remedy herein. We have here neither munition, money, nor arms, nor anything yet that is necessary for the service. And therefore I beseech your Lordship to take present order, with as much conveniency as may be, for the redress of these things, that we may go forward in our business with comfort."—Letrom, 1599[-1600], March 19. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2½.*

March 19. **45.** R[ichard Burke], Baron Dunkellin, to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. [Letrom.] "I have sent your Lordship a letter wherein I have in some part set down the inconveniency of my manner of employment in this province, which I humbly pray your Lordship to send into England; and that an answer may be had of those things with as much speed as may be; for until then there is little hope of any good to be done here, every thing being clean out of order.

"I do much desire to take a great deal of labour and pains in this business in your Lordship's time here, and with hope to leave things so as I may be able to attend you into England, whensoever your Lordship goes from hence; and, if these restraints and limitations hold, my grief will be, more that I shall not be able to shew your Lordship the desire I have to do you unfeigned service, than any cause else whatsoever. My Lord, your Lordship shall find me ever honest, and whatsoever your Lordship will undertake for me, believe I will never fail you, but will conform myself to your Lordship in all things. I have not used many protestations to your Lordship, neither do I hold them but needless ceremonies; only let me now entreat your Lordship, that you will ever esteem of me but as a part of yourself, and such a part as will not fail to hazard life and all for your good. Your Lordship's love to that noble gentleman whom I honour so much did first bind me to you, and since, your many kind favours to myself, which being joined together, have so engaged me to you, as I will ever remain your Lordship's most faithful R. DUNKELLYN. [1599-1600,] March 19."

[*Postscript.*] "I have not yet any news to write to your Lordship, nor any other matter of importance, because I have not been any time here. I do conceal my restraints from all my friends here, for fear of giving them any cause of discouragement." *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

1599.

1600.

- March 20. **46.** Sir John Stanhope to Florence McCarthy. "Although it be true that many reports from Munster of your proceedings since Tyrone came thither, do give occasion to those that wish you ill there to number you amongst the ill-affected subjects ; yet, till it be heard from yourself, and seen by more infallible proofs, your friends that know you cannot but retain that assured opinion which they have ever conceived of your inseparable duty towards your gracious Sovereign. For first, it is as well known to me, as to any man living, that Her Majesty in her own nature hath ever been so far from condemning you heretofore, as when divers of her Council have urged circumstances against you, she did ever conclude you inwardly faithful to her. Next, methinks when I remember you, Mr. Florence, a wise and civil gentleman, generally beloved of this Court, and particularly esteemed by divers of extraordinary place and credit, I am so far from belief that you have incorporated yourself into the combination of savage traitors, as I do assure myself that the manner of your formal associating or temporising with them in this confusion hath no other end than thereby to enable you to show your resolution and affection to do Her Majesty service. In doing whereof (even now when greatest trial may be made of valour and duty), you are assured to gain yourself honour, quiet, and happiness. Thus have I now plainly shewed you my belief, from which I protest nothing can remove me, but yourself, wherein if I be deceived (which yet I hold impossible), let me in requital of all former good-will hear from you what is true or false, and then shall I conclude there is no faith in Israel. If otherwise it be, and that you have any secret purpose and honest desires to make known, let me be informed of them, and I will impart it to Her Majesty, who still laugheth at the folly of any of those flying bruits, which do but tend to suspicion of any resolved defection in you, and I assure myself would be more pleased with any good services that you should do her, than with ten times so much of others, whom she knoweth not nor values not. You may be now assured of all the favour which the President can shew you, for the Queen did principally recommend you to him, and of myself you may expect all the offices which your good carriage can deserve from him that hath ever been Your loving friend."—*Endorsed* :—March 20. *Copy, with corrections by Sir Robert Cecil.* pp. 2.

- March 20. **47.** "An estimate of victuals remaining in Her Majesty's store at Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale. Biscuit, 70,000 ; butter, 24,000 ; cheese, 20,000 ; 'poor John,' 5,000. This proportion will serve one thousand men for ten weeks after the date hereof, being the twentieth day of March, 1599[-1600]." *Unsigned.* p. 1.

- March 21. **48.** The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending
Kilkenny. William Campian, his chaplain, for the Bishopric of Ferns, vacant by the death of Bishop Allen.—Kilkenny, 1599[-1600], March 21. *Signed.* p. 1.

1599.

1600.

March 21. 49. "A breviat of the munition and arms remaining in Her Majesty's store at Cork, the 21st of March, 1599[-1600], in the charge of Michael Hughes, clerk." *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

March 22. 50. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. The vacancy in the Bishopric of Ferns. "The living itself, partly by reason of these troubles, and partly through the careless regard of Mr. Allen, in making of many leases, and disposing unthriftilly the lands thereof, is of very small value, for the present not exceeding 30*l.* per annum. But in regard it is seated in an ancient English county, within the province of Leinster, it requireth a man of good sufficiency to be preferred unto the same, both for the advancement of God's service in the Church, and the service of Her Majesty. For which respects, having due knowledge of the wisdom, learning, and good conversation of Nicholas Stafford, Chancellor of that Cathedral Church, a gentleman descended of an ancient English house in that county, very well experienced, and many times employed in Her Majesty's service, wherein he hath from time to time in our remembrance carried himself with good commendation, we humbly make bold to recommend him unto your Honour's good favour and furtherance, as a necessary instrument, and of very good ability to serve Her Highness in that country; either by persuasion to reclaim those rebels to conformity and obedience, or by giving of advice for their chastisement and correction; for the performance of either which services, we know him to be a man of very good experience, and in regard he is very zealously affected to Her Majesty's service, of good birth and credit in that county, and hath as well the Irish as English language, we are of opinion he may do much good; and in respect of our knowledge of the man, we dare adventure to pawn our credits with your Honour for his best endeavours still to be employed to that end."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], March 22. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 22. 51. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. Urges the importance of maintaining the Green Castle, near the harbour of Carlingford. Recommends the bearer, who has kept the castle, especially since the death of Sir Henry Bagenall, and can thoroughly discover to Sir Robert the state of the north.—Holyhead, 1599[-1600], March 22. *Signed.* *Seal.* p. 1.

March 22. 52. Charles McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil. Has come "hither" to show his loyalty in this most dangerous time, and to seek relief. Has brought letters of recommendation from the Council of Munster. His reliance on Sir Robert. Desires entertainment for a company, which he will raise himself, of sufficient men, and prays that his service may be tried for two or three months. After that, if he has not done good service, he is to be removed by the Lord President of Munster. If his request be inconvenient, begs entertainment for

1599.

1600.

himself, in respect of his losses from the traitor Tyrone, and because of his services hitherto performed, and those he may yet render.—1599[-1600], March 22. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 24. **53.** “Intelligences out of the north,” in the handwriting of Sir George Carey: 24 March, 1599[-1600].

“The intelligencer saith that on Saturday last he was at Monaghan with Henry Oge McHenry McShane O'Neill. There was with him Corre McBaron and Patrick McArt Moyle. Corre McBaron went from them that day to his own house, being twelve miles off, where he intendeth to stay until Tyrone doth come up to make an agreement betwixt Connor Roe Maguire and qui Conouthe Oge Maguire, brother to that Maguire which was last slain. They contending which should be Maguire, on Thursday last, there was a little skirmish betwixt them, and there was one horseman of side (*sic*) slain. He supposeth that Tyrone will support qui Conouthe Oge Maguire.

“He saith that Tyrone on Wednesday last had thought to have surprised Sir Arthur O'Neill, being then in his own town, twelve miles from Dungannon; but by good hap Sir Arthur escaped, having intelligence of his coming beforehand. He saith that O'Donnell and James McSorley are appointed to attend the landing at Lough Foyle. Tyrone and the rest of the forces are appointed to attend the borders.

“He saith that they do not yet fortify at Lough Foyle, because they do not know in what place our forces will land; but they are glad to give it out so, and that they shall have great aid out of Scotland; but there is no such matter.

“He saith McDonnell did attempt the taking of the fort at the Blackwater, but missed of his purpose, and therefore now, for fear of Tyrone, he is drawn down towards the Newry with all his creaghts. Tyrone and the rest are all at their houses, keeping their Easter, &c.” *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

1600.

March 25. **54.** Minute to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. “We have understood that your Lordship hath, among other companies, cassed Captain Thomas Lee[’s], wherein we know your Lordship hath proceeded with respect to Her Majesty’s service, and therefore have no meaning in any wise, for his or any other man’s sake, to have any new charge imposed, and especial for one of whose good services, as Her Majesty hath had report in former times, so doth he stand at this time suspended upon divers informations, that carry great probability of his ill behaviour. Notwithstanding, in regard he is allied to some whom Her Majesty favoureth, and doth profess to be able to clear himself, when he shall be particularly charged, we have thought good to let you know that we do wish that his company of 100 foot might be continued to him until the army be brought to 12,000, or that he be so tried as to be clear or guilty of these things which are objected against him. And if it be so that they be already disposed, and all other companies complete, then that your Lordship, upon the first falling, will relieve him with a company, which we think you shall have opportunity to do, considering how often the Captains miscarry. In the meantime, if it be true, as he suggesteth,

1600.

that his house serveth for so good a place for a ward, your Lordship may, for his relief, place some few warders there, that may be part of some company near hand." *Endorsed*:—1600, March 25. *pp.* 1½.

March 25.
York.

55. John [Thornborough], Bishop of Limerick, to Sir John Stanhope, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Chamber. "I make bold to send to you the enclosed letter [*wanting*], which I received 24th this instant March (*sic*) praying you to read the postscript, and withal to entreat the right honourable Secretary to direct his letters to Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, touching his care for Her Majesty's city of Limerick; because, if the citizens fall away, Her Majesty will find more charge and loss, than in the revolt of all Munster. In these parts where I live there is no news; only the constant, and honourable, and zealous, painful government of our Lord President here, will alter minds of men formerly disobedient, and bring all into order, and hold them in duty of obedience.

"Let me, I pray, commend the remembrance of my late humble suit, and so I take leave.—York, 25th March." *Endorsed*:—1600. *Holograph.* *p.* ½.

March 27.
Dublin.

56. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Mr. Graves, who hath these many years preached the word of God in this realm, and according to his profession hath demeaned himself to his great commendation, whereof, when I was last in Ireland, I am (*sic*) a witness, is encouraged by his good friends to be a suitor for the bishopric of Ferns, which is now void; wherein my Lord Deputy doth yield him his honourable favour, understanding that the gentleman is as worthy of preferment as any man of his profession in this kingdom. Amongst other his good friends, which he hath solicited in this business, he hath prayed the assistance of my letter unto your Honour, which, for the reasons abovesaid, I could not deny; but in truth for the country's sake, which wants men of learning to preach the word, I do earnestly desire his preferment, and even so do recommend him to your honourable favour."—Dublin, 1600, March 27. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

March 27.
Mellifont.

57. Sir Edward Moore to Sir Robert Cecil. Would have written before, but has been exempted from all command since this rebellion. Would gladly render Sir Robert any service. Has, to his great charge, endeavoured to defend what he holds of Her Majesty, for which he pays her 600*l.* rent per annum. Has "orderly" discharged this. Holds no other possession in Ireland. His great losses by the traitors, and by willing censing of soldiers on himself and his tenants, are such as few gentlemen in Ireland have had, and he has in no way been eased in his rent. The only entertainment he has had of Her Majesty for twenty years past is the Constablenesship of the fort of Philipstown, at 18*d.* per diem, and entertainment for twelve

1600.

warders, whom he has duly paid. Prays that he may have allowed to him 400*l.* out of the arrears due to him, towards the payment of his rent to Her Majesty. Has directed a brother of his to attend Sir Robert in this matter. Understands from him of the efforts made by Sir Robert for the liberation from the traitors of John Moore, the writer's nephew. Thanks for the same.—Mellifont, 1600, March 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 27. 58. Certificate of the half-year's muster of the companies of horse and foot in the province of Munster, from 1 October, 1599, to March, 1600 ; also a certificate of checks for the same period. *Both signed by the Commissary for Munster, William Jones.*

The following notes are appended by the Commissary to the certificate of checks :—“The Earl of Thomond and Sir George Carey receiving their apparel at Dublin, I am uncertain what they are to be checked therein. Captain Francis Kingsmill received all the apparel for his company there likewise, which he made away, and turned the profit thereof to his own use, leaving the soldiers unclothed. In the check of the lendings, those Captains and soldiers, which stayed in England above the time limited in their pass, are according to my instructions checked accordingly.” *pp.* 21½.

March 28. 59. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. “Your letter of the 16 of January, returned unto me by my servant, did bring me into such perplexity of mind, as before this time I could not grow to any resolution with myself, whether to write again, or to be silent, being altogether oppressed with grief and sorrow, to understand that my long and faithful services, with all zeal and sincerity performed to Her Highness, hath found no better acceptance with Her sacred Majesty ; but that the practices of mine enemies have so far prevailed to work in Her Majesty's royal heart a kind of impression or hard conceit against me, that, in regard of some respect unto my children, I have not so zealously bent mine endeavours to advance Her Majesty's service in these dangerous times, as otherwise it is conceived I would have done.

“Sir, the denial of my suit doth not much grieve me, for I was not well advised to move it, and no benefit had I received by it, if it had been granted (that traitor being now received to mercy, restored to his lands, and pardoned) ; but to perceive Her Majesty's heavy conceit of my good meaning and daily endeavours to please her, is a thing I must confess that throweth me down, and striketh me to the heart. And to increase my grief in this behalf, the Lord Deputy, at whose hands I hoped for all good favour and countenance in my just causes, upon his first arrival has discharged one of my sons out of her Majesty's pay, being known to be a gentleman of very good towardness and sufficiency, which with patience I could well bear, were it not here bruited, to my great discomfort, that some of mine enemies have in England procured me this disgrace. If my children be the cause of this my mishap (than the which upon earth there could not happen a more grievous unto me, that Her

1600.

Majesty should conceive they have withdrawn me from her service), I may in a manner rue the time that ever I did beget them ; but, seeing the suggestion hath proceeded from some malicious heart, I humbly crave your Honour's pardon to license me before yourself truly to lay down the present condition of my children.

"My daughters are married to the sons of ancient English servitors in the King's County, which being now wasted by the O'Connors, and they quite banished, they and their husbands, children, and families, are all come unto me for refuge, not having left unto them, in that country, so much as bread to put into their mouths.

"My sons have in this sort been employed. The eldest, having the charge only of twenty horse in pay in the service at Belleek upon the river of Erne, had his horse killed under him in the midst of an hundred rebels, where, by God's special providence and his own valour, he escaped. Being loath to adventure him again upon so small entertainment, I procured him to give over his horse unto my third son, named Adam, who sticking to it, when others fled, in that unworthy disaster which happened to Sir Henry Harrington in the Byrnes' country, there valiantly ended his days in Her Majesty's service. Two other sons I have brought up and well trained in Her Majesty's service, and these had either of them a company of an hundred foot in Her Majesty's pay ; but now, to my discomfort and great disgrace, the one of them is discharged, after he had been at great and extraordinary charges to furnish his company. This is truly the state of my poor children, which thus is envied, and for whose sakes it is conceived I am grown either cold, or not so zealous as I should be, in Her Majesty's service, wherein both I and they have many times adventured the loss of our lives, and will still be ready to do the same.

"This being our case, as I have truly expressed it, I do appeal unto your Honour's upright and wise consideration, how much both I for them, and they of themselves, are wronged in this behalf ; and inasmuch as such malicious reports of this nature as have been made against me and them, have possessed Her Majesty's heart, and wrought therein a kind of hard impression against myself, I humbly beseech your Honour, even for God's cause, and in regard I now do want the staff whereunto I leaned (during whose days none durst have presumed to have sought on this wise, either to have undermined my credit or to have wrought my disgrace with Her most excellent Majesty), at your convenient opportunity, to satisfy my most dear and gracious Sovereign in this behalf, at whose feet I prostrate myself, my service, and my present grey hairs, with all my poor children, and to procure from Her Highness (for my comfort and encouragement, with all zealous and sincere affection, to end my days in Her Highness['s] service), her gracious direction to her Deputy here, to yield his good countenance and favour to myself and my children, by their preferment and employment in Her Majesty's service, so long only as I by sound advice and counsel to (*sic?* do) further all Her Majesty's affairs, and they, with continual readiness to adventure their lives and to spend their blood in Her Majesty's service, shall still endeavour to deserve the same."—Dublin, 1600, March 28. *Signed.* pp. 2.

1600.

- March 30. **60.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Again recommending William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, for the post of Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.—Cork, 1600, March 30. *Signed.* p. 1.

- March 31. **61.** The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Warm commendation of the bearer, the Earl of Kildare, and of the services he had rendered in Ireland.—Dublin, 1600, March 31. *Signed.* p. 1.

- March 31. **62.** Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires leave to come into England, to acquaint Sir Robert with “a matter of some secrecy,” greatly concerning Her Majesty’s benefit and “possibly very beneficial to” Sir Robert. His indebtedness to him for many favours. Prays for leave speedily. Shall do the Queen better service in England at present than he can by remaining in Ireland.—“From my house by Dublin, this last of March, 1600.” *Holograph.* p. 1.

- March 31. **63.** Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “The Lord Deputy hath now considered throughly of the estate of the army as it consisteth of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse in list, and having divided to Munster, Connaught, Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Knockfergus, the numbers limited to those places in England, his Lordship hath a remnant left of about 4,600 foot in list, and 400 horse; of which remnant his Lordship is to make use in this manner.

“First his Lordship hath a purpose to draw in person to the Newry, and so higher to Armagh, thereby to entangle Tyrone by diversion, whilst the forces for Lough Foyle do make their landing good there. But this journey is not to be performed till we hear of the loosing of the fleet from Chester to Knockfergus, and the coming hither of the victuals expected out of England, of which we hear nothing as yet. In the meanwhile, his Lordship meaneth to quarter the greater part of this remnant of the army upon the north borders, to the end to be ready to be called together in four and twenty hours, to answer the expedition of Ulster, when the time shall serve; and with the residue, his Lordship will put on foot a prosecution in Leinster, which, being well followed, cannot but draw that province to some settling in short time. But the fruit and good of that service will consist chiefly in the diligence and stirring of the commander, who, I think, will be the Lord Lieutenant of the army. I wished the Lord Deputy to send to your Honour a particular list of this disposition, and yet I thought not amiss to give your Honour this foretaste, not knowing how the list might be retarded. I have sent your Honour also herewith some extracts of letters written to me of late, upon which I have made some short marginal comments for your Honour’s better understanding.”—Dublin, 1600, March 31. *Endorsed*:—Received at Richmond the 6 of April. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses:—

- 63.i. “Intelligences out of the north of Ireland,” from letters to Sir Geffrey Fenton, dated from Dungannon on 21 March,

1600.

1599[-1600], and 28 March, 1600, with marginal comments by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

From the former letter :—

- “ You shall understand that I came to Dungannon on Wednesday last [the 19th of March, 1599(-1600)].
- “ Tyrone is here, and as I wrote to you in my last letter touching the Earl of Clanrickarde and Fininge McArty, that they have given their word to Tyrone, Fininge McArty's pledges are now with Tyrone at Dungannon, and other pledges of that country. [There is another advertisement which sheweth that Clanrickarde stayed but for the return of his son out of England, and that then he would join with Tyrone, desiring in the meanwhile to be borne withal till May next.]
- “ Tyrone hath agreed that O'Donnell with all his forces, Cormack, Tyrone's brother, and O'Cahan with a thousand foot, shall be sent to Lough Foyle to join with O'Donnell. [Tyrone will employ the greatest part of his forces to resist the landing at Lough Foyle, and with the residue he will draw up to the borders to attend the Lord Deputy, and to watch opportunities to make incursions to break into the Pale.]
- “ Tyrone sent to O'Donnell to take pledges of all them he doth mistrust in all his country. Also, he hath sent to take pledges of all his own men joining to Lough Foyle. [By this taking of pledges he preventeth many of the Irish, whom he did suspect would draw to the English upon the arriving of Her Majesty's forces at Lough Foyle.]
- “ He bringeth Art O'Neill with himself to the borders of the Pale to attend your coming. [This is Sir Arthur O'Neill, eldest son to the last O'Neill. He was made beforehand by the State to leave Tyrone, and come to her Majesty, when he should see the forces settled at Lough Foyle.]
- “ He setteth in 3,000 men in pay to attend himself to the borders. Captain Tyrrell cometh down with 300 men to Tyrone from Munster. [He will hardly make so many men to attend the borders, and leave a thorough strength to impeach the plantation of Lough Foyle.]
- “ The killing of Maguire doth trouble them very much. The cause is, that there is three that seek to be Maguire. If Tyrone make one Maguire, the other two will come in to us. It is very good to send down amongst them to learn their minds. [The Lord Deputy hath of late employed an instrument into Maguire's country, to sound the disposition of the followers, and to see which way a party might be raised in the country for Her Majesty.]
- “ Neiss McDonnell, the Lord of the Out Isles in Scotland, sent a messenger to Tyrone this day, requesting him to meet him towards Lough Foyle, and that he would confer with him ; and if he could get right of Tyrone, that he would do him no hurt ; but otherwise he would go to the garrison of Knockfergus, and there serve against him. Presently Tyrone wrote a letter to the Earl o Argyll, to tell him of Neiss McDonnell's dealings, and requested him to send to the King of Scotland, and to know whether it be his pleasure that Neiss McDonnell should serve

1600.

against him, or not ; and he requested the King that he might have present answer. [It is requisite that her Majesty write to her ambassador in Scotland, to deal with the King not to forbid Neiss McDonnell to serve against Tyrone, and to command the Earl of Argyle to give no aid to Tyrone, directly nor indirectly.]

“William Nugent’s son is here, and came hither the last Thursday. There is one Shelton, a young man of Dublin, come to Tyrone, and he is Father Nangle’s nephew. Father Nangle is to go to Connaught to deal with the Earl of Clanrickarde and with his son, for that Tyrone heard that his son is Governor of Connaught. [This is the son of William Nugent, whose father rebelled in the Lord Grey’s government. The brother of this Shelton was executed the last year for Lapley’s cause. Father Nangle is a friar of great reverence amongst the Papists here. His going into Connaught, now that the Baron of Dunkellin is returned out of England, maketh it very suspicious that his inward purpose of going thither is to seduce both the Earl and his son.]

From the second letter :—

“William Nugent’s son departed Dungannon the last Monday, with letters to McMahon and the Brenny, to give him aid of men to annoy the Pale, when he would ask him, and Nugent’s son promised Tyrone that he would do all the hurt he could to the Pale.

“Young Shelton is gone with Friar Nangle to O’Donnell, and from thence to O’Connor Sligo, and from thence to the Earl of Clanrickarde, to feel his mind, assuring your worship that Clanrickarde is sworn to Tyrone. Tyrone hearing yesterday that Clanrickarde’s son was made Governor of Connaught wished that the house of Athlone were put upon his hand. [I know not what to judge of Clanrickarde. He hath been once tainted of treason before, therefore more to be doubted now, considering the treachery of the time.]

“Art Oge O’Neill, mentioned in my last letter, is escaped from Tyrone, and reserveth himself for Her Majesty, when the forces of Lough Foyle shall be landed.” *Copy. pp. 3.*

March 31. 64. “A brief of the checks for one year and a half, ending the last of March, 1600.” *Unsigned. p. 1.*

March 31. 65. “An estimate of the remain of victuals at Limerick, the last of March, anno 1600.” *Unsigned. p. 1.*

March. 66. Copy of Sir George Carey’s letter in answer to a letter sent by Sir Robert Cecil to the Auditors in Ireland, for a certificate of the state of Captain Fleming’s account. Giving reasons why such certificate should not be issued.

1600.

“Lastly, Her Majesty is so unconscionably abused and deceived by false musters, as we are bound by all means possible to withstand the greedy demands of a number of Captains, to whom in conscience little or nothing is due.—*Endorsed*:—1600, March. *Unsigned*. p. 1.

March.

67. Minute from the Privy Council to Mr. Watson. For the Paymaster in Munster to be more precise in issuing the treasure, and to send over some declaration as to the state in which the army in that province stands with respect to their lendings. There is no arrearage due to Mr. Treasurer: “yet there comes over hither divers, that are not ashamed to pretend that they have seen none of the Queen’s pay in Munster since July; so as how this money, and this victual, is consumed, which is sent over, and yet the forces unpaid, we do not see any reason.”—*Endorsed*:—1600, March. *Draft*. p. 1.

[March.]

68. “Remembrances for the right honourable Mr. Secretary in the behalf of Mr. Treasurer of Ireland.”

That the monthly certificates of extraordinaries in Munster may be made directly from that province, and not from Dublin. That the Lord Justices may receive their entertainment for the time of their government, according to custom. That Mr. Treasurer may know when the entertainments of the following cease:—the Earl of Ormonde, Sir Henry Power, Sir Warham Sentleger, and Sir Arthur Savage. That he may be informed of any change of Captains. That “the establishment may be altered to begin the first of April; for that in the remote provinces many of the companies were paid before any notice was had of the alteration.” That Mr. Birkinshawe may be commanded to make up his checks every month or six weeks. That Mr. Treasurer may have leave to go to England to settle his estate. That Mr. Treasurer may have a warrant for the extraordinaries issued last year above the establishment. “He promiseth (being now acquainted with the estate of that kingdom) to be so provident in Her Majesty’s service, that she shall no more sustain such charge extraordinarily, while he continues in his place.”

A brief of the extraordinaries for last year annexed [*wanting*].—[1600, March.] p. 1.

March.

69. Document endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, “Martii—Ireland—1600. A Note of the reckonings in Ireland.” Relating chiefly to preachers, cannoneers, and surgeons.

“The army not mustered the last northern journey by the Lord Deputy’s commandment, as the Commissaries certify, whereby no checks were raised.

1600.

“Memorandum, there are divers persons that have great pensions granted them in several Governors’ times, but specially of late years, which seldom or never serve in Ireland, and might be saved to Her Majesty.”

The Lord Deputy’s preacher and physician have each 5*l.* per week. *p.* 1.

[March.] 70. “An abstract of certain arrearages of rent which are to be defalked upon the parties’ entertainments, or otherwise out of such debts as they claim of Her Majesty.”—[1600, March.] *p.* 1.

[March.] 71. [Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.] “You shall receive by the hands of Florence McCarthy a letter, whereby Her Majesty hath given you authority to pass unto him a grant of such lands of the Earl of Clancarty, his father-in-law, and with such reservations as were thought convenient upon the conference had, where Her Majesty directed me the Secretary to attend your Lordship in the consideration of that cause, assisted by two of Her Majesty’s learned counsel, the Master of the Rolls and the Solicitor. Since that time, there hath been something written out of Munster in general terms from the President there, tending rather to wish his stay than his sending thither, though not alleging any particular cause, save that his brother and others are out. Her Majesty, notwithstanding finding the country so far out as it is already and the lands which he claimed possessed by the rebels, hath a gracious disposition rather to commit some trust to this man, who hath long endured lack and want, and who undertaketh, or at the least offereth, to assist her service with all the means he and his friends can make, than to make him desperate, having been so long kept in comfort. She hath therefore been pleased, according to your former opinion, to resolve to give him an estate in those lands, according to a note subscribed by their hands, whereof your Lordship did allow before your going. Nevertheless, she hath commanded us in private to say thus much unto you, that if you shall, now that you are arrived in that kingdom, understand by further conference with our Council, or any other, that this grant of Her Majesty’s may be likely to be dangerous to her service, and that, in respect that he shall be heir to McCarthy likewise, these exceptions and reservations of all those matters of rule and chieeries, together with the imposition of rent, and such other circumstances, which do abridge the rule and superiority over other Lords, which the old Earl had, do not now make suspicion of alteration in this man’s state and his father’s, in this case, Her Majesty is pleased that your Lordship proceed with him, to pass unto him either more or less of these things limited in Her Majesty’s letter. And where your Lordship shall receive likewise his petition, whereby it appeareth to Her Majesty that your Lordship meant to make some use of his service, Her Majesty hath thus dispatched him in that respect, and leaveth him in all things to be used by you, and to receive that benefit by her letter, which you, in your wisdom, shall think good.”—[1600, March.] *Copy. pp.* 1½.

1600.
March. **72.** Munition sent from the Tower of London to Ireland.—*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Certified by Sir John Davies."—1599[-1600], March. *pp.* 2.
- March. **73.** Powder delivered by Richard Grant, Clerk of the munition at Waterford, by warrants from the Earl of Ormonde, to whose house most of the said powder was carried.—1600, March. *Unsigned. p.* 1.
- April 1.
Dublin. **74.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. The distribution of the army [*see Fenton's letter, No. 63, above*]. The list thereof cannot be made perfect to send with this despatch. Beg that money be sent to continue the ordinary lendings to the companies, "who, otherwise, by want may be constrained to lie idle in their garrisons, and run into oppressions of the country, which in times before hath wrought dangerous inconveniences as well to the soldier as to the subject; a disorder which for our parts we will be careful to prevent for the future," if treasure be timely sent. Scarcity of victuals. The country "generally so wasted and eaten up." Her Majesty's stores all but exhausted. Pray for supplies, and for a continuance of the same, until the scarcity ceases, as the army, after long suffering, is drawn to hope for a better measure hereafter, and upon that confidence their minds are "better fashioned to follow the service with cheerfulness and resolution. Not to have them hereafter thoroughly answered in that expectation, were to deject them in heart more than before, and consequently more hard to raise them up again, and reduce them to be commanded as they ought. For your Lordships know that in an army which is not paid and victualled, all discipline is hateful to the soldier, who may take occasion to deny his service, where he findeth denied to him his due allowance." Urge that the defalcations for powder and arms should not be taken from the soldier's weekly lendings, but from his apparel.
- "We find good shows that, partly by the timely landing of me, the Deputy, and partly by keeping up the army in full strength, the headstrong humours of some of the rebels seem to be somewhat abated; which being continued, we hope will be a means also to stay the wavering minds of some that be doubtful, and give life to others to do their personal service more orderly than hitherto they have done. And at this present, within the province of Leinster, there are some capital men that seek for pardon, who before were obstinate traitors; and as well in Leinster as other places of the realm, there is appearance that some of the rebels begin to shake, and look how they may leave and fall from Tyrone. The principal cause and ground whereof, as it is to be given to Her Majesty's gracious favour in continuing the 2,000 men by Her Majesty's last letters, and her royal preparations made for Lough Foyle, so if it shall please Her Majesty that this army may be maintained and holden up in heart and strength, Her Majesty may hope of good success, wherein there shall not want the uttermost of our poor service and endeavours. For, God be praised, we are frequently advertised of sundry killings of the traitors in many parts of the

1600.

realm, more than in former times hath been. And particularly yesterday, Captain Francis Shane, being garrisoned in Westmeath with 100 foot under his charge, set upon seven or eight score of the rebels, rescued a prey from them, and had the cutting off of five or six and forty of them, some being of the better sort of their leaders, and his Lieutenant only being slain in the service, himself was also hurt and his horse thrust through with a partizan; which we are the more ready to advertise to your Lordships on his behalf, for that this is not the first good service he hath done since he entered into Her Majesty's pay, having been lately before both maimed in one of his legs by the traitors, and taken prisoner by them.

"Lastly, forasmuch as the service will now grow daily more and more upon us, whereby the expense of powder, arms, and other munitions will rise greater, and forasmuch as all the magazines within the realm are drawn very low of those natures, except Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, we most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to speed away a round proportion of powder especially, and other munitions, the same to be directed, part to land at Dublin and part at Galway, in which place we understand credibly the remain of powder at this present doth not rise to above seven barrels; and yet from that magazine, Ballyshannon is to be supplied in all wants. How this great want of powder and munition hath grown before the arriving of me, the Deputy, we cannot as yet send your Lordships an account thereof, for that the Commissaries and ministers of the remote magazines have not as yet made their due certificates." Will hasten them therein. Are now busy to embark the 1,000 men for Lough Foyle, and to expedite the fleet for their transportation, and all other necessities, which till now could not be done.—Dublin, 1600, April 1. *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 16th. pp. 4.

April 1.
Dublin.

75. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The distribution of the army. "The former confusions used in the army for want of discipline hath and will make it more troublesome now to his Lordship to re-order the companies, and bring them to live within the rule and compass of their profession. But I see his Lordship taketh a course to overcome this difficulty, and by a new industry to fashion the whole army to a more reputation than he found it (*sic*); wherein he will be much furthered, if he be answered in due time from thence with treasure and victuals to keep the soldiers in heart; the want, or evil distribution, whereof in the times before hath much crossed the service, and corrupted the main body of the army with all licentiousness. When we hear the army to rise from Chester for Lough Foyle, the Lord Deputy meaneth to draw to the Newry, and so higher to Armagh, to give correspondence to their landing at Lough Foyle. And I hope his Lordship by that journey, with his handful of men, will give a more honourable reckoning of his doings in Ulster, than was done of late, when that Archtraitor was suffered to span the kingdom, from his own home to the uttermost bounds of Munster, and suffered to return untouched, having in his teeth a gallant army, resolute to try it with him, if they had been put to

1600.

it. But of this matter it is not safe to write plainly and freely, till it be seen how that journey of Munster and the events be weighed and measured there.

"Here are many suitors, who press me to write to your Honour in their private causes, who I know cannot but be troublesome to you there with their demands, as they are clamorous here in urging recompense for their losses; and I see the continual vexations of Ireland do make both suitors and their causes out of all taste at Court as yet. And therefore I humbly desire you, by your next, to command me to write no more to you for private men, whereby your Honour shall be freed of much trouble, and I have wherewith to excuse myself."—Dublin, 1600, April 1.

[*Postscript.*] "By all the advices I receive from Ulster, Tyrone and O'Donnell are busy to raise sconces upon the sea-shore at Lough Foyle, to impeach the descending of that army; and they seek to lay hands of (*sic*) as many of the Irish as they hold doubtful, or do think may serve Her Majesty's turn." *Signed. Endorsed*:—Received at London the 16th. p. 1.

April 2.
Dublin.

76. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain Henry Clare. Does not know what his suits are. "My Lord Burgh did extraordinarily much affect him, which intimates to me that he found extraordinary worth in him, for your Honour knows how dainty he was in the choice of his friends."—Dublin, 1600, April 2. *Holograph.* p. 1.

April 2.
Chester.

77. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "I received, Right Honourable, amongst other letters from Ireland, this one from Sir Geoffrey Fenton to your Honour (*wanting*); which gave me occasion to accompany the same with some particular remembrance of mine own duty, though otherwise in matters of business I had but little to add to my former letters touching the ships and their manner of entertainment, of which I expect (and doubt not but to receive) a speedy answer, and shall be glad to hear your Honour had therein taken some course to their satisfaction, the only hope whereof holdeth the masters and sailors in devotion, which otherwise I see desperately bent to quit their barks, especially in regard of the long and unprofitable stay they have made (for the space well near of three months), without entertainment or liberty at any time in the mean season to follow their own business. Which indeed in my opinion (under your Honour's favour) could not but greatly endamage them, if they should be paid by the poll for so many men only as they carry, the time of their continuance under command being yet also very uncertain, and their poverty such, having (as they pretend) spent all they were able during this time of their attendance, that many of them already begin to do away their cables and anchors, or at least seem to want them, that they may make wherewith to maintain themselves; the mayor, notwithstanding their often and importunate suit, refusing to imprest them any money in a manner beforehand; which if your Honour might be pleased to write unto him that he may do, upon the entertainment that shall grow due unto them, I think it would both

1600.

exceedingly satisfy the poor men, and much further the service, which now every man seeketh all means possible to withdraw himself from.

“From Ireland I have now the greatest part of the Captains or their officers arrived, which by my Lord Deputy’s appointment are to take charge of these men, and more I understand to be ready to come, of whom that your Honour may the better understand how I am furnished, I have sent you a perfect list (*wanting*). All other things seem to be there also in good forwardness, the victuals for the 1,000 men being (as my Lord writeth to me) already embarked, the artillery and munition ready to be shipped, and the men within a sennight after to be drawn down to the like end; his letter bearing date the 20th of March; and yet of the ships from London can I hear no manner [of] tidings.

“The Huntingdonshire men I have received with amendment both in arms and choice of men, and hope also to receive the other 250 before my departure, which yet (I am of opinion) will be sufficient to fill up our numbers (considering the daily help we have of others that come from Ireland), which I must acknowledge were better worthy of punishment than entertainment (or rather their Captains that bring them over). But, because the service is much help[ed] by them, and the course of punishing them not followed by any, I thought better to take them into the companies, than let them go, where no man would so much as enquire after them. By the last muster your Honour might perceive the number of about 80 run-aways with their apparel, since which we have lost many more in like manner, and some we have lighted upon by the way, whereof one had been taken running afore and forgiven, and yet the second time disguised himself in woman’s apparel. Others there are, likewise, whose cases are worse than the rest, on whom what manner of punishment your Honour and the rest of the Lords shall think fit to be inflicted, I desire to know, being of opinion for mine own part, that referring them over to their trial at common law will give little or no terror to the rest, except Her Majesty may be pleased to grant out commission for holding of special sessions, and so to give present example in sight of all others, which I leave to be considered on by your Honour’s better judgment.”—Chester, 1600, April 2.

[*Postscript.*] “I have received the letter from the most honourable Lords of the Council, wherein order is given to the Mayor for furnishing us with powder, which I assure your Honour shall be spent to the best advantage I can for Her Majesty’s service.

“I am forced out of our best ships to spare one for the treasure, and another for the Commissioners, which were victualled and made ready for carriage of soldiers; and am enforced to attend a supply from the sea, where I send a man of purpose to seek shipping, because none will come into the river for fear of being taken up.”
Holograph. pp. 3.

April 2.
Cork.

78. William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Sir Robert Cecil. “Since conference had with Mr. Watson, I have presumed to advertise your Honour of the success of things here, hoping of

1600.

your Honour's favourable acceptance thereof, only done in discharge of my duty in my place.

"After that the traitor O'Neill had taken a full view of the harbours of Cork and Kinsale (which are ten miles asunder), and had done his will upon the inhabitants in the borders, he returned the way he came into Muskerry, into the Lord Roche's country, and so into Arlo woods, where he was the eight[h] day of the last month, at what time my Lord of Ormonde passed with his forces that way toward Limerick, about some six miles off. Tyrone, getting knowledge of his being passed by, raised his camp at midnight, left his fires burning, went on his journey northward, and that piece of the night and the next day marched twenty-three miles at least. Tyrone, amongst other establishments of his for our southern rebels, hath deputed his cousin Florence McCarthy, his McCarthy More, the chief commander over the Irishry; and James Fitz Thomas, his Earl of Desmond, over the English Irish rebels, that is, those Irish of ancient English stock, now Irished altogether. Since that Florence McCarthy, the traitor, is so strong upon all this coast, viz., from the old head of Kinsale until Dinglecush, and within the river of Limerick on Kerry side, it is needful (under correction) that this coast be well guarded, and kept from foreign forces, which doubtless Florence will by all means seek to draw to him. Florence gave two pledges unto Tyrone for his loyalty and fidelity and to bring in to him his eldest son, viz., his own brother Dermode, that traitor, and one Finnin McDonnell Carthy, his foster brother, a freeholder. The said pledge, his eldest son, was to be given to Dermode O'Connor, O'Neill's deputy for that purpose, about the 12th of the last month; the delivery is yet uncertain. O'Neill hath taken one of the said two pledges with him into the north; the other, that is Florence's brother, is returned home. The said Dermode O'Connor is left behind with O'Neill's other forces to attend on Florence, having a thousand of O'Neill's northern rebels under his command, to be at Florence's direction.

"The case thus standing, Florence McCarthy, yet for all this, politely and impudently gives it forth by letters and messages to his friends in the towns, where he [is] well favoured, especially in Kinsale, that he continueth loyal to her Majesty, and did what is done in deep policy to cozen Tyrone, by warrant out of England, for the better safety of himself and his countries. The Irish do believe this, and hold him for a good subject, yea and of the English also, not knowing that this was the very practice of O'Neill himself, at his first entrance into action of rebellion, to dally with the State and the world, until he had fitted himself, as your Honour best knoweth. Florence, being in camp beside Kinsale with O'Neill, had thereout upon his letters from his friends bottles of wine, and better relief, I cannot but deliver this unto your Honour, wishing it might be looked into, with other of the town's doings.

"The 27th of the last, Florence wrote unto Sir Henry Power for protection to parley with him. The Council did agree, and gave him word. The day following, comes Florence within two miles of Cork, with 300 Connaught bonnaughts, by a wood side (for he would not come into Cork). Thither went Sir Henry, and Sir George Thornton, and Sir Charles Wilmot; and Florence comes out

1600.

of the wood, all armed, with a pistol at his girdle, very timorous. First conferred with him Sir Henry and Sir George, and after Sir Charles with them. His speeches in defence of his doings are so frivolous as that I will trouble your Honour therewith; as if Her Majesty would have him to leave all, and to beg in England, he would do it; with other vain words, but no likelihood of any hope that he is, or will be, a thankful subject for so many great favours and graces received of Her Highness. The general opinion of him here is, that he will shew an Irish trick, ingratitude for a good turn. And whatsoever he allegeth, sure it is, his joining with O'Neill was voluntary. He might have kept him from him, but he aimeth to be as great in the south, as the other in the north. The Lord of Hosts confound them both, I pray in charity.

"At the old head of Kinsale, there is a strong fort, lately in Florence[']s keeping, but now taken by direction, and a ward there placed. O'Neill hath equally divided betwixt his cousin Florence, and his Earl of Desmond, all profits gotten in the province, or coming from beyond the seas. Pardon me (Right Honourable), I beseech you, to yield a poor opinion. It were very requisite that some of Her Majesty's pinnaces be appointed for this coast and the river of the Shannon. The Lord President is not yet come into the province, but looked for daily."—Cork, 1600, April 2. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

[April 2.]

79. "Certain conference passed betwixt Florence McCarthy and Donnell McCarthy, *alias* McCarthy Reogh, delivered by the said Donnell McCarthy, to me, the Bishop of Cork."

"The said McCarthy and Florence being together at Kilbritton, at what time James Fitz Thomas the traitor was in Courey's country, a four or five miles off from that place, the said Florence asked of McCarthy Reogh (they twain standing in the window in Kilbritton castle next to the sea), what course he would take. McCarthy made answer that he purposed to hold, as he had done, on Her Majesty's side. Florence made answer and said, 'Take heed what you do; the Queen is not able to overcome us. Trust not in the English, for they are not sound among themselves, and the Council is divided, and no man knoweth it better than I do; and be sure that the Irish will prevail. And if I obtain McCarthy More's country (as I have no doubt but I shall), it is a fast and safe country, and full of rocks and mountains and great fastness[es], and there we shall be safe, if we cannot keep this country: there we shall be strong enough for the English.' These and other despiteful and traitorous words Florence uttered to McCarthy, as McCarthy informed me.

"Charles McCarthy, now in England, and Owen O'Sullivan told unto me the 4th of the last month, that O'Downin, a rhymer of Muskerry, being in the north with O'Neill, O'Neill shewed him divers letters sent to him from Florence McCarthy, some three years ago, some later."—[1600, April 2.] *Signed by the Bishop of Cork and Ross.*

[*Postscript.*] "Since the writing of this note, it is certainly signified that Florence McCarthy sent one Richard Burke, a captain

1600.

of some of the northern rebels, to spoil the barony of Ibawne, belonging to the Lord Barry; where the said Burke was slain by a nephew of the Lord Barry's. In this conflict was slain also the said nephew, who had the charge of Ibawne under the Lord Barry. On Burke's side, with himself were slain nine of the best gentlemen he had, and 40 other." *p. 1.*

April 3.
Dublin.

80. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. Pigott, a gentleman of Leix, who has suffered great losses at the hands of the rebels.—Dublin, 1600, April 3. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 4.
[Dublin.]

81. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "My cousin, Sir Edward Blount, whom I brought hither against his will, is now returned as much against mine. For all that he hath done here any ways offensive to the estate, I will answer it with my life; and I beseech you, for my sake, that you will afford him your favour, but in such things as you shall conceive yourself that he may be wronged; but I think he is so free from any fault, that you shall never hear him accused. I must confess I do love him more than any of my name; and believe me, Sir, he is no party or councillor of any faction, but a true, honest man, a good fellow papist, and as I think as much or more my friend than he is to any. I do not think that in anything he will be ever troublesome unto you, but I am bold in this sort to recommend him unto your favour."—[Dublin], April 4. *Endorsed:—1600. Holograph. p. 1.*

April 4.
Dublin.

82. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have presumed, at the earnest entreaty of my very good Lord, the Earl of Kildare, to license his Lordship for a time to go into England, upon his alleging how much it concerns him touching his whole estate in England; and although I would not presume to write unto her royal self about any private matter, yet I beseech you, Sir, to signify from me unto Her Majesty, the good approbation that I generally find here of his Lordship's good service unto Her Majesty, wherein myself in my time have found him to answer all occasions with extraordinary forwardness. And in my own particular, I am his Lordship's poor kinsman, and should be exceeding glad and proud to have power from Her Majesty to give him all contentment."—Dublin, 1600, April 4. *Holograph. p. 1.*

April 4.
Dublin

83. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. Pigott, to his favour.—Dublin, 1600, April 4. *Signed. p. ½.*

April 4.
Dublin.

84. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain Edward Fitzgerald, who is repairing into England on private business. He has demeaned himself as a faithful subject, "which in this broken country is thanks worthy."—Dublin, 1600, April 4. *Holograph. p. 1.*

1600.
April 4.
Dublin.

85. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "Contrary winds staying me at the seaside, it was the 25th of March before I could arrive at Dublin, where I received the benefit of Her Majesty's grant, and the taste of your honourable favour.

"To deliver unto your Honour the present estate of the country, I know it hath by my Lord Deputy and my Lord President been manifested unto you. Yet somewhat sithence my arrival looking into it, I do find that this journey unto Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon doth much amaze them of the north. And of late, in Leinster, Her Majesty's forces have had many good fortunes upon the traitors, and they begin to be far more submissive, and inclining unto their former obedience than heretofore they have been. Therefore I do nothing doubt, if the opportunity be taken and things well followed, when occasions are offered, before Michaelmas Her Majesty shall think her treasure well spent, and your honourable directions to good purpose observed.

"The old companies are ready at Dublin to be embarked with the first wind for Carrickfergus, which is the place of the rendezvous. My Lord Deputy intendeth upon the first certainty of the forces removing from Chester, to draw to Tredagh, and so farther northwards, as the necessity of the service shall require.

"My Lord of Ormonde ['Ormwood'] hath been at Dublin, and is returned. My Lord President departeth Dublin towards Munster the 6th of April."—Dublin, 1600, April 4. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 4.
Dublin.

86. George Cranmer to Henry Cuffe. "By this inclosed you shall understand the state of your ward from him that understandeth it best. Whereof because I have written unto you heretofore at large, when I was at more leisure than now, I will spare my labour at this time. Resolve what you think meet to be done therein, and I will execute your direction. There was, in the Earl of Essex['s] time, another ward granted unto you and Sir R. Napper, whereof I know not what benefit did arise, but I see that Michel, having tempered with (*sic*) Sir Robert in England, hath proceeded to the passing of it here in his and your name; whereof my Lord took notice, when he signed the warrant, and willed me to let you understand so much.

"With Mr. Birkinshawe I have had some conference upon your letters, which I received from him. But for the matter of apparel, so many have in the time of the Lords Justices gaped after that morsel, as we cannot hold it any longer as a secret, but by strong hand; which how it will succeed I cannot tell. The very preachers themselves do now enter into the matter, and call for their clothes as being their due: and in particular Dean Graves, whom you know, because Birkinshawe had informed against him in England for his pluralities, was minded to have served him with the like measure for his clothes. This course I have stayed. But how my Lord will dispose of the matter is yet uncertain; neither shall we grow therein to any certainty, till the present occasion itself do urge us thereunto. Of our affairs here I will write unto you nothing, because I have heard nothing from you of yours there. I pray commend me to Mr. Provost of Eton, to Mr. Carver, Mrs. Carver, and whom else you know of our common friends."—Dublin, 1600, April 4.

1600.

[*Postscript.*] “I pray let Sir Gelly Merrike understand that I was mindful of Mr. Powell, whom he recommended. He met my Lord at Chester, and promised to follow him hither within three weeks at the farthest; the time is now doubled, and he not come. And because every place requireth a body by the laws of nature, I have not been able to keep his place void any longer, especially seeing that the man that presseth upon it, offereth to go to Ballyshannon rather than fail, which I know few wise men willing to do. Mr. Powell, therefore, may do well to stay his journey hither, to avoid penetratious (*sic*) company.” Signed. p. 1.

Encloses :—

86. i. Sir George Carey to Henry Cuffe. “I have done what I may to put away the wards, but there hath been so little offered for the same, that I rest doubtful to accept of any of them. Sir Patrick Barnewell offers 350*l.*, to be paid presently. Sir William Warren offers 400*l.*, to be paid at reasonable days, but when all will be paid I know not. This is the most that any way hath been offered. If you ‘lefe’ to accept any of these, let me know your mind. I have acquainted Mr. Cranmer with these offers, and it seemeth he likes best of the offer of 350*l.* The fine to the Queen is thirty pounds, which I have paid. I have found the office with charges cometh unto 40*l.*, which I will give you; so the price will be clear 350*l.* or 400*l.*, if you will stay time, and bide the hazard, which I like not of. Upon the receipt of your letter, which I desire with expedition, I will proceed accordingly, and receive the money in part of the debt remaining betwixt you and me. Of your man I have received the note. If it speed well, it may perhaps be worth [to] you as much as your wards. I have signed the wardship of your other wards with Sir Robert Napper, and I think by this time it is past the seal.

“Mr. Cuffe, I am much desirous to come into England about the settling of my private business, and when I come, I will acquaint you with what mischief and hazard of loss I am like to fall into by the disorderly raising of the 2,000 men in summer. For where we were appointed for that harvest time, which is for two months, to raise the list from 16,000 to 18,000, my Lord so confounded his warrants in raising the said companies that he brought the list for that time from 18,000 to 19,000; so as there is an overcharge of 1,000 men for two months. The concordatums for raising of companies of horse and foot beyond the list, with these and divers others great fault is found, and how and where the charge will light I know not, besides great overpays made to my Lord; these matters do trouble me exceedingly. Well I must bid you farewell. The hasty departure of this bearer will not suffer me to write more.”—“From my house by Dublin,” 1600, April 3. Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.

April 5.
Kilkenny.

87. “The Sovereign, Burgesses, and Commons” of Kilkenny to Sir Robert Cecil. Have dispatched the bearer, Nicholas Langton, their agent, to the Queen, for certain money due to the town for diet of soldiers. Kindness received from Lord Burghley. Pray Sir Robert’s furtherance of their suits.

1600.

“ This town is an ancient borough, incorporated by Her Majesty’s most noble progenitors, very near the conquest of this realm. Sithence which time it hath always continued faithful and loyal to the Crown of England, according their bounden duty, manifesting their fidelity and zeal to the service of Her Majesty and her noble progenitors in the times of the rebellions of the north and western Geraldines, the O’Mores of Leix, Sir Edmund Butler, and others ; and now at this instant brought to great poverty by the bearing of Her Majesty’s soldiers in very great numbers these three years past and more ; it being also made the common place of meeting and thoroughfare of all Her Majesty’s army and forces, during the government of the Earl of Ormonde. By occasion whereof, above 260 householders of the same are gone with their wives and children a begging ; and being left of late without defence of any Her Majesty’s soldiers, upon Tyrone’s going unto Munster (which they earnestly craved and could not prevail), well near a third part thereof was burned and consumed by night by the traitor Edward Butler FitzEdmund and others his complices. Whereby the town is greatly weakened and impoverished, so as they are not able to bear any soldiers, although there be 400 now in garrison there. They humbly beseech your Honour, if it be resolved that a garrison shall continue there (as indeed it is not convenient for the service), that then you will be pleased to appoint a proportion of victuals there for the relieving of them, as in other better able cities and towns is used, or that they may have their weekly landings duly paid them.”

Would depend upon Sir Robert, as they did upon his father.—Kilkenny, 1600, April 5. *Signed as above.* p. 1.

April 6.
Dublin.

88. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “ This bearer, Sir Francis Shane, being a gentleman of as good desert as any man of his quality in this kingdom, religious in our profession, and as true English as any man born in Middlesex, valiant in his own person, and with his hand hath drawn more traitors’ blood than any man that I know, and a good Captain, having lost all his goods, his lands merely wasted, which in former times was worth unto him a thousand pounds yearly, is by necessity enforced to go into England to repair his broken estate by some means from Her Majesty, desires me to recommend him to your honourable favour.” The extraordinary well deserving of Sir Francis, who is not disposed to demand unmeet requests. “ Although the time fits not for reward during this chargeable war, yet men of extraordinary merit deserve extraordinary respect.” Sir Francis will be thankful for favours bestowed upon him. His estate is “ not desperate, yet it is an honourable charity to relieve such as he is, and a good encouragement unto others to follow his good example. Her Majesty hath not bestowed her grace upon any man of Ireland birth that better deserves the same.”—Dublin, 1600, April 6. *Holograph.* p. 1.

April 6.
Dublin.

89. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Sir Henry Harrington, whose birth, long service, and wounds, speak “ more for him than what he himself or his friends can express.”—Dublin, 1600, April 6. *Holograph.* p. 1.

1600.

April 6.
Dublin.

90. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Captain Charles Montague, who has "deserved as well in Her Majesty's service as any gentleman in this kingdom."—Dublin, 1600, April 6. *Holograph. p. 1.*

April 6.
[Dublin.]

91. Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. The accounts of the officers of the Ordnance. Sends the proportions assigned for Lough Foyle (*wanting*). Was not acquainted with what came over with the Earl of Essex, nor had command of any of it. Prays Sir Robert to signify this. Powder and arms asked for by the Lord Deputy and Council. Is directed to send a man of his to England to receive the same.—[Dublin], 1600, April 6. *Endorsed:—Received at London the 16th. Signed. p. 1.*

April 7.
Dublin.

92. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to [John Whitgift], Archbishop of Canterbury. "About a year sithence, there arrived here from foreign parts one Henry Fitzsimmons, born in this city of Dublin, the son of an alderman of good account, and by his profession a priest and a Jesuit. He came through England without let or stay, and, by changing of his name, did come over as an ordinary passenger. But ever since his arrival he hath gathered together great multitudes of Her Majesty's subjects, perverted them in religion, and drawn them from the church. In Dublin, commonly every Sunday, he used to say mass and to preach. His mass was sung by note, 'in pryckesonge' (a number of priests attending upon him with torches, arrayed in popish vestments); to the which there was an ordinary resort, both of the best sort of citizens, and out of the country, of four or five hundred persons at every assembly. In the week days, he used to travel into the country, to the houses of gentlemen of the English Pale, where he reconciled many to the Church of Rome, procured them to abjure our service, and by mean[s] of his alliance to many, both in city and country, and of this course of his proceeding in the erection of Popery, he was generally received as an angel amongst this ignorant and idolatrous people. The fame of whose carriage and behaviour coming to the ears of me, the Archbishop, I thought it agreeable, both with my duty to God, and to her most excellent Majesty, to use my best endeavours for his apprehension, and in November last, by promise of a reward of 20*l.* to Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-arms in this kingdom, I procured him to attack him, and so committed his body to Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, where as yet he doth remain. Soon after his apprehension, he was brought before me, the Archbishop, and my companion, then Lord Justices, and this Council; and first was charged with the breach and violation of Her Majesty's laws, by his open saying of mass, and preaching (which he could not deny). And secondly, being charged that by his profession and taking upon him the name of a Jesuit, he was a person justly to be suspected by the State (both in regard he was sent from the Pope, Her Majesty's mortal enemy, into Her Highness['s] dominions, and in regard the practices of the Jesuits in these perilous times did sufficiently discover their seditious dispositions to work bad offices between our prince and her subjects),

1600.

he began before us to make a kind of protestation of his loyalty to Her Majesty. But being presently demanded (*virtute professionis sue*) to declare his opinion of the bull of Pius V, published against Her Majesty, and whether in his conscience he thought the act of that bishop against Her Highness to be lawful, in deposing her from her kingdom, in absolving of her subjects from her obedience, and in denouncing her excommunicate, he answered, before us and the Council, that he thought the said act lawful, and before the table maintained his said answer, against me the Bishop of Meath arguing against him, with some lewd and frivolous distinctions.

Besides, at the same time, there was brought before us, by a godly and learned preacher, named Huetson, chaplain to me the Archbishop, a declaration of one Duckworth, an Englishman, and by his trade a tailor, who by chance was present at some undutiful speeches uttered by the said Fitzsimmons, against Her Majesty's right and title to this kingdom, in the house of one Blackney, a gentleman dwelling within six miles of Dublin, which the said Duckworth, being there at his work did hear, and related to the said Huetson; and he, in discharge of his duty, revealed the same to us, the Lords Justices and Council. Whereupon we did refer the further examination of that information to Sir Robert Gardener, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Bench, who having called before him such persons as were present at the said speeches, although they be professed Papists, and in kindred allied to Fitzsimmons, yet have they given such a testimony of his words, uttered at that time, and in that company (where he thought all were sure to himself), as in the judgment of Her Majesty's judges and learned counsel here, is sufficient to condemn him (if the matter were referred to a jury in England, no kind of indifferency being here to be expected in any jury for Her Majesty against a man of his profession). Yet howsoever the words be construed, of themselves they are sufficient to bewray his seditious mind and disposition against our sovereign Prince and her sacred authority (as by the copies of the said declarations (which we send enclosed), your Grace may better perceive.

"Another cause inducing us to think him to be a very dangerous person, and ill affected to Her Majesty's royal state, is that the Archtraitor Tyrone, in November last, sending into the English Pale divers libels, containing most traitorous and seditious matter against the person and crown of Her sacred Majesty, and purposely to draw the inhabitants of the Pale into his wicked combination, did entreat and direct a gentleman of the Pale, named Thomas Barnewell, who went unto Tyrone with license to speak with him, to deliver the first libel which came into the Pale to Henry Fitzsimmons; who, in discharge of his duty, brought it unto us the Lords Justices and Council, and declared before us how earnestly he was importuned by Tyrone himself to deliver that libel to the Jesuit Fitzsimmons. Whereby we are partly drawn into a kind of suspicion that that pernicious writing and instrument was first penned by Fitzsimmons, seeing it is thought Tyrone hath about him no person of learning to devise such a writing. And Fitzsimmons himself, being before us examined, whether he had seen or heard of any such libels, confessed that a little before his

1600.

apprehension, as he was riding in the highway, within three miles of Dublin, he met with a footman, who took his horse by the bridle, and asked him saying, 'Is not your name Henry Fitzsimmons?' And when he confessed that was his name, the footman pulled out of his bosom certain writings, and said that O'Neill had sent those libels to him, to be published by him. 'But,' said Fitzsimmons, 'I put spurs to my horse, and there left the man.' Out of which confession what inference may be made, we leave it to your Grace's wise consideration.

"Again, when Tyrone did first understand that Henry Fitzsimmons was apprehended and committed to Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, because it was then a time of cessation and abstinence from arms, he presently sent a letter to Sir William Warren (as a gentleman that hath oftentimes been employed by the State to treat with Tyrone), signifying that it was a breach of the cessation, and impiously requiring in these words, viz., 'Let him be presently enlarged.' And in like manner, on the first of this instant, an earnest suit was made to the now Lord Deputy and Council, by a knight of good reputation [*in the margin* :—Sir Edward Herbert], whose two children are kept prisoners by the O'Connors, a sept of dangerous rebels, that two priests now detained in Her Majesty's castle (of the which Fitzsimmons was named to be the first and principal) might be delivered out of prison in redemption of his children, declaring before the table that he had received a message from those rebels, containing an offer of that exchange. Whereby your Grace may plainly discern how acceptable a person this Jesuit is unto Tyrone and his confederates, and in that respect how justly he is to be distrusted by Her Majesty, and by all her true and faithful servants.

"And seeing we have thus far proceeded in our true relation of the course that hath been holden with this Jesuit, and of the matters wherewith he is to be charged, we hold it likewise agreeable with our bounden duties to God and Her sacred Majesty, from this particular to grow into the declaration of the general defection of this people from the service of God and His true religion into idolatry and superstition, (which undoubtedly is the cause of those grievous calamities, wherewith this kingdom is now afflicted). For now by degrees men here are grown into that contempt of Her Majesty's laws in causes of religion, that massing is accounted no offence, being frequented publicly, in a manner without any restraint. This defection first began in Sir John Perrot's government, before which time, in these civil cities and in the English Pale, the people were generally very conformable, resorted diligently to the church, and performed such duties as law requireth. But his polity in permitting them to use their liberty, to the end he might win them to consent to the repealing of Poyning's Act (which indeed they never meant to yield unto), was the root and beginning of all this backwardness. For ever since his government, they have daily grown into such obstinacy, boldness, and contempt, as in this behalf there is now almost a general revolt; and were it not that the Deputy keepeth the state in these parts about Dublin, and is attended with forces, as is meet, we see just cause to fear that massing and idolatry would

1600.

be brought into, and erected even in the cathedral churches, within these civil cities and towns, the redress whereof doth not lie in us (whose preaching and exhortations are little regarded); and when we call upon those which have been employed in this government, and are sent from Her Majesty to rule this people, we get none other answer but this, that Her Majesty hath expressly directed them not to stir or meddle in matters of religion (as though either some tumult or trouble might thereby arise to disquiet the state of her government). In regard whereof they have holden a plausible course; some have restrained the exercise of the High Commission (which now for these six years past hath been discontinued), others have inconsiderately set at liberty and enlarged dangerous priests deprehended (*sic*) by us even at their masses, with the hazard of our lives, and some of them being fugitives out of England, whereby such an encouragement is taken by this people, as it is now generally conceived amongst them, that Her Highness either will not, or dare not, call them into question for the daily and most contemptuous breach of her sacred laws. In this disorder and general confusion, what our condition is, and to what dangers both our lives, and the state of all such as profess God's religion, are exposed, your Grace may perceive.

"For our parts, we cannot possibly be induced to believe that Her most excellent Majesty, having, even since the time of her first advancement to rule and principality, laid her sure foundation in religion, continued the same to her immortal glory, and many times signified under her hand in writing her princely pleasure (which to our exceeding comfort we have seen), that Her Highness will not permit the express breach of her laws in causes of religion to escape unpunished in any degree or person whatsoever, and is so far from granting liberty of conscience to rebels, whereupon they seem to stand, will in any sort permit her subjects, living in civility and obedience, thus to be withdrawn from the service of God and His religion, which is the only ground and foundation of true and unfeigned obedience to princes. Wherefore, as it hath pleased Almighty God, for the special good of His church, to advance your Grace to be a father of it, so we, whom God and Her Majesty have vouchsafed to prefer to the places we hold in this decayed church and kingdom, as His and her creatures to do them service in both, do upon the knees of our hearts most humbly beseech your Grace, at your convenient opportunity, to acquaint Her sacred Majesty with the contents of this our letter, and to understand Her Highness[']s good pleasure in this behalf, to be a rule and direction unto us. And albeit it may be said that now it is an unseasonable time, in this general tumult and rebellion, to deal in matters of religion, or in any course to work a reformation therein (as indeed we must confess in the remoter parts of this realm, and amongst the rebels, it is a bootless labour to be undertaken), yet in these civil cities and towns, as Dublin and Tredath, and in the counties of Dublin and Meath, within twenty miles of this city of Dublin (where law hath free course, and is obeyed, and civility is planted), how dangerous a thing it is to let loose the rein, and to permit a general liberty, to the dishonour of God, the public breach of law, the daily increase of a number of

1600.

rebels, being perverted and seduced by traitorous priests, without any curb or bridle (hereby, as it were, to let go the hold which Her Majesty hath already gotten in possession, in her subjects' hearts, of their duty and obedience). We both wish it in our hearts, and, as becometh us, in duty do daily pray to God, that her most excellent Majesty in her high and princely wisdom may foresee it; the rather because things being carried in a moderate course, without rigour or extremity (which never was intended), may be a mean to procure the blessing of God, the recovery of His gracious favour, and the winning of many to the due performance of their duties to His divine Majesty and to Her Highness, His vice-gerent over them; which otherwise are in danger to be withdrawn (as now we see by experience they be) into utter contempt of God and His commandments, and of all sacred power and authority by Him ordained. This being a matter (as we in our simple opinions do conceive of it) very worthy your Grace's recommendation and furtherance, we do most earnestly beseech you to deal therein, as in your grave wisdom shall be thought convenient, and were it not that both our livings by this rebellion are so decayed, as we are not able for want of ability to endure the charges, one of ourselves would in person have come thither, to have solicited this cause, so nearly concerning, not only our profession, but also our duties to God and Her Majesty, by whose gracious countenance and princely direction we desire to be encouraged to take some course to hold and continue that which is already won to God and Her Majesty in service, obedience, and good conformity, that it may not be said (as God forbid it should), that Her Highness possesseth the bodies alone of subjects, whose hearts and affections are far from her.

"And concerning this busy Jesuit, which thus hath bestirred himself in every place in city and country, gathering of multitudes, and withdrawing their hearts from God and His anointed, we are humble and earnest petitioners to your Grace, taking knowledge of this our true declaration of the manner of his carriage and behaviour, to procure either Her Majesty's or their Lordships' directions to the now Lord Deputy, for his speedy sending over into England, there to be dealt withal by such a course of proceeding as is usual towards such seditious persons of his profession, as in these perilous times are sent from that ancient enemy of Her Majesty's, to work disquietness and confusion in her kingdoms and dominions. The rather, because many means are used, large rewards offered, and great sums of money gathered, to compass his liberty (which for a time by our importunity we have yet stayed); and now, in discharge of our bounden duties to God and Her Majesty, do thus plainly deliver our opinions of him, that if he be let loose, by mean of his alliance in the Pale and seditious profession, we fear he will in a short time do more hurt and hindrance to the service of God and Her Majesty in this realm, than we or any of our calling shall be able to do good amongst this idolatrous people, either by our service to God in the church, or by our advices in Council, out of the long experience we have attained. Such is the nature and disposition of the subject in this dangerous time, whereupon he is to work."—Dublin, 1600, April 7.

1600.

From the endorsement we learn that the declarations enclosed in this letter, but which are wanting, were those of George Tayler, William Typper, and Henry Duckworth. Signed. pp. 8.

April [8].
Dublin.

93. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. That Mr. Gerrot Comerford, who has been Attorney for Connaught for fourteen years, may receive an allowance for diet, as the Chief Justice and the Clerk of the Council in that province have had, since the change in its government.

Concerning the Commissaries of Musters in Ireland. Three were named for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, three others for Munster, and three to be sent afterwards out of England. These, with the five already exercising the office, and James Spencer, appointed by their Lordships, made the number of fifteen. Five were thus left at the disposition of the Lord Deputy, and these he appointed, sent to their several garrisons, and gave them their instructions, taking their oaths for the faithful discharge of their duties. Sir George Carey likewise gave them some imprest, according to the necessity of their service. In the last letter of their Lordships to Sir George, they state that they have nominated thirteen Commissaries, besides the five already in Ireland, and have given them some imprest in England. The Lord Deputy will thus be forced to discharge some of those, whom he, by good directions from their Lordships appointed. The inconveniences thereof.

“I, the Deputy, shall esteem it an especial favour, and an ease of great part of my trouble, if your Lordships may be pleased to make choice of fit officers both for these and such other places; but when I have once appointed any, according to such liberty and authority as I have received from Her Majesty or yourselves, I doubt not but your Lordships will so far tender the honour and reputation of the place I hold, as what I shall at any time have lawfully done, may afterwards sparingly be reversed.”

The matter of greatest importance they have reserved to the last. The Lord Deputy, with the advice of the Council, was allowed to hold 2,000 men in list above the establishment of 12,000, and to continue the proportion of 14,000 for the time to come. Pray that their Lordships would procure a new establishment to be signed and sent unto them, bearing the same date as the former one. This would be a sufficient warrant to both the Lord Deputy and Sir George, for retaining and paying so many men.—Dublin, 1600, April [8]. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 16th. *Signed.* pp. 2½.

April 8.
Dublin.

94. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “Here arrived this morning in this port 600 soldiers from Bristol, being (as I think) the remain of 1,500 levied there for supplies, and by them I understand that the fleet, so much expected to come from London for Lough Foyle, is passed along to Chester, all but one, which is as yet astray, but without danger, as I hope. Touching a proportion of victuals supposed by the Lord Deputy to come in company of that fleet hither, I hear nothing thereof, which maketh

1600.

me think that either that matter was mistaken, or else those victuals are deferred till the coming of the new proportion, contracted to be sent in May next, as is mentioned in your Honour's last letters. We made the hope of victuals to come with that fleet of Lough Foyle, to be a ground to keep the soldiers here in heart, who, now failing thereof, will be the less apt to be continued, not having here but poor means to relieve them, either out of the store, or by the country. Therefore it may please your Honour to haste away the new contract of victuals with all speed, being for three months, and to be here by the tenth of May at the furthest. To which proportion if it please you Honour to cause to be added one month['s] more, for the like numbers, and so make the whole provision to be for four months, the army will be reasonably well provided for, and Her Majesty freed for a good time of sending of more victuals hither. Whereof I am bold to give your Honour this taste aforehand, for that I know it will be written by the State, and perhaps to have the proportion increased to two months more, which I think shall not need.

"This day the 1,000 old soldiers for Lough Foyle will be embarked, with all other provisions made here for that place; and now that the fleet is come to Chester, I hope there will be no time lost on that side, only I hear of a great diminution there by running away, and our companies sent from hence are not free from that taint. By that time the whole fleet will be at Knockfergus, which is the place of rendezvous; the Lord Deputy will show himself in Ulster, to countenance that expedition, having to that end laid the forces upon the borders, ready to be called out in 24 hours. And now that all the supplies are come, I hope the companies will go out full and strong; which if they do not, I find the Lord Deputy is resolved to discharge such Captains, as he shall find defective in that point, without respect of persons; which is the highway both for his Lordship to reduce the army to strength, and to keep the Captains in discipline. And though at the first he shall find it hard, either to re-order companies so long suffered in disorders, or to put heart into a dismayed army, yet the first step thereunto is to begin to punish the fiends of the Captains in their musters, and to give the soldier his due lendings. By which course (being contrary to that hath been said), I doubt not but his Lordship will breathe a new life into the companies, and bring the whole army back again to an honourable discipline.

"Tyrone and O'Donnell are plotting how to resist the landing at Lough Foyle. But I make no doubt but that army will make their landing good there without much hazard, considering that though the traitors do cast up t[r]enches to impeach them, and raise sconces in some particular places, yet Sir Henry Dockwra shall have above a dozen miles of plain and hard ground near the seashore, under the cover of his ships, to land his companies, in despite of all the north; only I wish that till he be settled, and that garrison thoroughly planted, the companies appointed for Ballyshannon may remain at Lough Foyle, as well to strengthen that plantation, as with so complete a force to give comfort to the Irish to draw to them, of whom I assure myself of many that will come in, when they see the garrison strong to defend them; and afterwards they may take a fit

1600.

time to plant the other garrison, either at Ballyshannon or Donegal, sending with them 1,000 men to countenance that action.

"We hear daily of killings of the rebels in Leinster, more than hath been heretofore, and I see a kind of emulation amongst the Captains, striving who shall do best, which is a presage (I hope) that the stream will now turn, which hath so long run against us. And in this good inclination of the soldier, it is requisite that money and victuals be answered out of England, to keep them in love with the service, specially for this summer, in which time I see reason to hope for good success, to the abating of the rage of this rebellion, and easing of Her Majesty's charges, humbly assuring your Honour that there will nothing give a greater impediment to the well prospering of the service than want of money and victuals to keep the soldier in this new willingness and courage, that beginneth now to be bred in him; the prevention of which two wants must come from England, for that this country is spent to the bones, and, as you shall daily hear from me, doth more and more draw to a famine."—Dublin, 1600, April 8.

[*Postscript.*] "The Lord President of Munster is departed yesterday towards in [*sic*: his] charge in Munster, having given very good assistance to the Lord Deputy during his abode here; and I see cause to hope for some present good success in Munster by his coming thither, notwithstanding the contrary operations made by Tyrone during his being there. He is a worthy gentleman and in my opinion fitly chosen for that place, both to temper the malignant humours of the people by persuasions and mildness, and, if that will not serve, to make them stoop by force of Her Majesty's sword." *Signed.* *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 16th. *pp.* 2.

April 8.
Rome.

95. Indulgence, as plenary as that given formerly to those who fought against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land, granted by Pope Clement VIII to the "Princes, Earls, Barons, and peoples of the kingdom of Ireland," who shall assist Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, the "Captain General of the Catholic Army" in that country.—St. Peter's, Rome, 1600, April [8-]18. *Endorsed by Sir George Carew*:—"An indulgence from the Pope Clement 8 in anno 1600." *Printed. Latin. pp.* 1½.

April 8.
Loughsewdy.

96. Sir Francis Shane to Sir Robert Cecil. "Having many ways tasted of your Honour's favour, but chiefly during my late imprisonment with the rebels, and now in procuring a remittal of such rents as I paid Her Majesty out of waste lands and tithes, whereof I reaped no benefit myself, I cannot but with all duty yield most humble thanks, being the thing that my poor ability can at this present afford, and withal to tender my humble service to rest ever at your Honour's disposition.

"I praise God for it, there is good hope of our country's amendment, the forces here and there disposed having in divers places put the enemy to the worst, and drawn blood in good measure. The enemy in general conceiveth a distrust in themselves, Tyrone having left them to their own fortune, the benefit whereof being

1600.

now followed, will greatly further the service. As I wrote lately to your Honour my opinion of the dissolution of the government of Connaught then intended, so now must I impart what I think of the disposing thereof, which hath wrought an impression in the wisest sort that the loss thereof is near at hand, many probable conjectures ministering no less cause, which I will not spare to make known to your Honour, albeit my life may be the pledge of what I say, if it should come to the hearing of such who may think themselves touched therewith. But I protest before God, to whom all hearts lie open, and likewise to your Honour that what I write, I do it not as envying or maligning any man is (*sic*) estate, but tendering Her Majesty service (the burden whereof lieth on your Honour) and the quiet of this miserable commonwealth, whereof I am a member.

“It hath pleased your Honours there to dissolve the English government, and to commit the same to our Irish Lords, who are not only varying from the English in religion, but also in habit and disposition, ever affecting licentious liberty, which by the good English government hath been ever restrained, to the great good of that province, thereby casting from Her Majesty the dependency of the subjects there, that never despaired of hope of amendment until now. But now the fruits of this transferred government beginneth to appear, to the astonishment of many well disposed, and to the hurt of Her Majesty’s forces in some measure, and I fear will prove worse. Of late the Earl of Clanrickarde, nay rather now of Connaught, his third son, upon some small discontentment happened betwixt him and Captain Thomas Burke of Mayo, did attempt to cut him and his company off, by gathering his father[’s] and brother’s company together, had he not been prevented by some more wise than himself. Likewise Sir Gerrard Harvey his company, in returning from convoying Sir Gerrard from Galway to Athlone, fell into a town, called Downkillen, for a night’s lodging, but, after their settling, were roused by kern of Clanrickarde, as is said, and disgracefully disarmed, with loss of part of their lives. These beginnings will have a worser end, if it be not looked to in time. Another mischief, greater than this, as I conceive it, is in working. These great men do procure the principal strength of the province that is not already in their hands. They have taken Mylick upon the Shannon river from John More. Of their own they have Portdomno and Clondagawe upon the same. Upon the Suck river they have Ballynesloy; but, which is most grievous, Athlone. They seek to compass Roscommon from Mr. Malbie, and the Callo, a very strong castle, from me. They have had no small proportion both of arms, munition, and treasure sent into that province, and how this may be employed hereafter, let precedent examples witness; and, being possessed of these, what footing hath Her Majesty in Connaught, if they list?

“I do not write this as ministering cause of suspicion against these noblemen, but wishing that the life of whole multitudes be not committed to any one or two noblemen of our country birth, of whose ancestors’ behaviour the State hath had sufficient experience in my memory, by whose actions their children may be censured. By altering this English to Irish government, the Earl of Thomond

1600.

is discontented, being put besides both Connaught and Munster, and now scanted within the bare limits of Thomond; the Earl of Kildare is not satisfied with Kildare county, but affecteth Leix also; the Lord of Delvin thinketh Westmeath too little for himself, to the no small grief of many good subjects hitherto depending upon Her Majesty, but now curbed and yoked by him. Hollow-hearted O'Connor Sligo, and smooth Florence Carty is dealings (*sic*), are fresh in men's memory, that have noted Her Majesty's extraordinary bounty, who nevertheless have proved themselves now in the end, as men of judgment thought they would in the beginning.

"Duty to God inciteth me to disclose unto your Honour another thing, which in my knowledge hath always not only hatched these our rebellions from time to time, but also withdrawn the hearts of the subjects from obedience; I mean the friars of Moltifernem in Westmeath; the nursery of all mischievous practices, the subversion whereof hath been often moved to the State here, but the fear of offending the Lord of Delvin hath been always the let, having a more interest in some than ought (*sic*), which doth draw upon us the wrath of God, whereby their endeavours take so small effect, in that they prefer the fear of men before the service of God. But having digressed, I will return to Connaught, whereof Athlone is both the key and heart of the kingdom also, wishing a particular care to be had thereof for avoiding of afterclaps. Having thus delivered freely so much unto your Honour as may cost me my life, I fear not but your Honour will deliver me as well of this conceived fear as of my late captivity, the benefit whereof, next God and Her Majesty, I acknowledge chiefly to proceed from your Honour's regard had of me, which induced Sir Arthur Savage to deliver pledges in exchange of me, besides what ransom I was taxed at. The weight whereof hath so brought me down, as, being denied here of any relief, I must repair to Her Majesty's most sacred person for succour, hoping that Her Highness will satisfy certain bills of Captain Mostyn's, for which I sold a great part of my lands to sustain my distressed estate, wherein chiefly I rest upon your Honour's only favour and furtherance."—Loughsewdy, 1600, April 8. *Holograph*. [*Sir Francis Shane has crossed out his signature, or it has been obliterated by Sir Robert Cecil.*] pp. 2.

April 9.
Dublin.

97. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I hope God is determined to turn the fortune of these wars, and to make Her Majesty fortunate here, as she hath been always elsewhere. And at the first you must be content to receive our hopes, and some small tokens of our good beginnings. Yesterday I received a letter from James FitzPiers, that he gave an overthrow to Onie McRory, killed above thirty of his men, and Tibbott O'Toole, the chief man of action of these parts of the mountains; and this day Coll McColl's head was brought to me, the most desperate and stirring rogue of the north, and ten more of his company killed. I have heard you complain that you could not hear of one head brought in for all the Queen's money, but I can assure you now, the kennels of the streets are full of them. I have sent you a letter [*wanting*], which even now I received from Sir Robert Lovell, the intelligence

1600.

whereof, if it be true, is of extraordinary importance; as that Tyrconnell, O'Rourke, and Maguire, are already growing into faction. I will blow this fire, and am sending up some forces to Offally, where I hear they are also going together by the ears amongst themselves. Some of the chief of the O'Tooles are come in, and [have] put in their pledges, and Donnell Spainagh sueth to me for his pardon. I am desirous to leave these parts somewhat quiet behind me, while I draw down towards the north; yet I am careful to take none in but with good security. I am sorry the Captains informed you, when you called us to Council, how little we should want victual here; for I do now miss them so much, as I cannot do many things, which [it] grieveth me to omit. It is thought there will be in all Ireland the greatest famine that ever hath been, which I hope is the scourge that God hath chosen to plague these rebels. We have neither yet meat nor money, but we live with the news that it is at the seaside. I do find extreme difficulties to attempt anything by reason of the exceeding dearth, and want of all means to go into the field; for there is almost no carriages to be gotten, and our horses and the very cattle of the country starve. But by this time the forces I appointed for the north are drawn to the garrisons I named in my former letter, and, as soon as I hear Sir Henry Dockwra is at Knockfergus, I will draw down myself to countenance those parts, with how great difficulties soever I do it; and I hope from thence to send you some good news. It may please Her Majesty that, since we must bestow no companies on the Irishry, to give us leave to be somewhat liberal to such as do good service, with reward of money; the example whereof will go near to bring in Tyrone's head at the last. I have used Her Majesty[s] leave so sparingly to give the honour of knighthood, as though she licensed me to knight three at my first coming, yet I knighted but one; and since, upon a very special service done by Francis Shane, a gentleman of this country, an old and very good servant to the Queen and of seven or eight hundred pound[s] land, I knighted him. I think these Irish men will not trouble them in England much for their places, and some of them upon especial service receive great encouragement by that honour. I pray let me know her Majesty's pleasure, whether it will offend her, if, upon good occasion, I bestow that honour on some of them. I protest, Sir, I do endeavour nothing more, next my duty to God, than to please Her Majesty in all things, and do nothing here with any other end but to serve her; and I hope you shall hear that no prince was ever served with a more full army, and less deceived hereafter in her musters. For I have sworn to my best friends that, if I find them deficient, I will cast [cass] their companies; and if I can hold them in this humour, every man begins to strive who shall have the fairest company. Only the defects of the horse companies are hardly to be remedied; for, believe me, Sir, they are most starved out of necessity, and I have no remedy but to make them strong with Irish horse. For, besides the charge which no Captain is able to bear to reinforce his troop out of England, if we had a supply, they would run the fortune of the former. There are many abuses in this army which I hope to weed

1600.

out, and I have already reformed many beyond my own expectation. It is God that must, and I hope will, give the success, but if you keep us alive and in heart out of England, we are all now as full of good hope here as ever we were of despair; but, if you fail us in our means, all things will grow suddenly out of frame. I beseech God enable me to do the Queen the service I desire, and to perfect this great work, whatsoever become of me.

“If it will please her Majesty to enlarge my instruction so far as to give the order of knighthood to such as shall do either especial service, or shew extraordinary forwardness, I will use it only to that end; but, if she think it not fit, let her cut off my head, if I make one knight more. James FitzPiers doth continual good service. His father was a knight, and he of a very noble house. His wife will never strive for her place in England; and, if it should not displease the Queen, I would give him some honour.”—Dublin, 1600, April 9. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

April 10. 98. “The list of the 14,000 foot, as they stand disposed this 10th of April, 1600.” List of 106 Captains. *Draft.* pp. 4.

April 12. 99. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “At Dublin.
twelve of the clock this last night I received this letter I send to you now. The wind being fair but this morning, I would not lose the opportunity to give notice of a matter of so great importance. The certainty or manner I cannot yet examine; but, God willing, you shall shortly hear from me what I find is the truth, and what I conceive of it. For as I have had reason to conceive of his proceedings, I know not well whether this be good or evil news.”—Dublin, [1600], April 12. *Above the address is put, “For Her Majesty’s especial affairs,” and underneath it, “At Dublin the 12 April about 10 in the morning.” Mountjoy has signed against the further words, “Haste, haste, haste, for thy life.” Cecil’s secretary has made the endorsement, “Received at London the 18th.” Holograph.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

99. i. *William Hartpoole to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.*
“Yesterday in the evening, the Earl of Ormonde, being in parley with Onie McRory, was most treacherously taken by him, and led into Leix as prisoner, with three others, and two of his men slain.”—*Catherlough, 1600, April 11. Holograph.*
Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, “From William Hartpoole, 11^{mo} Aprilis, 1600.” p. ½.

April 12. 100. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “I doubt not but Dublin.
many will advertise the taking of the Earl of Ormonde by Onie McRory O’More, but of the manner of that accident, and what may be gathered of it, I think few or none can as yet sound the just depth. Touching the manner in generality (*sic*), it was thus. The Earl being drawn to a meeting with that rogue, under pretence of parley, and with numbers equal, was surprised by some secret ambuscade laid for that purpose, his Lordship and three of his servants

1600.

led prisoners into Leix, and two of his men slain. Other particularities are not as yet written hither, but by my next your Honour shall have a more full report. Many things may be gathered of his taking, wherein errors may be committed, for that there is little as yet to ground a true opinion, other than conjectural reasons, which are but weak, till time may give them strength. But to your Honour I say, that whosoever hath precisely observed the Earl of Ormonde in his wariness by nature, and in his foresight by long experience, must think it strange to see his Lordship overtaken by a young wood-kern, upon occasion of a parley, wherein his Lordship's providence at other times hath been rare, and above the wariness of all other men that I have known treating in the like cases. The Lord Deputy and Council are now in hand to send forces to Kilkenny, both to assure the Countess and her daughter, and to stop other violences that may break out upon this alteration. I know there are sundry of the Butlers, who seeing that the Earl's daughter is the only block in their way to aspire to great things, may in this captivity of the father, attempt some danger to the child. For prevention whereof, and to give consolation to the mother, I think the State will send for them both to come hither, if the Countess shall not think herself sufficiently secured in the castle of Kilkenny, by the forces assigned for that purpose. But howsoever the Countess either through weakness in body, or for sorrow of her husband's misery, or in a worldly care not to leave Kilkenny, where resteth her wealth and substance, may forbear to come hither, yet I wish her daughter, upon whom do depend many interests for Her Majesty, were either with the State, or sent for into England out of hand. A matter which I humbly wish were deliberated there, and Her Majesty's direction sent hither with all possible speed.

"Some here make doubt that the Earl will be passed over by Onie McRory to the traitor Tyrone, who, being the head of this great rebellion, may seek to draw the Earl into his hands, the better to work his own conditions. But I am not of mind that Onie will let go so great a prize to pleasure Tyrone, but rather will reserve him in his own possession, to the end to make his delivery profitable to himself and some of his other principal confederates in Leinster. This is all I can write to your Honour of this matter as yet, the passage being ready to depart presently, only I see an honourable industry in the Lord Deputy to do all he can to stay all further disorders which may break out, and to give succour and comfort to the sorrowful lady. To which end his Lordship meaneth to-morrow to send up Sir George Bourchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, as two persons thought most meet for such a purpose."—Dublin, 1600, April 12. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 18th. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

April 12.
[Dublin.]

101. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since the writing of my last letter, I have received this enclosed from my Lord President. I have presently dispatched a messenger unto him, to desire him to stay at Kilkenny till Monday, and to be especially careful of the safety of my Lord of Ormonde's daughter. On Monday night Sir George Bourchier shall be there, and bring

1600.

from me letters of comfort to my Lady. I will give him instructions to taste the dispositions of the gentlemen of those parts, because, as I hear, he is best acquainted with them; and with him I will send some companies of foot, and as many horse as I can spare to assure Kilkenny and those parts. I think it fit to be sure of the Earl's daughter, but if I should send for her from my Lady, beside the infinite grief she would conceive with it, I know not what effect it would work; and if I should send for my Lady to come hither for her safety with her daughter, they say she is not able to travel. I will secure this point as well as I can, till I hear the Queen's pleasure in this case, being of so great importance. I would be loath on the sudden to give my opinion of this accident; but it seemeth strange to me that one so full of regard to himself in all his proceedings should be so easily overtaken. He did never acquaint me with any purpose he had to treat with Onie McRory; but the first news I had of any purpose of his to that effect was by the relation of this accident. I am glad my Lord President escaped so well; and if it please God the Queen's army stand in heart as now it is, the greatest hurt that will arise by this mischance or practice, whatsoever it be, will be but the diverting of some few of the Queen's forces to be employed in those parts; but if the Butlers declare themselves, after Lough Foyle is planted and some garrisons left on the borders, if the President of Munster with part of his forces meet me in Kilkenny, we will soon cut off any heads of danger that shall arise by this accident. Sir, it is God that must do all things; but I can think of no other instrument than an army kept strong and in heart for a time, and famine amongst the rebels, which no doubt will assuredly ensue, if you keep us in strength and life. For it is the army that must work it, and rid the Queen shortly of this great charge, if you will enlarge it for a while, which I do to no other end solicit continually but to rid the Queen speedily of this charge and myself of this burthen; and if this be not my purpose only, I pray God neither to prosper me in this world, nor in the world to come."—[Dublin], 1600, April 12. *Endorsed*: Received at London the 18th. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Encloses :—

101. i. "*Extract out of the Lord President of Munster's letters concerning the Earl of Ormonde's taking (sic) prisoner.*"

"12 April, 1600. *My former report concerning the Earl of Ormonde was in every point true, saving only that, of our side, there was only one man slain, called Mr. Philip Comerford, a lawyer, and those, which in my former letters were said to be slain, were but hurt. Of the rebels there was likewise but one slain with a pistol. My Lord of Ormonde in his taking received no hurt, but his hat, George, sword, and dagger, were taken from him. After he was taken, there fell strife among themselves, for some would have slain him, and others endeavoured to save him, and one was hurt that did defend him. They set him on an hackney, and that night carried him into Leix, six miles from the place he was taken. The traitor, Archer, was his bed-fellow.*

"*Onie McRory useth him well. All this I know by a letter from him to his Lady, wherein he prayeth for that no forces may be*

1600.

- drawn down where he is, for fear, as he saith, of being killed.*
- "This treachery was plotted by that priest Archer, and of the conspiracy there was no more but Onie McRory, Shane Oge McGilpatrick, my Lord of Upper Ossory's nephew, Callagh McWalter, brother's son to Hugh Boy McCallagh, and four bonnaughts.*
- "My Lord of Thomond's wound in his back is of no danger, not above two inches deep, and without any ill accident following; so as, within these four days, he will be able to ride.*
- "The same day" [i.e. 12 April, 1600]. "This day, one of his Lordship's servants came from him, who carried him his bed and other necessaries, and a quantity of victuals; before whose coming, he wanted bread, drank nothing but water, and, but one egg, he could get nothing to eat. The villains themselves are ready to starve for want. They remove him every night from one cabin to another, and he is yet in the custody of the bonnaughts, for Onie McRory dare not trust him in the keeping of any Leinster men.*
- "His Lordship doth desire that there may be no plot set down for his recovery by force; for then he is sure to be slain, Onie McRory protesting that himself will be his executioner.*
- "The rebels have been dealt with by his Lordship, to know upon what conditions they will enlarge him, but of that they will not think, until the pleasure of Tyrone and the whole parliament of rascals be assembled (sic).*
- "My Lord is desirous to remain in Leinster, wherein he hath reason; for in Leix itself he is as much regarded as in this county; and many of those which were at his taking did wholly depend upon him, but, not being acquainted with the treason, durst not declare themselves.*
- "I sent for 600 foot from Waterford to this town, besides my horse, but my Lord of Ormonde, fearing lest it should provoke the rebels to deal more hardly with him, desireth me to withdraw them, and to leave the country to his own care.*
- "I wrote unto the Lord Mountgarret, praying him (in respect he was my Lord's next cousin, and of great possessions in this country, and also for the especial care I know he had of the Queen's service), to come to Kilkenny, that I might advise with him what was best to be done in this tumultuous time. This day he came within six miles of this town, sent his servant unto me to desire me that either I would speak with him, where he was, or else that I would give him my word for his safe return. Both which I denied, not for any intention I know of his detaining, but for that I thought it dishonourable for him to make any such demand. His messenger replied, that without my word he knew he would not come into the town. I told him I would not do his Lordship so great an injury as to send him a protection to his dishonour, and to draw his obedience into question; with which answer his messenger departed."*
- Extract. pp. 2.*

April 14. 102. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir George Carew. "I heartily thank you for the loving and kind postscript sent in my Lord of Gortnacleehe.

1600.

Thomond's letter. I am in such case here, as I cannot send or receive ought by letter or message, but that they must both see and know the same. Wherefore I must refer all your proceedings to your Lordship's grave and considerate judgment, wishing you should acquaint my Lord Deputy how things fall out here, to whom I am not allowed to write as yet. Your Lordship may be advised by his Lordship, seeing I cannot advise you in particular, nor [am] suffered to write what I would. I doubt nothing of your Lordship's goodwill towards me, and wish you should not of mine in anything I may possibly. I pray you to procure that no means be made to rescue me, for that my life stands upon it, till I may know of Onie McRory what point he will be at with me."—Gortnaclehe, 1600, April 14. *Endorsed by Sir George Carew*: "The copy of the Earl of Ormonde's letter to the President of Munster." p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 14. **103.** A brief note of some of the services of [David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry], from 1 July, 1597, to 14 April, 1600. *Draft. pp. 3.*

April 15. **104.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "I received your letters by Captain Stanton, the 13th of this month, and have already dispatched him (taking therein the advice of Sir Robert Gardener), with whatsoever assistance he required for the performance of the service. But I have thought good to let your Lordships know that, as I understand by Sir Robert Gardener, and as I have otherwise informed myself, the parties, with whom your Lordship's instructions are that Captain Stanton should treat, are not of any such dependency as their drawing in is likely to prove of any extraordinary consequence; they having been sometimes Lords of the Fews, deprived thereof by the old O'Neill, and now living but in obscurity and very meanly followed. Whereas, he that must deserve such conditions, as it seemeth your Lordships will afford him, were fit to be the likeliest man of the house of the O'Neills, upon his revolt from Tyrone, to draw the strongest party with him. But I will leave nothing undone that may give furtherance to Captain Stanton's project; and in the mean time make overture unto your Lordships of a service of the like nature, which doth exceedingly well sort with the purposes of Lough Foyle.

"Sir Arthur O'Neill at my first coming sent a letter to one Fleming (the which I sent to Mr. Secretary), and certain demands by word of mouth for himself and Neale Garve. The which because they seemed very large, and that I looked he would fall to lower terms upon the arrival of the Queen's forces in those parts, I only willed Sir Samuel Bagenall, in whom he hath great confidence, to write unto him, that for a time he should stand upon his own guard, and then I doubted not but he would shortly see that it would prove more safe for him to become a subject, than to depend upon the fortune of Tyrone; and with this letter and some other instructions I made Fleming dispatch away presently a messenger unto him. Since which time I heard for certain that Arthur O'Neill refused to come at Tyrone, and stood upon himself; and even now his

1600.

messenger is returned, and brought this letter to Sir Samuel Bagenall, and another to Fleming, which I send your Lordships [*wanting*] and, because there is in them somewhat mentioned to be delivered by word of mouth, as the names of most of his confederates and their demands, in my letter I will only trouble your Lordships with what I received from the mouth of the messenger. The principal men that he offers to bring in, are Neale Garve, whose father, as I hear, held O'Donnell's country by patent from Her Majesty, and between Arthur O'Neill and Neale Garve there is an extraordinary fastness of love; O'Cahan, who is foster-brother to Arthur O'Neill; Cohanagh Maguire, whose sister Sir Arthur hath married, and who is already in arms and blood against Connor Roe Maguire, favoured by Tyrone; the Clandonnells, Art McDonnell's sons, whose mother was Sir Arthur's sister; and Tirlogh McHenry McShane O'Neill's sons, Tirlogh McHenry, Tyrone's own brother by the mother's side, whose wife is sister to Sir Arthur O'Neill. The effect of their demands, as well as I could gather it, is first, in general, not to be prosecuted for their religion; Sir Arthur O'Neill to hold Tyrone from the Queen, to him and his heirs; Neale Garve to hold Tyrconnell, as his father held it from the Queen; Cohanagh Maguire to be Maguire from the Queen, paying and acknowledging all duties unto her, as heretofore hath been; the rest, but to have their own countries which now they possess; but all desire during the wars to have their men in pay, and if any prisoners be taken, to have some to redeem the pledges that they have put in unto Tyrone.

"There belongeth unto this relation many other circumstances, which I can hardly deliver unto your Lordships in writing; but upon this I will dispatch Fleming to Lough Foyle with the best instructions I can give to Sir Henry Dockwra, to make use of these men until I be farther directed and warranted by your Lordships. I think it unfit to raise settled companies of the Irish; but if such as now come in of the north were a while kept in pay, to cut one another's throats, I think they might be so far put in blood, that the quarrel would not end with the Queen's pay; but if they come in and have no pay, they cannot keep their men, since for the time the rebel will spoil their country, and so they will rather chose to run Tyrone's fortune than to be given to want for the present. I am timeous to move or do anything that may offend the Queen; the fear whereof may inforce me to omit many of these opportunities, and lose them, before I know her pleasure. But God prosper me as I unfeignedly desire to make an end of this war and the Queen's charge, which, if I have any judgment, is now or never to be done, if it be thoroughly followed. I have already brought the Queen's army into heart; they seem to desire nothing more than to fight; the list was never more full, nor never so many good men in Ireland. The barbarous rebels, as with a little they are puffed up, so with less they are thrown down, and begin to abandon their hopes. There is a great famine growing upon them, the chief instrument of reducing this kingdom; and, except God by extraordinary means, as by tempest to those forces that plant by sea, or by sickness to us by land, do hinder the success, I hope, if your Lordships enable us continually, to make a speedy end of this war, with the favour and blessing of God. And yet I must let your

1600.

Lordships know thus much, that a greater force than yet we have employed about harvest, to set forwards in all parts this growing famine, would quickly quit the charge in the expence hereafter; which I do the rather remember to your Lordships, because I protest I can hear no man, either of the Council of the State, or of the employment of the wars, but think[s] these times and occasions require a greater force, and that I find no man so confident as myself that these we have will suffice. I beseech your Lordships, let me know Her Majesty's pleasure, if it shall be thought importing her service, what she will have me do touching the proposition of drawing in the redshanks, which she seemed before your Lordships to allow of; and that I may be instructed as fully as she shall think convenient, how to deal with these northern rebels, if any of principal force or consequence to the service offer to come in, and make any of these kinds of demands.

"The Earl of Ormonde's parley was never before imparted to me by his Lordship, neither did I ever hear of it, till I heard the success. The Council and myself have written to your Lordships what we have done upon that accident. What will ensue upon it, I know not, but I conceive no great danger. Your Lordships must be content to hear sometimes of these accidents in a war of so great hazards; but God, I hope, will enable us to send you better news." —Dublin, 1600, April 15. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7th of May. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

April 15.
Dublin.

105. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Mr. Udall hath been with me, and fills me with a confusion of idle propositions, unto the which I do very patiently give ear, and I think must put on more patience before he will perform anything, except he work any great matter by the Geraldines. It is nothing worth to bring them in, for I have refused better men than they, that have made means to me, without performing something of value before. I will send you word how the gentleman behaveth himself, of whom yet I have only heard that he hath promised two or three of my men, that they shall receive letters of thanks from you for using him kindly, and that he will write the Queen word of it; and then, if my men such praises have, what shall I have that keep this honest gentleman.

"Sir, you writ to me that the gentlemen did mislike my horses, which I heard of here, and sent away presently to have them supplied to their uttermost contentment; so that I doubt not but you shall hear that the Queen is well served therein, and myself the loser only. For when I came away, I left a hundred and more at Chester, who, upon my honour, Sir, (for I saw them both), were better than any troop that the country sent up [for] the Queen last summer, when it was thought she should fight for her crown. But since, they whom I trusted, as I hear, have brought some ill horses; but it is I that only lose thereby, for they turned back almost forty, which I have supplied with better, and yet the worst that they turn back doth cost me twenty marks; for that is, I protest, the lowest price that I paid for any, and for some I have paid thirty and twenty pounds. As soon

1600.

as I heard any fault found, I sent over Sir Edward Blount to supply any defect the Commissioners could find, and to use his credit, which is good in those parts, whatsoever it came to, for the serving of them, fully furnished, to the contentment of the Commissioners, who, believe me, Sir, are very precise, for I hear they refused one of the horses that my Lord Treasurer gave me. For I have now put in to that company all my own horse, except some twenty I brought with me hither. Whatsoever shall be laid out since my last sending over, I lose out of my own purse; for I protest all the money I received was laid out before. I had so great losses with a number that fell lame, and there was none of the men but stood me almost in as much as the horse, beside his arms and coats, to hire them to go to Lough Foyle. For I could have carried over five hundred better cheap to have served in my own troop than fifty to go to Lough Foyle.

“Sir, I do thank you for giving me notice of these things, and I pray, Sir, do me the favour to let me know of anything you have misliked; for I persuade myself that I do nothing but I can give a very honest account of it. And where you desire to hear of some justice that I should do for runaways, I can assure you, Sir, I have already in divers places hanged some sixteen; and if you would but do the like on the other side, we should keep our men the better. If you would give order in all the ports to stay such as come over without pass, and to hang some of them, and send the rest back, we should keep their company the better. The casting of so many companies, being in so many places far asunder, was the cause that we have lost many good men, which was impossible to be avoided.”—[Dublin, 1600], April 15. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7th of May. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

April 15.
Chester.

106. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. “This bearer passing only through the town, gave me occasion to advertise your Honour of the forwardness we are in for putting forth to sea, which is not yet such as I know may be expected, nor as myself should desire it were. But our only impediment that we are not gone, consisteth in that we are forced to new victual the sailors that came from London, and to lay aboard the hay, oats, water, and other necessities for the horses, which, as I signified before, could not but require at least seven or eight days’ work, within which time I doubt not but to dispatch the business, so that now within four days I hope to have all things in readiness aboard, with men and horses shipped, which done, your Honour shall more perfectly be informed of all that shall be needful. In the mean time I must crave your honourable construction of this hasty scribbling, which proceedeth from none other but a desire to continue my duty, as well in mine own private, as the public, business; in neither of which points I would willingly omit my part.”—Chester, 1600, April 15. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

April 15.
Chester.

107. Petition [to the Privy Council], from eleven Captains at Chester, praying that they may be supplied with 20*l.* a piece for

1600.

100 men, and proportionately for 150, employed in the service of Lough Foyle. Their departure drawing on. Her Majesty cannot be prejudiced, as there is much more due to them on their reckonings.—Chester, 1600, April 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

[April 15.] **108.** “A list of the Captains appointed by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to take charge of the men employed for the service at Lough Foyle.”

Of these Captains, Sir John Bowles, the “second Colonel,” was still at Dublin, ten were at Chester, the Lieutenants of six other Captains were also at Chester, and the remaining nine Captains had not arrived from Munster.—[1600, April 15.] p. 1.

[April 15.] **109.** “Munition sent to Lough Foyle.” [*The list ends, curiously enough, with, “Writinge paper—one Reame,” and “Incke—one gallon.”*—1600, April 15.] *Unsigned.* pp. 3.

[April 15.] **110.** Note on the “provisions to be sent to Lough Foyle.”

Salt. “A brewhouse to be set up at Asherowe, which I think may very conveniently be done upon the little river that runs hard under the walls; or else that order may be taken for beer to be carried them, and sold at reasonable rates.” Victuals to be sent from Galway, “because, the winds failing here, are always good from thence.” A Commissary and two men to be sent to Ballyshannon, for the issuing of the victuals.—[1600, April 15.] *Unsigned.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 16.
Dublin.

111. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. “My opinion being delivered of the disposition of the Irish intending their submission and obedience, more than sithence this rebellion hath been offered or observed, I do find daily my judgment better confirmed by sundry of good sort, which do tender their service unto Her Majesty, if it may be accepted; and, for the better manifestation of their intended loyalty, they do offer, before they be accepted into favour, to imbrue their hands in blood by the killing of some good man of name.

“The conditions which they do stand upon is (*sic*), that upon this service done, they may receive entertainment for themselves and such people as do attend them. Their demands I know will dislike your Honour, yet, considering the peril of the time, and the negotiation purposed for Lough Foyle, it were not in my conceit amiss to accept of their offers, and to give them pay, using them as instruments for the advancing of the service, and for the drawing of blood and sowing of factions and seditions, whereby Her Majesty might the easier effect the honour of Her Highness[’s] desire, and her intended purpose.

“It may be thought, Right Honourable, that this late accident of the apprehension of the Earl of Ormonde may breed an amaze in my Lord Deputy and the State of Ireland, for the prosecution of the service. The accident was very unfortunate,

1600.

and in an evil time; but, this being past, is void of present redress, and my Lord Deputy (I thank God) is nothing daunted at it, and doth continue his determination to advance towards the north with the best expedition and endeavours that he may. And yet, as much as in his Honour lieth, he provideth for my Lady's security, and for the continuance and preservation of the country in unity with obedience. And as yet it is not known what the Moores intend to do with the Earl.

"There hath been of late a practice to surprise the fort of Leix in the Queen's County; and, to effect their purpose, there was an offer made unto Sir Francis Rush his Lieutenant (he being at Dublin), to bring him where he might have some good store of corn for the relief of the garrison. And the party which offered the service, to declare that he meant nothing but truth, left a pledge in the fort with his wife and child, and willed that they should be hanged, if he failed of that he offered. Whereupon there was appointed twenty soldiers to go with this man, for the bringing away of this corn, and when he had brought the soldiers to the place where the corn was, there lay Onie McRory with 120 men, who charged the soldiers and killed them all. So their villainy is such, that he was contented to have his friend hanged, so that he might have her Majesty's soldiers killed.

"Sir Oliver Lambert, with 800 foot and 100 horse, is appointed for the victualling of the fort of Philipstown. The sequel of that journey shall be imparted unto your Honour by the next letters.

"If it shall please her Majesty royally to maintain the garrison of Lough Foyle, your Honour shall find that within short time Her Highness will have a great party within the country, and many, that Tyrone now by tyranny holdeth, will revolt and yield the best means for his banishment out of Tyrone, and his suppression."—Dublin, 1600, April 16. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich, the 7th May. *Signed*. pp. 2.

April 17.
Dublin.

112. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "We doubt not but it will be grievous to your Lordships to understand the late unfortunate accident happened to the Earl of Ormonde, who, upon Thursday last, the 9th of this month, being at a parley with the traitor Onie McRory O'Moore in the borders of Leix, was there taken in hand by the said traitor, and his company, and presently led away prisoner into their fastness, the manner and circumstance of which treacherous action we humbly leave to the letters lately sent thither by me, the Deputy, and to such others as now come in this packet, being written by the Lord President of Munster, who was present upon the place, together with the Earl of Thomond, and they both escaped with great difficulty and hazard of their lives, the Earl of Thomond being hurt two or three inches into his back with a pike. Upon this disaster, we entered into conference what was meet to be done for the securing of Kilkenny, and staying of the country and borders thereabouts, lest some further violence might break out, to the endangering of Her Majesty's affairs. For as we considered how far this sudden treacherous action might alter some of the Butlers, and make them and their

1600.

followers stagger, when they saw the Earl, who was the head and stay of them all, fallen into imprisonment, so likewise weighing the great consequences and interests that depend upon the young lady his daughter, and how dangerous it might be, if in this broken time she should be embezzled or drawn into the hands of any of the Irish, or by any contract of the father, to redeem his liberty, to be promised in marriage to any of this country birth, such as the State should not like of, she being a person upon whose ground in that case might be wrought many dangerous alterations, we thought best, as well for securing of the whole country as for the safety of the afflicted Countess and her said daughter, to send an increase of forces to those parts, and particularly to guard the castle of Kilkenny, under the charge of Sir George Bouchier, as a person most acceptable to the Earl and the Countess, by reason of his alliance and ancient friendship with them both, to whom we have given instructions in writing to be specially careful of the castle of Kilkenny, having for the guard thereof fifty English soldiers, with their officers, besides commissions of authority to assemble the country for some course of defence, during the calamity of the Earl, and private letters to the nobility and chief gentlemen of the Butlers, to feel them how they stand affected, and to deal with them apart to be as careful to preserve the country and the Earl's livings now in his restraint, as if he were at liberty. To which end we have also sent up Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, to assist Sir George in the employment of the forces, and when he shall be revoked hither, to deliver the ordering of the forces and country to Sir Christopher, but not to take charge of the young lady, on whose behalf we thought not meet to commit that trust to him. But to Sir George we gave secret instructions to be reserved to himself, that he should have a special care over the young lady, to stop all practices that might be made, either directly by the parents' consent to procure the Earl's liberty, or indirectly by any of the Butlers, or any others of this country birth, to get her into their hands for any purpose whatsoever. This we thought best to be done for the time, both for the state of the country and safety of the young lady, whom we thought more convenient to secure for the present in this manner, than to draw her away from the afflicted lady her mother, who, in this heavy case of hers, is her chiefest comfort. Yet, considering the importance of the young lady, and the consequences that may break out by her, either to the good or evil of Her Majesty's affairs, as things may fall out, we humbly desire your Lordships to move Her Majesty for the withdrawing of her out of hand into England, to be kept about Her Majesty, whereby many dangerous sequels may be prevented, and all just cause of discontentment in the parents taken away. The consideration whereof we humbly leave to your Lordships, and to have Her Majesty's speedy direction in this point, as also what course we are to hold, if the Earl, with the grief and durance of his captivity, should chance to die, or the traitors, in whose hands he is, should force him, for the redemption of his liberty, to contract for his daughter any thing that may be prejudicial to the State. A matter which in reason may be doubted, though the best is to be hoped for of his Lordship. We

1600.

have heard nothing as yet from the Earl since his disaster, only he hath written to the Countess, charging her upon the love she beareth him, not to procure any force to be used for his rescuing, lest it should increase the danger of his life; wherein we are of the same mind, and therefore do humbly pray your Lordship's advice and direction what course we are to hold in so great a cause. And yet in the meanwhile, we have and will employ instruments to discover in what sort they entreat him, what intelligences pass between Tyrone and them touching him, and what purpose they have for his liberty. In which point we doubt not but they will hold sundry pernicious counsels, and will specially aim at the getting of his daughter, either by practice, or by the Earl's consent for his restitution to liberty, which, both ways, cannot but be hurtful to Her Majesty's affairs.

"We are now in hand to send forces to victual the fort of Philipstown in Offally, and to build again the Togher, or causey, which is the passage for the same, and was formerly thrown down by the rebels. For which purpose there are masons, carpenters, and lime provided, and all they appointed to march away to-morrow under the command of Sir Oliver Lambert, Serjeant Major. But the garrans written for to come in by the country five days past for carriage of the victuals, lime, and other provisions for this service, are not yet brought in, neither have we hope that they will be brought in any time, such is the backwardness of the country; which cannot but greatly endanger the force, being in very great distress for want of victuals. And after the revictualling of Philipstown (albeit I, the Deputy, caused of late a small proportion to be put into the fort of Maryborough in Leix, and would have put in more, but could not for want of carriage), the like course must be presently taken for that fort of Maryborough, which is in the same distress for want of relief; whereby your Lordships may see how dangerously both those two forts will be hazarded by the slackness of the country, for want of portage for the victuals, which we cannot remedy by any authority we can use. Likewise, I, the Deputy, so soon as I have put on foot this expedition of the forts, will draw in person to the northern borders with such companies as I have already laid there, to raise a head suddenly for the service of Ulster, as in our last despatch hath been advertised to your Lordships, making my preparation to march thitherward, according the time that I shall think the fleet may loose from Chester, to pass to Knockfergus, to the end we may all be prepared to correspond one with another, for the entangling of Tyrone, and diverting him from Lough Foyle. In the well prospering of which enterprise (which we pray God to bless) will rest a great part of the good success in all other Her Majesty's services in Ireland. Wherein, touching our proceedings and the events that shall ensue, your Lordships shall be advertised from time to time with the best speed we can.

"The 25,000*l.* sent last by Her Majesty for these parts of the realm arrived safely in this harbour four days since, the expending and ordering whereof we will see carried as near as we can according to your Lordships' directions, and to the best avail of the service, humbly desiring your Lordships to haste away with all speed the three months' victuals contracted there for the tenth of

1600.

May next, and that it may be here, if it be possible, before that time, to sustain the army, who otherwise, in discharge of our duties, we assure your Lordships, will be in hazard to break for want of victuals, this country being not in case to give any relief that way, such is the universal scarcity in all places. Touching some dividend made of this treasure now sent, as well what is repaid of the borrowed money, as what is issued to the army for lendings already due, and how small a sum remaineth, your Lordships shall now receive from me, the Treasurer, by my servant Watson, a perfect certificate; whom I have by this passage returned thither. Besides, I am to remember your Lordships that the officers of justice, patentees, pensioners, warders, and almsmen, are altogether behind of their payment for the last half year, ended at March last; for satisfying of whom, we see not how we can draw it out of this small remain, but by diminishing of the lendings for the time to come, which will be hard to do, considering there will be no help of victuals for the soldier in this country; and therefore we humbly pray your Lordships that we may be relieved speedily both with money and victuals. Moreover, we humbly pray your Lordships to haste away a proportion of powder and other munitions, according the certificate of the remains sent to your Lordships in the last despatch by the Master of the Ordnance, assuring your Lordships that, the greatness of the present actions considered, the store in all the magazines, and specially of powder, is drawn so low, as it grieveth us to think of it. And now that the service beginneth to be on foot in every place, it will so much the more require an increase of that provision. Lastly, the thousand men prepared here for Lough Foyle, and their provisions have been shipped and lain aboard these five days; but, by contrariety of wind, they cannot as yet make sail to pass out of the harbour; as also some of that regiment, being put to the sea at Tredagh, are driven in again by contrary winds; and these companies, now embarked in this harbour, have lain ready upon the shoreside these three weeks and more, which is somewhat more chargeful to Her Majesty, beside the trouble to keep the soldiers aboard so long time. And so, humbly remembering your Lordships that your two last letters of the 28th of the last month we received four days past, and will see the contents performed in the best sort we can, wherewith we most humbly take leave.”—Dublin, 1600, April 17. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7th of May. *Signed.* pp. 5.

April 17. **113.** Henry Bird, Commissary of Musters, to Sir Robert Cecil. Dublin. Is assigned to the garrison of Newry, and is taking journey thither with fresh instructions. Will endeavour to augment Sir Robert's good conceit of him.—Dublin, 1600, April 17. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

April 17. **114.** Vincent Skinner to Sir Robert Cecil. On the proportions of victuals contracted for to be sent into Ireland, since the first of January. The charge for the whole amounts to 21,811*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*—*Endorsed*:—1600, April 17. *Holograph.* p. 1.

1600.

April 18.
Waterford.

115. Sir George Carew and the Earl of Thomond to the Privy Council. "Although I, the President, have by my letters advertised the Lord Deputy the manner in what sort the Earl of Ormonde was taken (which I think is by his Lordship sent unto you), yet we think it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make known to your Honours how accidentally we were witnesses of his misfortune.

"On Monday the 7th of April, we departed from Dublin, and upon Wednesday at night we came to Kilkenny, where we found the Earl of Ormonde. In our company we had 100 horse dispersed in the country, ten or twelve miles distant from us, by the Earl's officers. As soon as we came unto him, he acquainted us that he had appointed the next day to parley with Onie McRory. We told his Lordship that we would attend him, and I, the President, desired his Lordship that my 100 horse might be sent for to go with us, for his Lordship's better guard, which he refused, thanking me for my offer, saying that he had no need of them. The next day, being the 10th of this present, after dinner, his Lordship not having in his company above the number of 17 horsemen of his followers armed, and not a little above the like number of all sorts (whereof we were part), and the rest lawyers, merchants, and others upon hackneys, with no other weapons than our swords, rode out to the place of meeting, eight long miles from Kilkenny, called Corraneduffe, upon the borders of Ydough, leaving his Lordship's own company of 200 footmen short of the assigned place about two English miles. The place where we met with the rebels was upon a heathy ground descending towards a narrow strait, having on either side of us a low shrubby, boggy, wood, within three pike length at the farthest from the place where we parleyed, and the like distance from the strait aforesaid, the choice of which ground we much disliked. Onie McRory, when he came unto us, brought with him a troop of choice pikes, leaving in a little plain beyond the strait, within half culiver shot of us, in our sight, all his gross, being all to the number (as Redmond Retinge, one of the rebels, did swear unto me, the President) of 500 foot strong and 20 horse, whereof 300 were bonnaughts, the best furnished men for the war, and the best apparelled that we have seen in the kingdom. At our first meeting, and so during the parley (which was appointed for some good causes best known to his Lordship), they stood as close as they might, every one trailing his pike, and holding the cheek of the same in his left hand, ready to push. The Earl himself was upon a little weak hackney unarmed (as all we were that were about him), standing with the side of his hackney so near to the rebels as they touched him. After an hour or more was idly spent, and nothing concluded, we and others did pray his Lordship to depart; but he, desirous to see that infamous Jesuit Archer, did cause him to be sent for. As soon as he came, the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer traitor, and reproved him for seducing (under pretext of religion) Her Majesty's subjects into rebellion. In this meantime the gross of the rebels had left their standing in the plain, and some crept into the shrubs aforesaid, and others did so mingle themselves among us that we were environed, and stood as if we had been in a fair. Whereof

1600.

divers did advertise his Lordship, and at last, I, the Earl of Thomond, willed Onie to put back his men, and I, the President, desired his Lordship to be gone, for that I did not like their mingling with us. Wherewith, as his Lordship was turning his horse, at an instant they seized upon him and us two. His Lordship was in a moment drawn from his horse. We had more hanging upon us than is credibly to be believed; but our horses were strong, and by that means did break from them, tumbling down on all sides those that were afore and behind us, and (thanks be to God) we escaped the push of their pikes, which they freely bestowed, and the flinging of their skeynes [*i.e.* daggers] without any hurt, saving that I, the Earl of Thomond, received with a pike a wound in my back. The Earl's horsemen, which were armed, were far from us, for every one was dispersed, and talking with particular rebels about their bordering business, so as we do protest unto your Lordships, in all we were not above ten unarmed men near unto him; and, as soon as the alarm was raised, every man of his Lordship's followers ran away without looking behind them (*sic*). After we had cleared ourselves within a butt length at the most, we made halt, and called for the trumpet, and cried upon the Earl's men for a charge, but none stood by us, but Captain Harvey, Captain Browne, Mr. Comerford, a lawyer, and three of our servants, which was all the company we had there, and all of us without armour or other weapon than our swords: so as, for want of more company, we were enforced by the enemy's shot to leave the ground to them. But we do assure your Lordships, the place wherein we parleyed was of such advantage of the enemy, that 500 foot would not have cared for 500 horse; and therefore (his Lordship having not foot with him), it was impossible to do the enemy any harm with horse.

"This treachery (for so we must term it, in respect of his Lordship's confidence in the valour of his own men, and also in his own opinion that the enemy durst not shew him this foul measure), was contrived by that villain Archer, and none was made acquainted with it but Onie McRory, two Leinster men, and four bonnaughts; for, if more had been trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should have had knowledge of it. Onie McRory laid his hands on me, the President (as they report), and, next unto God, I must thank my Lord of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him, and, at my back, a rebel newly protected at my suit, called Brian McDonogh Kavanagh, being afoot, did me good service, and wounded one of those traitors that laid hand on the Earl of Ormonde. For the rest I must thank my horse, whose strength bare all down about him. On our side there was but one man slain, not above five hurt, whereof Piers Butler, a kinsman of the Earl's, was one, who behaved himself valiantly, and about fourteen taken prisoners; and of the enemy, one was slain, and a few hurt. The prisoners were taken by their own negligence, who were afoot, grazing their horses.

"The taking of this great Lord breeds unsettled humours in these parts, for all the gentlemen of the country (whereof some of them were his true followers), for want of a defender, are wavering. Others, which in their own disposition were naught, and contained

1600.

themselves as subjects but for fear of his power, are now at liberty, and we fear will shortly declare themselves. To keep them from present uproars, I, the President, did immediately send for 600 foot of the Munster companies, which were at Waterford, and the 100 horse, which were in the country, to the town of Kilkenny, which hath wrought good effect, and stayed their unsettled humours. Besides, it did assure the Lady of Ormonde and her daughter, which otherwise had been subject to many dangers. So sorrowful a lady in our life we have not seen, and do believe that, if it had not pleased God that we at that time had not been there, she would hardly have undergone those griefs that did oppress her. For besides the loss of her husband (in being prisoner with those rogues), she beheld the apparent ruin of herself and her daughter, and no less danger of both their lives, the guard whereof she committed unto us, not being assured of those that serve her. For there are divers that pretend to be the Earl's heirs by sundry titles. First, Sir Edmund Butler, his second brother, which Sir Walter Butler, the Earl's nephew (whose blood is not attainted) will not yield unto, because his uncle, Sir Edmund, is not restored in blood; and the Viscount Mountgarrett thinks that he ought to be Earl of Ormonde for many reasons which he pretends. This controversy could not but breed great danger to the Countess and her daughter, for that every of these would be glad to possess themselves of the Earl's houses. And the doubt who is to succeed him breeds unsettled humours in the gentlemen of the country that be followers to the Earl, every one addicting himself to the party they affect, whereby there is a general distraction, which would have broken out to a dangerous rebellion, if the forces and we had not been there to keep them in awe. Besides, we did not neglect to send for all the Lords and gentlemen of the country, that are of the best quality, and have temporised with them, so as we hope the dangers that were like to ensue, will be for a time well appeased. Also, understanding that Ballyraggett, a house of the Lord of Mountgarrett's, in the which there is a ward for the Queen, kept as a pledge for his loyalty, that the same was attempted to be won by the Viscount's sons, who are in rebellion, and, immediately upon the Earl's taking, lay before it, in hope to starve the soldiers (for their last day's victuals was spent), I, the President, upon my credit, did take in Kilkenny victuals, and, with a strong convoy of horse and foot, have victualled it for six weeks, whereof the Lord Deputy is advertised, praying him to be careful for supplying of it, before that victual be spent. And because that all things might be continued in good order, we thought good to remain in Kilkenny, until the Lord Deputy should determine of some course so to hold it for her Majesty's benefit, the country's good, and the Countess and her daughter's safety. Wherein we were enforced to make large disbursements of our own small stores, for dieting in that town the horse and foot troops, whereof I, the Earl, defrayed the charges of my own company of 200 foot, and I, the President, of all the rest, during our abode there, which was eight days. In this mean time we, understanding that Mountgarrett's sons, which are in rebellion, did come to spoil the country near to Kilkenny, we set out some part of our troops, who lighted upon some of their men, and

1600.

amongst them (which they slew) there was one of the Butlers, a near kinsman to Mountgarrett, and a principal leader slain, and the traitors driven to their woods, being enforced to leave their enterprise.

“The 16 of this present, Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence (sent from the Lord Deputy) came to Kilkenny; Sir George, for chief commander of Her Majesty’s forces there, and to take charge of the Countess, her daughter, and the Earl’s houses; and Sir Christopher, to be directed by him. The forces there left is (*sic*) 200 foot of the Earl’s, other 200 of Sir Christopher’s, 30 of my foot left in a ward in Mountgarrett’s house called Ballyraggett, 85 horse (whereof 50 of the Earl’s, 25 of St. Lawrence’s, and 10 of Sir George Bouchier’s). Since the Earl’s taking, we kept the rebels from doing of any harm in the country, neither as yet is there any in rebellion in the same, but Mountgarrett’s sons, whose force is not such, but in our opinion (without they call strangers to assist them), Her Majesty’s forces there are much too strong for them. The 17 we left Kilkenny, and came to this city, leaving Sir George Bouchier as aforesaid. This accident hath withheld me, the President, from my peculiar charge longer than I supposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will hold me excused, being otherwise so necessarily employed in these causes of so great importance, whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships in your wisdoms to have due consideration. To-morrow we proceed in our journey towards Cork, from whence (with the rest of the Council there), we will advertise your Lordships in what estate we find the province, not being able here to certify your Lordships so particularly as then we may.”—Waterford, 1600, April 18. *Signed. Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich the 28th. *pp.* 3.

April 18.
[Dublin.]

116. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “I received a letter from the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, yourself, and Sir John Foscue [Fortescue], by one Captain Stanton, about a service by him to be performed by drawing in of some of the O’Neills; wherein I have dispatched him, but as yet not heard from him. This letter which I send you inclosed (*wanting*) to impart to as many of my Lords as you shall think fit, is concerning a service of the like nature, wherein I conceive there may be great good done for Her Majesty’s service, if I were warranted how to proceed therein. The other can prove of no great importance, for they are men of little or no dependency. Arthur O’Neill is of great reputation in the north, and, as I hear, better beloved than Tyrone himself. I have sent instruction to Sir Henry Dockwra to entertain the matter as far forth as I can, until I hear from you, and put Arthur O’Neill in the more hope, because I gather what her Majesty would be content to offer the others.

“Here is a rumour of an invasion looked for in England from Spain, and of some stirrings in Scotland. I have endeavoured to search out the original, but cannot find it out. It doth much hurt, for the rebels take comfort in it, who were never more dismayed. I send you a letter I received of ships come into the north out of Spain; I hear it confirmed by others; that of Munster, I hear no

1600.

more. I pray, Sir, if you think it fit, let me hear sometimes how such matters stand in England, that I may take notice of them in such sort as I shall be directed by you. As soon as the fleet setteth forwards from Chester, I will draw down into the north, from whence I hope in God to send you some good news. I send you also some offers of Arthur O'Neill (*wanting*), as the messenger set them down from his mouth. I do send Fleming and the messenger to Lough Foyle, with instructions to Sir Henry Dockwra. I pray, Sir, let me hear as soon as may be what course the Queen will have me hold with such as will come in to me in the north, for I think a little help would make them all cut one another's throats."—[Dublin], April 18. *Endorsed*:—1600. Received at Greenwich 7^o Maii. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Encloses:—

116. i. Garrett Moore to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "*At my being in Dublin, I humbly desired you that I might carry in my company a man of Tyrone's unto the Connors, the better to procure my kinsmen's liberty; which you granted me, and the man this day is come hither, who telleth me that Tyrone going into Maguire's country, to appease a strife fallen between them for the government thereof, wherein there hath been slain some 200 men* [Lord Mountjoy writes on the margin:—'*this I hear confirmed from all parts*'], *which, together with the like happening between the O'Cahans, and now the death of Con McColl, did move in Tyrone a great grief of mind; in which his grief were brought unto him three letters (for the which he seemed to be very joyful). The one came from the King of Spain, the other from O'Donnell, the third from the commander of a Spanish fleet already landed at the Whitehead in Munster, or presently to land; the fleet containing 36 of the King's ships and 24 merchants, with three thousand soldiers. Two other ships, who brought these letters, are come into Lough Begg, in Tyrconnell, with munition for Tyrone. Thus much doth the messenger report, and is thought by my man (who was beneath for him) to be true; but whether it be so, or put out by the enemy to stay our shipping from Lough Foyle, I am doubtful, but I will use my best means to learn the certainty.*"—Mellifont, April 15. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

April 18.
Dublin.

117. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Enclosing a letter (*wanting*) from one who was present at the taking of the Earl of Ormonde prisoner.—Dublin, 1600, April 18. [*The Lord Chancellor's secretary has put "February 18" in error at the close of the letter: the endorsement puts April.*] *Signed*. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 18.
Dublin.

118. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This day your packet of the 6th of this month was delivered to me by the Lord Deputy, with a letter addressed to the Lord President of Munster, who for that he is departed hence ten days past, I have (according

1600.

your direction) returned the letter to your Honour herewith. Touching Tyrrell, who it seemeth your Honour taketh to be dead, I assure your Honour he is living, and at this present in Munster, ready to make for Leinster, if the cows he hath got of the spoils of Munster be not too lean and weak to be driven. I find by your Honour's letter that you would be glad to receive from hence a packet of good news, whereby you might take occasion to move Her Majesty for me. I most humbly thank you that you have me in mind to do me good, which is more than I have or can deserve. But seeing I have now almost twenty-two years expected Her Majesty's gracious recompense, I fear I am at the end of my comfort, to expect further upon such an uncertainty, specially when by the increasing troubles of this realm, there is little appearance of pleasing matters to be advertised from hence. Yet, God willing, I will not fail to hold on to do my best in Her Majesty's service, though with a grieved heart, to see all others here rewarded in large measure, and myself only rejected without any recompense, that have longer served by many years than all the rest, except the Lord Chancellor."—Dublin, 1600, April 18. *Signed.* p. 1.

April 18. **119.** Memorandum by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, perhaps a postscript to the last letter.

"We are now entered into a proceeding touching Sir Henry Wallop's causes. I find the original information hath [been] derived from one about this State, not so much upon good matter, as to raise his own fortune by the hurt of another, and particularly to be revenged of him that is dead. Your Honour's last letter shall be a sufficient caution to me, to see an upright course carried both towards the dead and the living. I humbly beseech your Honour, burn this paper. 18 April, 1600." *Holograph.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 18. **120.** "The estate of provisions of victual for Ireland, since the 4 of January, 1599[-1600]." Total cost, 21,892*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* *Endorsed* :—18 April, 1600. *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

April 18. **121.** Proportion of victuals for Limerick, laden by John Wood "in the good ship, called the *Gift of God*, of London."—1600, April 18. *Unsigned.* *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"This is all of the proportion for Limerick." p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[April 18.] **122.** Proportion of victuals for Limerick, laden by John Wood "in the good ship, called the *Hopewell*, of London."—1600, April 18. *Unsigned.* *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"This is a full proportion for all that are appointed to be victualled at Limerick." p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[April 18.] **123.** List of men in the north whom Sir Arthur O'Neill offers to bring in. [*Duplicate of a passage in the Lord Deputy Mountjoy's letter above, of April 15, No. 104.*] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"Names of men in the north." *Draft.* p. 1.

1600.

[April 19.]

124. Memoranda on the state of affairs in Ireland.

General pardon advised. Protections not to be so largely granted. The garrisons heretofore kept in towns, to be scattered abroad in castles, as well those kept by the Irish as by the English; and all freeholders and husbandmen bound to dwell and resort under them, with all their corn and victuals whatsoever, to prevent the victualing of the rebel.

“Head money to be proclaimed after the manner of Italy.”

The principal Irish to be entertained, especially men of birth, account, and service. Hoys or flat-bottomed vessels for the river of Shannon, Desmond, and Kerry, and one for the river of Youghal. Arms for such as are subjects, to withstand the rebel. Proclamation of penalty for such as receive rebels' goods into their castles, or put goods in the rebels' custody. Garrett FitzJames to surrender Shane Castle, before he be protected. Care to be had of the Council of Munster, and other English in authority; also, to prevent the insolencies of the soldiers upon subjects and protected men. Store houses for munition and victuals. John FitzThomas to be blocked at Loughgirr.

“Some course for religion, and the High Commission to cease, at least for the present.”

Provost Marshals. Offers of late made to Patrick Condon. Care for the letting of Her Majesty's lands. English commanders or superintendents to be placed in most of the cantreds or Lord's countries of Munster, besides the Lord President, and English garrisons to be kept in such of their castles as shall be thought fit, “to oversee and reform the abuses, which daily are committed”; and all to be accountant to the Lord President.

“None should be suffered to travel out of any cities, towns, or castles, especially idle people and butchers, without license and passports, the abuses thereof being great, and the traitors' wants supplied, besides the intelligence[s] which by such are given the rebels.”

In place of a strong garrison at Lismore, companies should be placed in several castles, as Dromany, Lisfinny, Kilmacow, Moghelly, &c., and be duly victualled and munitioned beforehand. For this purpose a hoy to be brought to Youghal.

“A restraint for any to dwell abroad until the wars be ended, and all tenants and freeholders (such as are subjects, or shall take pardons or protections) should resort to their native soil, especially such as be under castles and lands of Her Majesty's and owe service, which service in many places would be employed for fortification of such castles where English are to be garrisoned.

“Torture and racks would be appointed for apprehended traitors, whereby many matters and hidden treasons would be brought to light, which for want thereof are smothered.”

Contributions to be raised in the cities and country for the easing of Her Majesty's charge. “An order for the maintaining of English garrisons, which must be continued for some years.” No protected man to take cess without payment, nor to go armed, nor accompanied. Better security to be taken of him. No “cottyes,” or other boats, to “be suffered upon the Bryde or Blackwater, nor salmon nets, except by the English garrisons and such as be subjects, to

1600.

prevent the relief the rebels have of them ; and such as are licensed should find sureties not to offend.”—[1600, April 19.] *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

April 19.

125. Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England, to Sir Robert Cecil. “ Having received from Mr. Skinner a note of all our contracts yesterday, I called before me all the victuallers ; and, perusing the contracts, and conferring with them, I have made this collection, whereby you may inform yourself of the true state of that matter, and of the care in our proceeding, and that, if wind and weather permit, there is no doubt but that there will be sufficient means to relieve the present want. And so you may make a copy of this collection, if you think good, and send it to the Deputy and Council, for their better satisfaction of our care and travail.

“ I send you also the last certificate out of Ireland (*wanting*) upon the ground of which we proceeded to these provisions, although for Munster we made our first contract, 4 January, '99, before the receipt of that certificate. And for our second contract with Jolls, 17 January, '99, for Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Leinster, it was done with conference and advice of my Lord Mountjoy, and Sir Henry Dockwra, and divers other Captains. At which time, Galway was certified to have good store of victual, and Munster was then by us before that time (*sic*) supplied by our contract with Dorel [Darrell] and Jolls, of the 4 of January, '99.

“ I have, upon this conference with the victuallers, moved them, if you so think good, that they do also presently think upon the provision of one month's victual more, viz. :—

One month's victual more
for all these, viz. :—

{ For Lough Foyle for 3,200 men.
{ For Ballyshannon for 1,100 men.
{ For Connaught for 1,500 men.
{ For Leinster for 2,500 men.
{ For Munster for 3,250 men.

“ I have thus moved them for two causes ; the one in respect of the general lack of victual, which is like to fall upon Ireland ; the other in respect of the present prices of victual, which even now beginneth to rise, and thereby the victuallers the worse able to perform their contract without a greater allowance.

“ I would to God you would admonish Mr. Wood not to make such open motion as he did to increase new prices from Her Majesty, for he stirs up the rest to the like ; and, if he will needs do it, I wish him rather to do it privately than publicly, and rather to encourage the rest than to discourage them. I am afraid that, his state being poor, he is ill able to undergo this burden, which but by men of good wealth can hardly be performed. But, however his state be, let him make no open demands of increase.

“ You know that, at our last conference, we thought it most convenient to supply victual and money, being the two pillars of this service. Upon which consideration I still rest to make this new supply of one month's victual more, which will not be above 3,000*l.*, and returns again into Her Majesty's coffers ; and also to send 15,000*l.* more for Leinster and Connaught, to be added to the 25,000*l.* already sent, but not yet in Ireland, I fear. And then,

1600.

Lough Foyle and Munster being already so well provided, I will hope for good success. At the least they can cast no imputation upon us, for lack of that which should uphold the service. Of powder and munition, I wish also a present supply to be sent, specially of powder, whereof we have great store. But of what sort of munition they write not. So as if you send powder presently, and defer the munition till we have answer from them of what sorts they have want, and to what quantity of every sort they desire, I think it will do well enough.

"The judges have delivered up their opinion that the departure of the soldier out of Her Majesty's service, being in pay, is felony. I protest unto you it is half the victory won. For without this, the lack of punishment being known so generally as it is, it would have endangered the whole state; for nothing [is] more dangerous than to gather soldiers together, that know they may mutiny without danger of law.

"I am in the midst of my physie, whereof I find great good, and do assure myself, if I had longer deferred it, I must needs have fallen into some great sickness ere long. I beseech you excuse mine absence to Her Majesty, for I do continually dispatch business, notwithstanding my physie, so as I sit not idle, as my physicians can tell you, who, finding me so wholly busied, cry out against me."—1600, April 19. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

125. 1. "*The state of the provisions of victual for Ireland, since the 4 of January, 1599[-1600].*" [Duplicate of No. 120 above. The total is erroneously given as 21,811*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*] *Endorsed:—*18 April, 1600. *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

April 19.
Waterford.

126. Sir George Carew to [the Lord Deputy Mountjoy]. "On Wednesday night Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence came to Kilkenny. The next morning I departed thence, and came to this town the same night. The instructions which your Lordship delivered Sir George, I saw, and know not what may be added unto them. The day before their coming, I had intelligence that Mountgarrett's sons were in a waste town six miles from Kilkenny; against whom I sent a part of the horse and foot I had there, who lighted upon some of their company before they could recover the woods, and slew four, whereof one was a kinsman to Mountgarrett, and of his surname, and a principal leader under his sons.

"The judgment which your Lordship hath given of the loss of this Earl is in my opinion according to the truth; for I could give many reasons that the State cannot receive any great 'indempnitie' by it; yet, notwithstanding, it had been more happy that he had not fallen into their hands. In your Lordship's letters you required me (if I could conveniently spare them), to leave 100 foot in Kilkenny; before which time, as by former letters may appear, which I sent unto your Lordship, the Earl himself by one of his servants did pray me to draw all my forces away, and to hasten into Munster. And as for the country, as far as I can judge, there is no great danger towards; for, when I left the same, there was (*sic*)

1600.

not any more rebels than Mountgarrett's sons, who are followed with 50 rogues at the most, and no more; neither do I think that any will start into rebellion, while the Earl lives, but afterwards the competitors of his land will disturb those parts. Moreover, I do assure your Lordship that you will find it to be true that the Moores will not spoil any of the Earl's own lands, and as for the rest of the borderers upon Leix, they pay their contributions, and are secured. I write not upon imagination, but upon assured knowledge of that which hath passed since his Lordship's taking; and, therefore, the forces which your Lordship hath sent thither is (*sic*) sufficient; and let not the fear of those parts alter your other purposes.

"That your Lordship may understand whether you have received all the letters which I have written unto you since my departure, I beseech you to know of your Lordship's secretary, whether he hath not one from the Naas, one from Catherlogh, and 5 from Kilkenny; for I am in doubt that some are miscarried. The copy of Florence McCarthy's letter, which your Lordship says is sent unto me, I have not received; which assures me that our letters be intercepted.

"Mountgarrett is fearful, and so is his son James, whom your Lordship saw in Dublin. When I marched towards this town, they shewed themselves upon the top of a hill, having in their company about 140 foot and 20 horse. He sent his servant unto me, saying that as he was coming to meet me upon the way, that his horse fell, whereby he received a great bruise in his side, and had broken a rib, and therefore prayed me to excuse him; but his son James desired to speak with me upon my word to return, and so came unto me, accompanied with 12 horsemen. By him I found that his brethren were in rebellion, not with malicious hearts against the Queen, but to be revenged upon the Earl of Ormonde, and that they now would become humble suitors for their pardons, which I think they will effect.

"William Hubbard was at the parley, when the Earl was taken, and on the rebels' part. The next day he sent to me for a protection, was with me at Kilkenny, and follows me into Munster with 12 horse and as many foot, whereby the passage between Laghlin and Kilkenny is cleared. This I do to ease that country of a notorious and dangerous traitor.

"Hereinclosed I do send your Lordship the copy of a letter from the Earl to me. He hath now reason to fear them, being in their hands; but before he mistrusted them no more than I do your Lordship. James Butler told me that at the *parley* *Onie and the Earl of Ormonde* had these *speeches*. 'You know,' saith the Earl, 'that your father and grandfather were evermore my friends, and so am I to you. Forbear you to spoil me and my tenants and friends, and I will do you no harm.' This, he saith, was *spoken* a little before he was taken, and told unto him *by one* that was *there*; which is like to be *true*, but hereof no proof can be made, and therefore fit to be suppressed. I beseech your Lordship to take the pains to decipher this yourself.

"The state of this province I cannot yet deliver unto your Lordship, and therefore therein for the present I humbly pray to be excused. The matter which I acquainted your Lordship of,

1600.

concerning the Archbishop of Cashel, hath good hope of performance shortly. Your Lordship shall hear more of it. I humbly beseech your Lordship to send me the orders which you have agreed upon for the government of the army, for I find by this little experience of (*sic*) many disorders that of necessity must be redressed, and my desire is to be directed by them, being both in duty and love in all obligations bound by your favours to obey and serve you.”—Waterford, 1600, April 19.

[*Postscript.*] “Burn this letter, I beseech your Lordship.”

“The White Knight’s eldest son hath been with me. His father is released upon pledge to pay by a certain day to Redmond Burke 150*l.*, and three other pledges for his continuance in action until Lammas day; at which time, if Spaniards come not into Ireland, he is freed from their combination. He is an uncertain man, and therefore I doubt that he will but juggle with the State; and yet I know he will make fair weather with me. As near as I can, I will fight with him at his own weapon.”

Lord Mountjoy, who deciphered the cipher words above italicised, has appended a note, probably when forwarding this letter to Sir Robert Cecil:—“Sir, I pray, according to my Lord President’s desire, burn this letter; but to send it unto you, I know it will not offend him.” *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

126. 1. *The Earl of Ormonde to Sir George Carew.* “I heartily thank you for the loving and kind postscript sent in my Lord of Thomond’s letter. I am in such case here as I cannot send or receive aught by letter or message, but they must both see and know the same. Wherefore I must refer all your proceedings to your Lordship’s grave and considerate judgment, wishing you should acquaint my Lord Deputy how things fell out here, to whom I am not allowed to write as yet. Your Lordship may be advised by his Lordship, seeing I cannot advise you in particular, nor [*am*] suffered to write what I would. I doubt nothing of your Lordship’s goodwill towards me, and wish you should not of mine, in anything I may possibly. I pray you procure that no means be made to rescue me, for that my life stands upon it, until I may know of Onie McRory what point he will be at with me.”—Gortnaclege, 1600, April 14. Endorsed by Sir George Carew:—“Archer the Jesuit was his Lordship’s secretary, for he writes but as they give him leave, and they read that is sent unto him.” [See No. 102 above.] Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 19.
Waterford.

127. [William Lyons], Bishop of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I received your letter dated the 15th of March last, by which I understand, amongst other matters, that I must tarry here until your Honour’s pleasure be further known, or other occasion, which is in hope, shall happen. And although I expect, with God’s assistance, the same occasion to be shortly offered, wherewith I might return thither, yet in the mean time I am in great decay for lack of fit means to live, which I have not of mine own; and besides that, the very want of necessary expenses, with other crosses, made me

1600.

unable hitherto to attend the 638, as I would, and otherwise might. And having now shewed your Honour's letter to the Lord President, he told me that he could not help my foresaid want, nor induce the Lord Deputy to do it, although he shewed your Honour's letter to that effect, which, according my want and with his Lordship's advice, I thought necessary to declare to your Honour. And as for the proportion which I did perceive, by your own letter, and by the Lord President his speeches, to be appointed unto me, viz., as much as is allowed to one of the preachers, or to the Dean of Limerick; although I might peradventure for mine own person live as meanly as any of them, if I were not otherwise esteemed amongst the people of this province than they are, yet, being hitherto of another estimation and port in this country, and in some sort now employed otherwise than any of them, I had rather (under reformation) to go without it, than to be so reputed; assuring your Honour that the very messengers and other people, which I use as instruments about that 638, could not be maintained with such a proportion daily. But let it be as please God, I will still till death, God willing, follow the course first pretended, until it be brought to an end. I suppose that the Lord President has written to your Honour of this, and how all things stand, and in what expectation; to whose relation I leave your Honour."—Waterford, 1600, April 19. *Endorsed*:—Bishop of Cork to my Master. *Unsigned*. pp. 1½.

April 20.
Waterford.

128. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since the writing of these letters, which stayed for a wind, I am advertised from Sir Richard Shee, as by the copy of his letter hereinclosed may appear, that my Lord of Ormonde is discharged out of the rebels' hands, but upon what conditions or pledges I know not, not having heard of anything more than what Sir Richard's letter imports. His Lordship is happy to be quit as he is, howsoever. If I had been in his room, I might have said *buenas noches* to my friends; for ever seeing me again. I humbly beseech you to take some occasion to write unto the Earl of Thomond, in whom (if I be not deceived), besides his zealous faith to the Queen, he doth particularly honour and respect you (*sic*). I protest unto your Honour, by the majesty of God, that I have not known in my life any man of Ireland birth to be equalled unto him, for I do suppose him to be as truly English as if he had been born in Middlesex; the testimony whereof his actions do approve. For he spares neither brother, uncle, kinsman, or follower that is not obedient to the State, and hath drawn more blood of his own people than is to be believed; and lately, doubting the disposition of his brother, Teig O'Brien, hath laid him fast in prison in Limerick. This his plain and sincere dealing hath purchased unto him infinite malice; but yet, by these severe courses, he hath reduced his country (which, while he was in England, was in rebellion), to that good conformity, as that at this hour there is not a rebel in action in the same; which cannot be said of any country else in Ireland. These services deserves (*sic*) favour, and, I beseech you, let him by your means receive comforts from thence for his better encouragement."—

1600.

Waterford, 1600, April 20. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 28th. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Encloses:—

128. i. *Sir Richard Shee to Sir George Carew*. “Knowing you will be most glad of such news as hath been brought hither this night, at eight of the clock, by William McHugh Gankegh, Sir Patrick Hoen, and Mr. Hoeth, of my dear Lord his discharge from the captivity of the rebels, I have dispatched this bearer, my messenger, with this my letter, to acquaint your Lordship therewith. My lady expecteth his being here very shortly; joyful and merry is she, God be thanked.”—*Kilkenny*, [1600, “the 19th of April, at eight of the clock at night.” *Endorsed by Sir George Carew*:—“The copy of Sir Richard Shee’s letter to the President of Munster.” p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 20.
Waterford

129. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. “Since I wrote from Dublin, as I accompanied my Lord President going for Munster, where we came to the Earl of Ormonde’s, who going to that parley, which most unfortunately happened unto his Lordship, which my Lord President and myself have acquainted your Honour with the unfortunate manner thereof, I am now to accompany my Lord President into Munster; and to go thither, except I went with him, I assure your Honour I would be very loath. Wherein I desire to do Her Majesty faithful and honest service, and to manifest my affection unto so worthy a gentleman as he is; [to] whom I assure your Honour, upon my credit and reputation, I will give the best assistance and help I may, with the adventure of my own life, and what else shall lie in my power, which I leave to him to certify your Honour of.” Many favours received by him from Sir Robert.—Waterford, 1600, April 20. *Signed*. p. 1.

April 21.
Cork.

130. Joshua Aylmer to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges favours received from Sir Robert. In discharge of his duty, presents what has happened since his arrival in Cork, and especially this day’s service, wherein he was an actor and eye witness.

“Please it you, therefore, to understand that Florence McCarthy entertained one Dermond O’Connor, with 600 others of Connaught, and levied the force of his own country, which he joined to them, and in all they were 1,200; with which force he openly opposed himself as a traitor against Her Majesty. Whereupon Her Highness[’s] forces, to the number of 1,000 foot and 80 horse, entered his country, burned, preyed, and spoiled a great part thereof, and killed about 60 of his men. On Sunday, the 20th of this instant, they returned to Kinsale, and there rested all night. Monday the 21st, in the morning, leaving behind them Sir Richard Percy[’s] and Captain Bostock[’s] companies, containing 250 foot, Captain Flower, with 500 foot and 60 horse, being Sergeant-Major and sole commander of that army, marched towards Cork. And having no intelligence of the enemy that morning, did little suspect their being in that part of the country. But Florence McCarthy, accompanied as aforesaid, seeking all means he might to defeat Her Majesty’s

1600.

forces, privily conveyed himself (*sic*). And in the midway to Cork, at a little narrow bridge, the ford deep and dangerous, environed with wood and bog, there he embattled all his company, dividing them into two several battles. Dermond O'Connor commanded the first, and himself the second. There they lay flat on the ground, attending our coming, and suffered our scouts to pass the bridge, and to return again, which they did without any discovered, till our horse, going down the hill to pass the bridge, made a halt, and staying to view the place, descried them as they lay by the sun shining on their morions. We retired to put ourselves in order, but they took their present advantage, and their vanguard with the wings of shot charged us before we could recover the hill, so as the horse was fain to bide the fury of their force, till the foot were in to fight. And then expecting they would have discharged their duties, and made good their ground, they all retired most shamefully, with little less than running away till they came to a little castle more than a quarter of a mile off, where some took the castle in hope to save themselves, the rest stood to defend the bawn, the banks whereof were breast high; upon the which were placed 60 shot, which discharged so luckily as they killed many of the enemy. The rest for the most part let fall their arms, and ran away. The horse, following the chase, killed 100 of them, which lay there in the field, whereof Dermond O'Connor his second brother was one, and four more of their best leaders, with ten gentlemen of account. There were hurt, by report from them, as many more of them. Dermond O'Connor and Florence were both shot with pistol[s], but they had no hurt. On our part there was slain Lieutenant Grime, and some eight other horsemen and 15 hurt, whereof Captain Flower was hurt in the thigh with a pike. We lost in that fight thirty horses. In the end, we had the field, and made the enemy flee, but, by the faint carriage of the foot, we lost the benefit of that day's service, which, being duly executed, had ended the war of that part, and cut off Florence and all his rebellious company. But, if the castle had been one quarter of a mile further, all Her Majesty's forces had been cut off, and scarce any had come away to tell who had hurt them.

"The chief cause of this our confused disorder was want of commanders, being but one Captain in the field; the rest of the leaders were Lieutenants and Serjeants, their men unarmed, not having more than his sword and pike; which is the overthrow of our force, and maketh men more cowards. Her Majesty is deceived of her service, the country of England greatly charged to furnish [the] soldier[s], and their armour is converted to private profit. Our men being so naked, doth much encourage the rebel, who is well appointed, strong, and of good resolution, so as they assureth themselves of the victory, when they come to hand blows. The Captains' absence from the companies hath been the confusion of Her Majesty's forces, and still will be the loss of her subjects, and indignity to her service, till they are commanded to serve in person with their companies, and their men armed as they ought. All which I doubt not but my Lord President will amend at his coming, who is reported to be now at Youghal. This night we all came to

1600.

Cork, from whence there is nothing more to write ; but, as occasion is offered, I will not fail to remember my duty to your Honour.”—Cork, 1600, April 21. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

April 21.
Dublin.

131. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges favours received from Sir Robert. Sent word to him by Captain George Kingsmill of his arrival in Dublin. Will not trouble him with a private repetition of the state of Ireland. Although the taking of the Earl of Ormonde was a cross to the proceedings for Offally, the Lord Deputy, nevertheless, purposes to repair to the borders of the north ; and, when he shall find the wind fit for the forces under Sir Henry Dockwra's command, his Lordship will further advance into the field to divert the power of Tyrone that way, to the end those forces may land with more safety where it is intended they should. The companies and commanders appointed for that place [Lough Foyle] are all ready with the first opportunity to set sail to meet them. Will advertise such events as that journey will yield.—Dublin, 1600, April 21. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

April 22.
The Togher.

132. Sir Oliver Lambert to [the Lord Deputy Mountjoy]. “ I came to the Togher on Tuesday, by twelve of the clock, where, as I formerly advertised your Lordship, I found the rebels entrenched in ten half moons. We all turned kern, and stripped ourselves, and entered on the right hand of the bog, having the wind to friend, with purpose to march on the rear of their trenches. As we approached them so, after several volleys they quitted their strength in great fear. In prosecuting them till we were possessed of the Togher and their trenches, we had no great fight. They lost dead 10 men, and we but two, and a few hurt. We began to repair the passage, always in some little skirmish, and finding the work tedious, and such as I could not finish by night, and pass to the fort, I defaced their trenches, and, about seven of the clock, I caused the vanguard to march towards our quarter, which the rebels perceiving, and having a new supply come to them, being at the first not above 400 men, with a good countenance and their best order, burst hard on our rear, as they drew from the bog. I was not willing to skirmish loosely, being their chief desire, but continued my course, which did embolden them so far that they followed us some distance from the bog. I proffered a charge or two with the horse, to small purpose. At last they quitted the bog with their battle, twenty score on hard ground. I commanded the rear to turn and charge home, and took the horse myself, and charged. Our wings being strong, and led by gallant fellows, came in roundly ; the battle by what chance I know not, made a halt. The horsemen were somewhat to blame ; if they had followed their leaders, we had done better [*in the margin* :—“ there was three or four overthrown with the horse ; more had been, if more horse had come in ”], for they ran for the best game, and our wings paid them soundly, so that they ‘trudched’ away. What their loss was then, I know not it (*sic*). Of both sides we burnt a great deal of powder ; the rebels

1600.

were no niggards of their store. This morning we were at the Togher by five of the clock, where we found them waiting our coming afresh, and with no great fight they left us the place, where we are now labouring hard to pass our carriage; for Captains I had none with me but Sir Harry Folliot, who, as ever, served gallantly. I was fain to use some voluntary officers, as Lieutenant Legg and Lieutenant Bruerton, Lieutenant Smith and Lieutenant Garrett; and all the officers of foot played their parts with great forwardness; and better foot no prince hath for their numbers. Our number exceeded not 700, the enemy above 800. William Brimigeom, with forty of his men, was very forward, and served well; so did Mr. Darcy, and King, that was lately released out of prison. Edward Brymigen gave us many helps. Unless the fort be able to relieve us with powder and bullets, we cannot stay to do any great hurt. We have but two barrels left. If your Lordship purpose the succour of the fort in Leix, it is time the provisions were at the Naas, and some victuals for ourselves. We had starved, if we had not brought this small quantity with us, for here is nothing. Then I most humbly desire your Lordship to remember what force will be left when Sir Harry Warren's, Sir Thomas Lartie[s], and those of Ardee, are gone. Therefore I desire to hear from your Lordship by Friday night about the Black Ford. If I stay in the country, I will advertise your Lordship to-morrow. Thus desiring your lordship to pardon my bad scribbling, I humbly take my leave. From the Togher, this 22nd of April."

"Lysagh ['Liso'] sent to speak with me, and said Onie McRory would come with him. I took it to be but a flourish to serve us with Ony[s] force. I answered that, when I had done my business, if they came near me, I would speak with Lysagh, but have no doings with so treacherous a Jack as Ony." *Endorsed*:—"1600." *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3½.*

April 22.
May 2.

133. Portion of a letter from Antonio Standen to Henry Cuffe. Character of a friend not named. Standen's pension stopped until the end of the war. The matter of Cuffe's ward now ended, by agreement for 400*l.*, payable in two months; 200*l.* of this already paid. The friend will not reject Cuffe's kind offer of interest at Court. The Earl of Southampton is come, and gives no hope, "yet I rest upon your words in the beginning of your letter, and comfort myself thereupon, and pray twice a day for the effecting." The unhappy capture of the Earl of Ormonde.—"From my cell," 1600, [April 22
May 2]. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

April 23.
Ballynē.

134. Edmund, Viscount Mountgarrett, to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "This present day, after the sealing of my former letters, the rebels came to the county of Kilkenny, and took certain preys from Sir Richard Shee and others of her Majesty's subjects. I followed them myself with a few company (*sic*) and I rescued the prey from them, and had the killing of seven or eight of their best men, and four of my men was hurt and killed, and myself was shot with a bullet through the leg, and my horse was killed. I could have

1600.

had better play with them, but their ambush lay at hand.”—Ballyne, 1600, April 23. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 23.
Cork.

135. Hugh Cuffe to Sir Robert Cecil. Relates the fight between the forces under Captain Flower and those of the rebels under Florence McCarthy and Dermond O'Connor. The wars have made all things so dear, that the smallness of his entertainment will not defray the ordinary expenses of himself and a man. Prays that he may have 6s. 8d. *per diem*. Encloses a true note, under Captain's Flower's own hand, of that officer's journey into Carberry. —Cork, 1600, April 23. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

135. i. “A brief of my journey into Carberry.”

“First being appointed by Sir Henry Power, Chief Commander of the forces here, to march into Carberry, there to burn and spoil all such as was revolted from their loyalty, if they would not come in, and put in sufficient pledges for their subjection; the first day that I marched from Kinsale, in our passage over the river of the Bandon, we were entertained with a light skirmish by some of Florence McCarthy's men, where we slew twelve of them, whereof there was three gentlemen, and took 400 cows, burned Carrignassey, wherein Florence's ward was, and all that border, with great store of corn belonging to Dermond Moyle McCarthy, now a rebel. The third day's march in our way to Ross, we burned a castle called The Muntan, belonging to a foster father of Florence McCarthy's, which was then as pledge with Tyrone for Florence his troth to him, with many towns belonging to the said castle, where was burned much corn, and our soldiers had great store of arms and other spoils. From thence we marched to Ross, where we rested two days. From Ross we marched over the Leape, into O'Donovan[s] country, where we burned all those parts, and had the killing of many of their churls and poor people, leaving not them any one grain of corn within ten miles of our way, wherever we marched, and took a prey of 500 cows, which I caused to be drowned and killed, for that we would not trouble ourselves to drive them in that journey. Beyond the Leape we stayed three days, in which time we burned and spoiled all the sept of the Clandermonds then in action. And upon our march into O'Mahon Fenn's country, I had certain intelligence that Florence McCarty was prepared with 1,800 men to intercept my passage back to Ross; upon which news I returned to Ross. And the same night, Florence came and camped within two miles of me, with part of his force, and Dermond O'Connor, commander of the Connaught men, with 1,000 Connaught soldiers, camped on the other side of me, within three miles of us, to intercept our passage to Cork (as they said); but we were so troublesome neighbours to those Connaught men, that we enforced them to draw their forces together, where they remained before us ten days, in which time Sir Henry Power sent me especial order to draw to Cork with all [the] speed I could. Upon which receipt, I marched towards Kinsale. The enemy, understanding of my

1600.

rising, followed us with all their force all that day, but by reason we got the plains and a mile before them, I would never suffer them to bring up their strength to fight, but still kept them in with our horse. In that day's march we killed forty-two, whereof were five gentlemen.

"When we came to Kinsale, I received direction to march to Cork, and leaving 250 of the army behind to guard that town; in my journey to Cork unexpected, we were entertained with their whole force, where they enforced us, by reason of a bridge that they had gained of us, to fight upon a retreat, for half a mile and better, but afterwards, finding my advantage both of time and ground, I charged their first battle with some horse, and broke them, and had the execution of them a mile. In that charge we slew dead (sic) 137, whereof eight were Captains, besides 37 sore wounded. Of them there died the first night (which were hurt), sixteen; myself being at that time and in the beginning hurt; upon the first charge, with a pike, nine inches into the thigh, by their general. At that charge I had one horse killed under me, with three pikes in his body and two bullets. When we brake them, I fought hand to hand with their general, where I received my second hurt in my head, by one that carried their colours, I having one part of them in my hand and he the other. There I had my second horse slain with pikes under me. So, I thank God, we were masters of the field, and in all that journey we lost but one Lieutenant and nine soldiers being slain, and myself with fifteen others hurt."—[1600, April.] Unsigned. pp. 2.

[April 23.] **136.** "A brief note of Captain Flower's journey to Rosscarberry, the first of April, 1600." [*Copy of enclosure to the preceding, with slight additions.*—1600, April 23.] pp. 2.

April 23. **137.** Allowances for transportation charges, &c., made to Sir Richard Bingham, Sir John Norreys, Sir John Perrot, Lord Burgh, and the Earl of Essex, between 1584 and 1599. Drawn from the several concordatums, and signed, by Thomas Watson.—1600, April 23. p. 1.

April 24. **138.** A discourse on the entertainment of Scots in Ireland, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, and annotated by him.

Her Majesty may stand assured of their good and faithful service. There are means of making a faction amongst the rebels in Ulster. "Choice is carefully to be made of such nations both of the English and civil Irish Scots as are known to be honourable and religiously affected; the pretence for rebellion being now the setting up of their supposed Catholic faith." The leaders must be men of approved honesty, well-beloved of their followers, and able to rule and command them. Some stand well-affected, because of favours vouchsafed to them or to their kinsfolk; or, for private causes, thirst to be revenged on Tyrone or other rebels. The number of Scots may be so proportioned and mixed with the English forces to be placed

1600.

in Ulster, that all fear of any inconvenience may be removed, and nothing in the former resolutions for planting of garrisons be altered.

The particular names of the English Scots are the Stuarts of the west of Scotland, and the Hamiltons. The friends and retainers to the first are the Lennox men, viz., McFarlanes, McGregors, Colquhouns, Buchanans, &c., men much experienced in the service of bogs, woods, and mountains. They may be solicited by Colonel Stuart and the prior of Blantyre. The Hamiltons may afford good means and men for all manner of Irish service, having for their friends the Cunninghams, Kennedys, and many others, "inhabiting that sea coast of the English parts from whence the rebel may be most annoyed." They are able also to "make many serviceable men out of the Irish parts, and specially out of the island of Arran, where the fosterers and friends of the McSorleys do dwell, and out of which there be many of the Clan Alisters and others, that are now hirelings under O'Donnell; a matter of consequence for raising of a faction, and to do good service upon the rebel. And the pretence of religion being made the cause of this rebellion, the service may be further assured by the ministers of the west country, who have ever been noted to have had forwardness enough that way."

For the Irish Scots, the Campbells and "McIllanes" [Macleans] only are to be trusted. For the first, the Earl of Argyll may be dealt with; for the McIllanes, the second son of the last McIllane is fittest, "being valorous, and one that hateth Tyrone deadly for hanging of his cousin german, Hugh O'Neill."

A faction may be raised in Ulster, and specially in Tyrone's own country. The persons to be brought to the same are such as are imprisoned or kept down and suppressed by Tyrone. Of these, the sons of Shane O'Neill, Harry and Con, are the chief, and seem fittest to be the heads of this faction. Their enmity with Tyrone is hereditary, their father having killed Tyrone's father and Tyrone having hanged their brother and imprisoned themselves, cutting off or keeping under their followers. They are esteemed generally by the country to have better right than Tyrone to the lands and title usurped by him. They are by their mother descended from the McConnells of Cantire, and might by their means do good service upon both Tyrone and O'Donnell, "the rather for that many of the said McConnells are mercenary soldiers at this present under O'Donnell, and so have means of the same." So as there is but little question to be made but that these men would do their utmost endeavour to work Tyrone's overthrow, if they might be freed from his bondage. James McSorley and his brother Randall must be the chief instruments in the execution of this action, which they will hardly undertake, unless they may stand assured of the aid of some Scots, for from Tyrone they can look for nothing else than by all means to be pursued. They are "affeared" to trust themselves at first to the English forces in Ulster, because they killed Sir John Chichester and the forces of Carrickfergus. The persons and means by which the McSorleys are to be persuaded to effect this service are more fitly to be delivered by word than committed to paper.

1600.

Thus Shane O'Neill's sons, and the McSorleys, with the help of the English forces in Ulster, and being aided by some Scots, may easily procure the adherence of their followers, the O'Donnells, Kings, and Clandonnells ; of Sir Arthur O'Neill, a malcontent, whose father killed Tyrone's elder brother ; of O'Dogherty, who depends upon the Scots of Argyle ; and of the Captain of the Fewes. All assistance from Scotland would be cut off, and Tyrone's deadliest enemies set up in a manner within his own house. "But this is gain, that of these factions none can be killed amiss." Again, McSorley with the help of Neill McHugh, may banish both "McWillie" [McQuillin] and Shane McBrian, so that all the country from the Bann to the sea shall at first be brought under Her Majesty's obedience. McSorley for his own safety must seek to cut off O'Cahan, private grudges being between them at present.

If these things seem to Sir Robert Cecil worthy to approach to any action, then the writer will deliver how few the number of Scots entertained may be, how they may be disposed of with the English forces in Ulster, and other particulars. Has sent down, according to Sir Robert's direction, what he was able to discern.

The following are the marginal and other notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand :—"Shane O'Neill had three sons, Hugh, Henry, Con. Hugh hanged by Tyrone ; Con and Henry living. Shane killed Tyrone's father ; Tirlagh Lynagh killed his brother Brian. Sorley Boy was father to James and Randall. His brother James McConnell, father to Angus McConnell, prisoner in Scotland. Tirlagh McHenry, brother to Tyrone by the mother, Captain of the Fewes. Sir Art O'Neill, son to Tirlagh, his country lies between Tyrconnell and Tyrone's country. Shane O'Neill's eldest son was cousin to Maclean. These two are cousins to Angus McConnell. Cormack McBaron, brother to Tyrone by father. Neill McHugh a good subject ; he is owner of Belfast. McGuilly [McQuillin] next to Sorley Boy. Shane McBrian next to Neill McHugh. James McConnell is son to Sorley Boy ; Randall Arranogh is his brother. James McSorley killed Chichester. The Ardes possessed by Smyth, by Bagenall and others ; formerly is a plain country. Magennis near the Newry, brother-in-law to Tyrone, for he married his sister. Argyle righted always O'Dogherty against O'Donnell, and so his Scots fittest there. Hamilton's Scots fittest for Knockfergus, with their followers out of the Isle of Arran. Sir George Hume. Sir Robert Melvin his son great with the K[ing]. Mr. James Ephinstone, Secretary, son to the Lord Elphinstone. Sir George Elphinstone brother-in-law to Belters ; he is one of the Chamber." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil :—"April 24, 1600. A Discourse of the entertainment of Scots in Ireland." The signature has been torn away. pp. 3.*

April 24. **139.** Sir Oliver Lambert to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "I finished the passage over the Togher for all the carriages by two of the clock on Wednesday, and, in my way to the fort, the rebels took the advantage of a small wood and 'shrobby' seated in a boggy ground, by which we were to pass. There they lay close with 400 shot ; the rest of their forces to the greatest show stood on a hill fast by the same. We might have gone two musket shot wide of

1600.

the place, but knowing they attended us there, being the way we never showed afore, and to honour Saint George's feast the more, we forced their ambuscade, where I believe your Lordship shall hear was the best skirmish for an hour long that was in Ireland a good while; want of powder parted us both. They conceal always their losses very much. All as yet that I can learn were killed of name at this last bickering was Mortogh McOwen O'Connor, Lysagh McMorrogh, and Garrett Oge's son. Threescore others killed in the place, and carried away on pikes, besides many slightly hurt. Of our side we lost neither officer nor gentleman of name. Ten were killed, and seventeen hurt. So that, since our first fight, we have killed and hurt and made unserviceable 50 men (*sic*). The rebels severed that night, and I hope will not come so strongly together a good while. I camped at the fort all night, of purpose to carry corn to the fort from Morrogh Oge's house. The fort afforded me no powder. I am drawn back to dispatch myself of the carriages and hurt men, and try my credit amongst the gentlemen hereabouts for some powder, who, I hope, amongst them will afford me four barrels, or [*? near*] to that quantity. And, unless I have this, [*I*] might order to the contrary from your Lordship. I will return through Sir John Tyrrell's Pass, from whence your Lordship shall hear honestly of us. I have sent the Earl of Kildare's Lieutenant of his foot to Mullingar, to draw my Lord of Delvin's company and Francis Shane, where I may meet them in the country, and to bring all the powder they can get with them. With God's leave and your Lordship's, I will ransack a great part of the country. If my munition will hold out, and that your Lordship do not recall me, the opportunity is good to plague them. Their borrowed forces by this time are retired. Onie McRory was there with all his force, 120 of Sir John Tyrrell's, 'a Derey' his men, Captain William Tyrrell with 100 from Ossory, and from all their neighbours' borders they missed not their best helps. Their strength, when we met last, was 800 men, which did not so much as look on us at our return, and I think will not meet us again in haste.

"I doubt not, if your Lordship do comfort them in Leix with hope of a sho[r]t relief, there will be no danger of the place [*Maryborough*]. Victuals they have to serve their turn for a short time, and I cannot stay in these parts above four or five days at the most.

"Sir Harry Folliott hath taken exceeding great pains, whose worth in this small business I could not have missed, if your Lordship purpose anything with me. Sir John Tyrrell can send to me at all times, and I will never fail to the uttermost of my power to do your Lordship honour and service.—From Sir Edward Fitzgarrett's house, this 24 of April." *Endorsed*:—1600. *Mountjoy has written on the back the following note to Cecil*:—"Sir, I do send you these two letters [*this and No. 132 above*], because I can assure you it was a principal good service, and hath been heretofore counted the work of three times so many men; and by this you may see that our men begin to forget to run away. MOUNTJOY." *Holograph. pp. 3.*

1600.

April 25. **140.** Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. A strange defect in the number of his men will be discovered upon the next muster. The means to prevent it hard, and almost impossible to be found. "For mine own part, I esteem not greatly their want, supposing those that are left to be such, as with their goodness will countervail the others' business." Fears the greatest inconvenience is the want which will be found for planting the garrison at Ballyshannon. Can hardly conceive any great hope of that enterprise, unless the full numbers at first proportioned be made complete; "or at least I doubt the other garrison of Lough Foyle will be made unprofitable by sparing so many for that as must of necessity be had, the remainder being able to do nothing of consequence this whole summer, which your Honour seeth so far advanced already." Fears but a very few will remain after the planting of those two garrisons. Urges reinforcements. If this season be so spent that no spoils or incursions be made upon the country (and none can be made without good strength), fears little good will redound to Her Majesty's service. The cause of the extraordinary number of runaways, though he "cannot altogether excuse" the negligence or corruption of some officers, is the not punishing such as were apprehended and brought back. Care taken by him that the very horses shewn at the muster were put aboard ship. Embarked the foot without a muster rather than lose a fair wind. Hopes he will be excused. Will do his uttermost endeavour.—"From the shipboard, this 25th of April, 1600." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

April 26.
Dublin.

141. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "My late letters have left small occasion to trouble you much at this time, save only to advertise your Honour that the treasure, I thank God, is safely arrived, and a great part thereof spent before it came; and therefore we are become humble suitors unto your Lordships for a new supply. I humbly beseech your Honour that Thomas Watson may be commanded to repair hither to Dublin always with the treasure, for I find him well bent to discharge the duty of an honest man, and capable of those matters that are necessary your Honour and the rest of my Lords should be informed of, touching the carriage of my business in this unfortunate kingdom; and I hope, after a journey or two more, he will be thoroughly instructed in all matters. I have delivered him certain memorials to acquaint your Honour with.

"The shipping appointed for the transportation of the 1,000 for Lough Foyle, as also those ships which we have taken up to carry the soldiers appointed for the garrison of Knockfergus, have been in a readiness this six weeks and more, always expecting a good wind; and yet here they stay, and cannot put to the seas, which grieves us much, both in respect of the charge, as also that the service goeth no better forward.

"My Lord Deputy will presently remove to Tredath, the better to expedite his journey towards the north, as soon as the fleet from here and Chester shall be in their course to Lough Foyle.

1600.

“There is a little difference betwixt my Lord Deputy and myself touching the construction of this word transportation, mentioned in Her Majesty’s letter. We both refer ourselves to your Honour what may be done for my Lord, and the right construction touching that clause contained in Her Highness[’s] letter, as Thomas Watson shall inform your Honour.

“We have received no certain news yet what course these rebels intend to take with the Earl of Ormonde; only I saw a letter written by Henry Shee, my Lord’s steward, of the 18th of this present month, to a friend of his; in the end whereof he wrote that very shortly he did hope that the party unto whom he wrote should hear good news, meaning touching his Lord and master, the Earl of Ormonde. But what news I lately received out of the north, your Honour may perceive by the enclosed letter [*wanting*]. The names of the pledges mentioned in the letter are these, viz., Henry O’Neill, Tyrone’s second son, McDonnell Gorme his son, Henry Oveton’s [*Hovenden’s*] son, McDonnell’s son. These four pledges are from Tyrone. O’Donnell sent two others, viz., O’Doughty’s son and ‘O’Gallehowse’s’ [*O’Gallagher’s*] son. Maguire sent his brother. These seven pledges were put aboard the Spanish ships the 19 of this present, and departed from Lough Foyle the day following. Sir Arthur O’Neill remains in his fastness, and stands on his keeping, expecting the coming of Her Majesty’s forces at Lough Foyle. There hath been of late some good killing betwixt the two Maguires, and likewise betwixt O’Cahan and James McSorley. I have sent the intelligencer back to bring me word what this traitor intendeth, for he returned to Dungannon the 23 of this present, and within three days I shall be advertised.”—*“From my house by Dublin,”* 1600, April 26. [*Postscript.*] “Since the ending of my letter, I received the copies of these letters, which my Lord of Delvin sent unto me, which his Lordship took from a messenger of that archtraitorly villain Tyrone.” *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2½.

141. i. “Copies of Tyrone’s letters,” dated [*April 22*
May 2], 1600, from Dungannon.

(a.) *To the Earl of Ormonde.* “It is told us that you are apprehended by Onie McRory. You know there was not in Ireland, in time past, a man for whose misfortune we would be more sorry than for yours. Notwithstanding we give God thanks that you are in the hands of the true servant[s] of God, the Pope, and the King of Spain, whereof, God willing, the health of your soul and the good of your country and conscience will grow; for, by your happening into the hands of men of less power in this world than yourself, may be a motive henceforth to bring you to a right belief.”

(b.) *To the Earl of Desmond.* “Our news unto you, thanks be to God, is the good of this north part, and our health strong and of power against every our country enemy near us, and far, and provided for the enemy’s drawing towards us. It is reported unto us that the Earl of Ormonde, by the help of God and power of the Irishry, is taken. We thank God for it, and we are sure that the good of Ireland will grow of it. We desire you, as becometh you, to be of good comfort, and to increase

1600.

your fame, and put in many good bonnaughts, and do your uttermost against your enemies, and advertise us of all news. Know ye that some Spanish shipping came into Ireland, wherein the Archbishop of Dublin and part of the King's arms and munition are come, and a great navy presently coming from England. We wrote in your behalf to the King, and of your service and help. We sent our son Henry unto him, and, God willing, the help at hand will shortly appear unto you."

(c.) To Onie McRory. "Thanks be to God that we are in good health, strong, and of power against any enemy near us, and provided for the enemy's coming upon us. We understood that you, through the grace of God (to whom we yield thanks), apprehended the Earl of Ormonde, whereof we doubt not the good of all Ireland will ensue; but his wealth and friendship is so great, as you shall hardly find men whom you may trust to keep him safe there. Wherefore we desire you earnestly to use him honourably, but to keep him very sure, until he be sent hither by the help of yourself and such as we have appointed for that purpose. Therefore be not tempted to enlarge him upon any proffer, for if you will desire ransom, you shall have money and gold at my hands. And for peace, I will never make [it], without including you in the same, with as good terms as any man else in Ireland." News as above of the Spanish shipping. "Therefore be of good courage, and increase your valiant acts."

(d.) To Florence McCarthy More. [The same as to Desmond.]

(e.) To Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarrett's son. Giving the aforesaid news, and willing him to aid Onie McRory in guarding the Earl of Ormonde to the north.

(f.) To Richard Tyrrell. As above, "with addition that he should bring down the horsemen and horses, which were left with Teig McDermott in Muskerry."

(g.) To Redmond Burke. [The same as to Richard Tyrrell, except about the horses.]

(h.) To Dermott McConnor. The conveying of the Earl of Ormonde. Thanks for his good service in killing Lord Burke and his brother. Did not see Dermott, by reason of his [Tyrone's] hasty return.

(i.) To William Tyrrell.

(j.) To Feagh McHugh's sons.

(k.) To Donnell Spainagh.

"All importing the general news and direction of sending down the Earl of Ormonde to the north, saving that he doth admire that Donnell Spainagh should come to Dublin without his knowledge, persuading him to keep his ward and continue his enterprise."

(l.) "A second letter to Onie McRory, persuading the sending down of the Earl of Ormonde, of one effect with the former."

(m.) "A letter to the chiefest of the Connors, importing the former news, and persuading the sending down of the Earl of Ormonde, and encouraging them to proceed in their valiant enterprises; all bearing date at Dungannon, the second of May ^{April 22} _{May 2}, 1600." pp. 2.

1600.

April 26.
Dublin.

142. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last, I am written to of two Spanish ships arrived in Caelbegg [Killibeggs] in Tyrconnell, bringing with them ten or twelve Spanish gentlemen, and an Irish priest, calling himself Primate of Ireland by the Pope's consecration. The purpose of their coming is to bring new hopes to Tyrone and O'Donnell, and to abuse them still with promises of forces and money to be sent by that King, to bear up their rebellion. This I gather to be the chief end of their coming, for that they have used the like manner in the years before. And now, to lead the Irish more astray with new additions, the titular Primate giveth out that he hath order from the Spanish King to receive into his hands Tyrone's son, to be carried into Spain as a pledge for his father, and also some other pledges of the confederates, upon whose coming into Spain, the King will send great forces, by sea and land, to perfect the conquest of Ireland. This runneth current through the realm, but some of the wiser sort of the rebels make no great reckoning of these fables, thinking them no better than Spanish subtleties, devised yearly to fit their own turn, to keep this rebellion in heart. Preparation was made at Dungannon for receiving the Spanish gentlemen six days past; to answer which time, I have thrust up an instrument thither, to observe what is done, and to certify me; which I will not fail to transmit to your Honour with the best speed I can. It may be that Tyrone will not stick to send his younger son into Spain, with some other Irish pledges, not much material but for observancy, and I think he is not unwilling to quit those pledges, to put the charges and burthen of them upon the King, to the end to free himself.

"The Earl of Ormonde continueth still in the castle of Gortencleagh, upon the debateable ground between Ossory and Leix, where Onie himself is his keeper, who giveth him the favour to have his diet dressed by his own cooks, and brought to the iron grate of the castle by his own men; but there Onie himself receiveth the diet, and carrieth it up to the Earl, not suffering any of his Lordship's own servants to come within the grate.

"The priests and Jesuits do lodge in one room with the Earl, of purpose to alter him in religion and they tempt him with many ridiculous offers, as to make him Prince of Leinster, so as he will become a Popish Catholic, and draw Her Majesty to resign the two countries of Leix and Offally to the O'Moores and O'Connors. What the Earl's answer is to these propositions I know not as yet, but I think, in the honour and duty he oweth to God and his sovereign prince, his answers are negative.

"It is given out that Tyrone laboureth to have the Earl sent into Ulster into his possession, and to that end prepareth in person to draw up to the borders of Westmeath to receive him; but I am of mind that the confederate rebels of Leinster will never consent to pass the Earl of Ormonde out of Leinster into Ulster; and I look that, ere it be long, some manner of contract for his liberty will pass amongst them upon pledges or slanties; for I assure myself that the kern of Leinster will not suffer one drop of his blood to be spilt, nor his person to be delivered over to foreign captivity. But, in the mean while, this is the iniquity of his disaster, that the State

1600.

may not use force to rescue him, whilst he is in their hands, lest thereby the danger of his life might be increased.

"I understand this day that the fleet for Lough Foyle hath set sail from Chester towards Knockfergus, and therefore the Lord Deputy will to-morrow (God willing) set forward toward the borders, and so into Ulster, to give countenance to that action of Lough Foyle; which is all I have to advertise to your Honour by this passage, save that Her Majesty's forces, upon St. George's day, have victualled the fort of Philipstown in Offally, and in that service have slain between 30 and 40 of the rebels."—Dublin, 1600, April 26. *Endorsed* :—Received 7 May at Greenwich. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

April 26.
Kyltome.

143. C[hristopher Nugent, Baron] Delvin, to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "The intelligencer, with whom I formerly acquainted your Lordship, is returned with a packet containing thirteen letters written in Irish from Tyrone, all directed to the Munster and Leinster rebels, saving one to the Earl of Ormonde, the copy whereof, and of Desmond and Onie McRory his letters, translated verbatim, I send your Lordship. The other ten, containing the general news, and persuasions to guard down the Earl of Ormonde, I could not translate verbatim, by reason of the messenger's haste, and fear to be discovered, but have sent your Lordship a brief of their differences, and to whom they were directed." [*See enclosure to No. 141.*]

"The party himself was present at a place in O'Donnell's country called the Kallabegye [Killibeggis], when the two Spanish ships arrived there, and saw them received with great triumph by Tyrone and O'Donnell. The arms and munition they brought, by report as he heard, are 2,000 culivers; 4lbs. of powder, with match and lead proportionably, for every culiver; and 2,000 pikes. They have a present purpose to send up forces to annoy the Pale, which I believe they will attempt, the rather for the better conveying down of the Earl of Ormonde, and that my brother's son, Richard Nugent, hath undertaken to get them the spoils of this country. Upon his last protection, he procured some young fellows here in the country to join with him, and [they] do labour by some wicked instruments to get out more; but I will prevent it the best I may, God willing. It will be very necessary, in respect of the service, that your Lordship's means in getting these intelligences be known but to very few. I shall desire that, in this and the like causes, it will please your Lordship to use your servant, Mr. Cooke, of whose good carriage and sufficiency I have been very well experienced, when he served Sir William Russell, being Lord Deputy."—Kyltome, 1600, April 26. *Signed*. p. 1.

April 26.
Dublin.

144. George Beverley to Sir Robert Cecil. Knowing his Honour to be exercised in affairs of greater estate, does not pester his hands with papers of reckonings concerning the victualling causes. Sir Robert agreed to the proportion and contract, and the Lord Treasurer duly calls for the accounts of the issue and remain. The sum of this business is gathered from many branches.

1600.

The monthly accounts thereof hindered by the distemper of Ireland and unexpected alterations.—Dublin, 1600, April 26. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

April 27.
Dublin.

145. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. The good services of the bearer, Sir Edward Herbert. His losses, not only in goods but in kinsmen slain. His house and cattle taken by treachery of the ward, even in time of cessation. His children yet remaining in the enemy's hands. Pray that he may be relieved and recompensed. Have no means answerable to his desert. Monies due to him in regard of his former employments. Recommend payment thereof.—Dublin, 1600, April 27. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

April 27.
Dublin.

146. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Captain Montague, though desirous to follow the wars, is now fain to return to England, because the office of Quarter-Master General of the camp, which heretofore he enjoyed, is by the new establishment taken away. Commendation of Montague by Mountjoy and the Council. Sends particular commendation of him to Sir Robert. "You may remember of what opinion I was from the beginning concerning the abridging of these principal officers of the army; in which opinion I am now upon more perfect trial greatly confirmed, and shall be more and more hereafter, when the army riseth at any time, and shall find the present want of them. If, therefore, Her Majesty shall be pleased (as I hope she will) to enlarge her hand again, and to erect anew the same principal officers, by whom heretofore the army hath been guided, I will be bold to let you know that I think his office of quartermaster one of the fittest to be restored." Montague, in regard both of his worth and of his experience, would be the fittest to discharge the same. Doubts not but that Montague will approve himself to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1600, April 27. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 28.
Dublin.

147. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. Although Maguire was both a gentleman in blood amongst the Irish, and well accounted of for his valour, the good arising from his killing consists chiefly in the fact that, by his death, there is grown in his country a great dissension for the superiority and command of the same. Tyrone advances Connor Roe Maguire to be chief of the nation, whilst a brother of Maguire's, thinking himself wronged, has taken arms, and makes what party he can for the suppressing of Connor Roe. Thinks he is the more animated thereto because this brother of Maguire's has married a daughter of Cormack McBaron's, who in this action seeks the advancement of his son-in-law. By this dissension there has been such murdering and killing, that Her Majesty may make herself a party in that country, which will be a good means to reduce it as formerly, and also to withhold its forces from the service of Tyrone. During this rebellion they have always answered his authority.

1600.

Willing disposition of Sir Arthur O'Neill and others of good sort, both in Tyrconnell and Tyrone, to revolt from O'Donnell and Tyrone upon the arrival of the forces at Lough Foyle, if the treaty with them be well managed and handled.

"This army intended for Lough Foyle doth much amaze both O'Donnell and Tyrone, especially seeing that this dissension between the Maguires is hardly to be reconciled, and Tyrone feareth as much by some of the McMahons, in regard this late killing of Con McCollo breedeth likewise a new tumult for superiority."

The arrival of the two Spanish ships at Killibeggs. Their return with Irish pledges. "Assuredly this army doth so much amaze them, that they repose not now so much confidence in their own friends and strength, as in the hope and aid of foreign forces."

One Udall has arrived in Ireland, "a man much noted for his liberal speeches; for he doth give forth, and maketh it his common and public talk, that he himself is the only man that hath overthrown the Earl of Essex; and that your Honour and Sir John Stanhope are his only countenance and protectors; and how, by your honourable favour and Sir John Stanhope's, he hath access and conference with Her Majesty; and that Her Majesty gave him six score angels, and doth assure him that no man shall wrong him." Watson, the bearer, will avouch this, and much more.—Dublin, 1600, April 28. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

April 29.
Dublin,

148. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "These advertisements enclosed were brought to me a day after the shutting up of this packet. Your Honour may see what Tyrone giveth out touching the preparations of Spain against England and this realm; the truth or falsehood whereof is better known to your Honour than to me. But, for my part, I esteem them all but Spanish drifts and subtleties, to carry on some contrary designs. And where it seemeth Tyrone hath sent his second son into Spain, I think it is more for education sake, than that he should be a tie upon the traitor, his father. Your Honour may see by the extracts how Tyrone laboureth to get the Earl of Ormonde into his hands, but I am still of mind, as I have been from the beginning, that the confederates of Leinster will not suffer him to be carried out of the province; some probability whereof your Honour may see by this letter enclosed, brought to me even now from the Glynns in Feagh McHugh's country, where it is expected that the Earl shall be brought very shortly; and, to that end, Phelim McFeagh remaineth still in Leix, working with Onie to have the Earl brought to the Glynns. If his Lordship do come thither, it is a good step to his liberty, for that he is there amongst his friends, who at the worst will keep him out of the hands of Tyrone, if they do not fully enlarge him. I see that this disaster of the Earl of Ormonde will turn in the end to good service to Her Majesty, for that the differences that are and do daily increase amongst them, touching his taking and the conditions of his liberty, cannot but make breaches amongst them, to the endangering of the best of

1600.

them.”—Dublin, 1600, April 29. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed:—*
Received at Greenwich, 7 May. *p. 1.*

Encloses:—

148. i. *Extracts from a letter written out of the north of Ireland to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and dated 1600, April 28.*

The two Spanish ships are departed for Spain, and Tyrone has sent with them his second son Henry, to be brought up there, and, if need be, to serve as a pledge for his father. Some munition and arms came in those ships for Tyrone, who was assured that the Spanish fleet was preparing to go to England, and that ere long he should hear of some Spanish forces to be sent into Ireland. Tyrone wrote to the Earl of Ormonde that his captivity was for his soul's health, and that it might bring great good to the whole commonwealth of Ireland, if he would be ruled by Tyrone. The letters from Tyrone to Onie McRory, Desmond, and other his confederates. p. 1.

148. ii. *Cahir Byrne to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Fenton's man, Morrogh Mc E. Callough, came to learn what news there were of the Earl of Ormonde. Whereupon Byrne sent to the Ranelagh, whither Phelim McFeagh had not as yet come from Leix, but where there was a house made ready with great provision for Ormonde's coming. Phelim's wife expected Ormonde at the Ranelagh very shortly. Will send further news as soon as possible.—Kaltemon, 1600, April 26. Signed. On the dorse Sir Geoffrey Fenton has written some memoranda as to treasure and victuals for the army, the Lord Cahir, and espials in Monaghan and the Fewes. p. ½.*

April 30.
Cork.

149. Sir George Carew, the Lord President, and the Council, of Munster, to the Privy Council. “The 24th of this instant, I, the President, arrived here, where, since my coming (having been employed with the Council for the most part to understand in some perfect sort the state of this province), I do find that the confusion and distemper thereof hath not been greater than now it is, since the first beginning of these troubles, neither may we expect any sudden reformation thereof, other than such as we can work by Her Majesty's forces against so strong an enemy, who (by a general computation of the Lords of the countries here, and of the vulgar sort of provincial rebels and bonnaughts) are no less than 7,000 able weaponed men, and their annoyances to the poor subjects will be the greater, in regard we can neither look nor hope for any assistance from the Lords of the countries, who are only in personal shows subjects, as the Lord Power, the Lord of Dunboyne, Lord Roche, the Lord of Cahir, Cormack McDermott, Chief of Muskerry, McCarthy Reagh, Chief of Carberry, Gerald Fitz James, Chief of the Decies, Patrick Condon, O'Callaghan, and all others (except the Lord Barry, who of late hath done good service), being assured from the rest to receive no aid for Her Majesty with their forces, the most of them having either their brothers or next kinsmen in actual rebellion.

“Florence McCarthy (if he continue in this disloyal course which he hath begun, whereof as yet we have no other hope), by his

1600.

friends, namely, both the O'Sullivans, McFynnen, the Cartys of Desmond, O'Donovan, O'Crowly, O'Mahon Carberry, O'Mahon Fin, sundry of the septs of the Cartys of Carberry, the McSwynes, most of the Cartys of Muskerry, all the Cartys of Dowallo, O'Keefe, McAwley, and many of the O'Callaghans, with his and their followers and kinsmen, who before were better disposed by their outward affections, will be the strongest and of greatest force of any traitor in Munster : insomuch as we are of opinion (under reformation of your Lordships' more grave judgments), that 1,500 of Her Majesty's forces (a charge heretofore not expected) must of necessity be employed against him, which otherwise might have been disposed towards the prosecution of James FitzThomas and his adherents ; whereby the reducing of this province is much more difficult than before. Besides, the priests have in their devilish doctrine so much prevailed amongst the people in general in this province, as, for fear of excommunication, very few dare serve against the rebels, or any way aid Her Majesty. And this infection is so far crept into the hearts of the inhabitants of the cities and corporate towns, as the chief magistrates and mayors thereof do now refuse to come to the church, which at no time heretofore hath been seen, that it is to be feared (if the Spaniards do make any invasion, which many of them and the rebels do expect), the cities and towns are in danger to be lost by revolt.

"The late taking of the Earl of Ormonde hath much distracted the hearts of sundry of those that were inclined to subjection, and greatly animated the traitors to persevere in their most wicked actions, as may appear in Piers Lacy, who but few days before was upon his Lordship's protection, and promised to manifest good loyalty and subjection, [but] is now relapsed, and, not regarding the same, is become a more dangerous traitor than at any time heretofore ; and divers others, in whom began some appearance of reformation, have likewise started back from that conformity that was expected from them.

"By the several certificates sent herewith [*wanting*] will appear to your Lordships what money and store of munition and victuals are now remaining in this province, and therefore [we] are humbly bold to solicit your Lordships for a speedy supply thereof, chiefly of munition and victuals, for that here is small store remaining ; which we beseech your Lordships may come equally divided, the one half to be directed to this port of Cork and the other to Limerick, and the sorts of victuals to be sent to be only biscuit, butter, and cheese, which are most convenient either to be kept or carried ; for now this country growing very scant of victual, it will be as expedient for the relief of the army to have the same as money ; only the garrisons of Kilmallock and Moyallo (where must be evermore 1,000 at the least), must be victualled with money, for that this country will afford no horses for carriage."

Captain George King should have brought over 500 men for supplies to Munster. He delivered only 333 to Sir Henry Power. Corrupt and insubordinate conduct of Captain King. That officer has conveyed himself to Dublin. Pray that such order may be taken with him, as to their Lordships shall seem meet.

1600.

The promised victuals for three months, and the munition with them, not yet arrived. Only 269 quarters of oats come, out of the 500 directed. Pray for the remainder ; one half to be sent to Cork, and the other half to Limerick.

“And where the Earl of Thomond’s foot company is now removed forth of the list of Munster, and consigned into Connaught, as part of that garrison, and that (they lying in his country) may far more conveniently be relieved and accommodated with lendings or victual and apparel from Limerick, rather than from any place in Connaught, which will no way breed any new charge to Her Majesty, but only an alteration, we, with the Earl, do most humbly beseech your Lordships that, to the next treasure to be appointed for Munster, you will be pleased to add such a proportion as should be allotted for them in Connaught, and direct the same to be deducted forth of the payments for that province: the rather it may please your Lordships to vouchsafe thus much, in respect of his Lordship’s employment near unto Limerick.

“Through the lack of a Chief Justice in this province to assist me, the President, I was enforced to entreat Sir Nicholas Walsh to accompany me hither, where since he remaineth ; and from whom as I have received great furtherance and help for my better proceeding in this province[’s] affairs, not knowing otherwise how to have been assisted, I do beseech your Lordships that, by your favourable letters, you will be pleased to give him thanks for it, and that either Justice Saxey may by your Lordships’ express commandment be forthwith returned, or some other appointed as were meet, for that without the presence of a Chief Justice many special services must be deferred.

“And where also it is a custom in these cities and corporate towns (whose duties we much suspect) to have Agents there for the most part, and daily to send more over, as also the Lords and chief gentlemen of countries in this province, and daily intend the same, many inconsiderate and unmeet suits and causes will be in very troublesome manner exhibited to your Lordships, our humble suit therefore is (in respect their heartening from thence doth much haden [*sic*, ? harden] them here), that your Lordships would be pleased either to refer them hither to our consideration and allowance, or else to defer them there, until we may from your Lordships be acquainted therewith, whereby you may receive the better satisfaction.”

Send a certificate [*wanting*] of the remain of munition. Pray for an additional supply, as they intend to follow the prosecution with more vehemency this summer than hath been heretofore. Ask for a special supply of powder, as many castles, against which they must use cannon, are to be attempted. Beg for reinforcements. “We cannot but note unto your Lordships as well the insufficiency of the last brought over by King, as the bad discharge of his duty in that service, humbly craving that you will as well direct some better care to be had in the choice of them (who otherwise will but spend Her Majesty’s victual here, for that, being weak before their arrival, they do after grow sick, and altogether unserviceable), as also of the conductor; that better regard may be had, both to look to the number and sufficiency of the men, and to deliver a more honest

1600.

and just account of what he shall in that charge receive, without fraud; and that the swords to be sent may be specially chosen, being most necessary and most wanted here, for that those which have hitherto been sent have been so bad, as little use for service could be made of them.

“And lastly, as we have manifested to your Lordships the staggering and uncertain humours which the insolent traitors of this province are possessed with (being apt to forsake their duty and obedience upon any trifling occasion), so give us leave, we most humbly beseech your Lordships, to recommend unto your favourable regard the deserts of such as have constantly endeavoured by all their means to approve their affections in loyal sort to Her Majesty: of whom finding the Lord Barry to be most forward, as a nobleman willing enough to continue in ‘waldinge’ [well-doing], but that his poverty is now such, chiefly grown through the spoils which the traitor Tyrone did upon him by wasting his lands, that he is not able to keep his men together as heretofore he hath done, either to attend Her Majesty’s army into the field with any company, or to preserve his country from any further spoil, and, unless he may be relieved with some entertainments of charge from Her Highness, he will be of less ability to do service, which we humbly leave to your Lordships’ grave wisdom to consider of. In which like respect we are moved to become suitors to your Lordships for Charles McCarthy, son to Sir Cormack McTeig, who being of the best blood and alliance in this country, and in his own person valiant, hath done, and is willing to do, acceptable service to Her Majesty, were it not that the like poverty doth disable him. Of the enemy (if he would have been won away from his obedience), he had large offers, and is daily much importuned to partake with them; but the young gentleman of his natural inclination to remain a subject, and hoping to be considered of with a company of foot of his own country birth, will not hearken to their persuasions; but, if the Lord Barry and he be left to themselves, unprovided for and not some way comforted with relief from Her Majesty, we dare not promise a perseverance in them, which we likewise refer to your honourable censures.”—Cork, 1600, April 30. *Signed.* pp. 5.

April 30.
Shandon
Castle.

150. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “This bearer, Mr. Anias, is returned into England, to furnish himself of some necessaries which he wants. I have conferred with him, and do like of his projects. He promises to return presently, which I beseech you to expedite.” Refers to the dispatch, “which now I have in hand.”—Shandon Castle, 1600, April 30. *Holograph.* p. ½.

April 30.
Cork.

151. Sir Henry Power to the Privy Council. “The Lord President is come to this province the 24th of this instant, to whom I have delivered the charge which was committed to me, according to your Lordships’ directions, and, for that I may the better yield your Lordships account thereof, I thought it not unnecessary therein to relate in what state I found it, how I have persevered, and lastly how I leave it. And for the first, I came hither in a

1600.

time of cessation, which continued until January, and longer should have done, but that I found it too dangerous to be held, and therefore brake it off. At which time the rebels had a faction in the Lord Power's country, a power under the conduct of Thomas Fitz-James in the Decies, a garrison in Imokilly of 200 men, commanded by John McRedmond, and all the country in rebellion; the White Knight ready to take the field with an army, and all the rest of the province accounted the rebels, some few only excepted, who having as much will as the rest, yet not being able, were contented to foster the rebels, or at least ways to temporize with them. Thus briefly I have sent your Lordships the terms wherein the province stood at my first coming; no passage permitted, but by great convoys or shipping. At my first coming, Castlemaine, having endured a long siege, was, before any shipping could be made ready to relieve it (being the only means the winter could afford, to accomplish which no time was neglected) yielded to the rebels, after which with all their forces they came back into these parts, to comfort their friends, and to waste those of whom they stood jealous; against whom I made head, which they perceiving, altered their determination, and retired themselves, resolving upon a defensive war, having none in the province to offend, not doubting thereby to keep their country from wasting; by means whereof their hirelings might be maintained, and ready to overtop any army that here might have been brought against them. For which cause I laid a strong garrison in Mallow and Kilmallock, with directions to lay the White Knight's country waste, the only fountain of the rebels in these parts, and sent a garrison into Imokilly, the residue of the forces to lie about Limerick and Askeaton, and made a new garrison at a castle called Lisedon, being very fit to offend those parts of the county of Limerick. All which took this effect. The garrisons of Mallow and Kilmallock wasted the White Knight's and O'Donogh's countries; that which I sent into Imokilly banished McRedmond, and the rest of the country came in; by which means he in the Decies could not hold out, and the unstable faction in the Lord Power's country brake, the garrisons of Limerick, Askeaton, and Lisedon laid waste the greater part of the county of Limerick.

"Florence McCarthy, being newly come into the country, had banished the bastard, and little else to be expected, but that a present end might be made of the wars in this province; which Desmond finding wrought such means that the arch-rebel Tyrone came into the country; which was so suddenly done, that I had but time to assure the garrisons, leaving 1,000 men at Limerick, that I might the better, drawing the garrisons of these parts, follow the rebels in their retreat, and so being joined, either fight with him at his departure out of the province, or with the rebels of these parts coming from him. How Tyrone came into the country, and of his attempts, I have formerly advertised your Lordships, as also of Florence McCarthy's coming to him, and having settled the state, making Florence chief, in regard he was of the race of the mere Irish. With much more haste than he came into the province, he departed, and the first night marching to the Broadwater, although, by reason of the height thereof, it was not passable, yet he attempted it; notwithstanding, in so doing, he lost many of his men. There

1600.

Florence McCarthy parted from him, and went into his own country, and Desmond into Conyloagh [Connello]. Tyrone being passed, with great marches overpassed the Earl of Ormonde, who at that time was passed to Limerick, having drawn unto him those forces which were left at Limerick, and 200 of the garrison of Youghal. Which the Earl perceiving, spoiled the rest of the county of Limerick, and then went into the White Knight's country (who was led prisoner with the traitor for not giving in his pledge unto him) where the Earl established his sons, and took their assurance of loyalty. The doubt which I then conceived of Florence caused me to lay a plot upon a castle which he possessed, called the Old Head, standing very offensive to the harbours of this town and Kinsale; which took effect, and I assure your Lordships there is no place in this province of greater import than it. At which time there came directions from the Lord Deputy for the discharging of certain companies, and raising and reinforcing the rest; and withal there came the supplies out of England. Which business ended, I sent 1,000 men into Carberry (Florence his chiefest place to maintain his hirelings in, and to offend most out) with direction either to waste it, or to take assurance of the freeholders. At their first entry they took a great prey, and killed divers of the Mahouns, the principal men of that part, and afterwards passed the Leape, wasting, burning, and killing the cattle of all that country, and so returned to Ross, to effect that charge which was committed to them, where they lay fourteen days, taking in of pledges. Florence, in the meantime, gathering together of his followers and hirelings 1,800 men, came and lay by them. Upon the news of the Earl of Ormonde, I sent for them to draw hither. At their rising, the rebels made proffer to fight, but came not on, although they lost their forlorn hope, consisting of forty of their best men, which was defeated by the horse, and the rear of Florence['s] own battle broken, and ten of them killed; and so they came to Kinsale without loss; where, leaving the garrisons of that town behind them, they came towards Cork with 100 horse and 600 foot. In their way Florence with all his force was laid in an ambush, and did it so secretly, that they were ready to join before they were discovered. That ground not serving our men to fight on, they retreated towards a plain, and by the way laid above 100 shot in ambush; which retreat bred a boldness in the rebels, and moved them to follow them; in which doing they fell into the ambuscade of shot, and received the volley, in which there were many of the rebels, commanders and gentlemen, slain; the residue neglected their attempt, and our horse charged, and put them all to flight. There were slain six captains, ten gentlemen, and 140 that carried arms of the rebels; of ours there were only eight slain, and Captain Flower and some others lightly hurt. The rebels began to make head again, but my coming in with forty fresh horse, which I had gathered, altered their determination, and so I brought them to Cork, to entertain the Lord President, to whom I leave the province in far better terms than I found it. For whereas before there was no passage in any part of the country, now two men may pass between this and Waterford, which is fifty miles, and in like manner to Kilmallock; neither hath there been any man

1600.

intercepted since Tyrone's departure, these parts now being very quiet and populous. I doubt not but I should have rendered your Lordships a larger account of these wars, if I had had 200 horse, but I never saw above eighty, since my coming, which were of companies. For although Sir Anthony Cooke's, Captain Whyte's, and Captain Taaffe's horse were set down for this province, yet my Lord of Ormonde sent Captain Taaffe's horse into Meath, and kept Sir Anthony Cooke's, till they were so spent with travel, that they could not endure any longer. I am now going to Dublin to receive that charge which your Lordships, in your honourable care towards me, have assigned for me; from whence, how your Lordships' order shall take effect, I will be careful to acquaint your Lordships, as also continually of my proceedings."—Cork, 1600, April 30. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 3.

April 30. **152.** Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. The certificates of the checks, victuals and treasure, have been sent by the Lord President. Has resigned his charge, as directed, and is going to receive his new one. Desires Sir Robert to move Her Majesty for him, the better to confirm it.—Cork, 1600, April 30. *Signed.* p. 1.

April 30. **153.** "A list of Her Majesty's forces in Munster, as now they stand." Horse, 250; foot, 2,920.—1600, April 30. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

April. **154.** William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your Honour's letter of the 17th of the last, I received the 15th of this instant, and am most humbly thankful for your Honour's advisement. I see your Honour is informed that my writings concerning Cork, and what I have advertised of them, proceed of a private spleen. That be far from me, that I should so far forget myself as to write unto so honourable a personage upon any private spleen. He that is the searcher of the hearts knoweth the truth in this point, and will judge between them and me, whatsoever they be. Indeed (Right Honourable), when some years since, in the very beginning of this general revolt of this city and others from their duties to God and Her Majesty, to their professed enemy the Pope, I advertised hereof to the Council of this land, it was said, then as now, that it was done of malice, but the contrary presently appeared, as they know, as also do some of most honourable state, unto whom I have written, how that my advertisements contain truth, and have proceeded from a good ground, for the zeal I bear to God and His truth, and in discharge of my duty to Her sacred Majesty and her godly laws, which I see here daily more and more contemned and despised, to my no small heart's grief, as the Lord knoweth.

"I humbly beseech your Honour to suspend your judgment of me until ye try me farther, and know them better that so say and report of me; not doubting but they, on whom the charge and burden of this province lieth, will find them out in time. And for taking any violent course against them, I have not this two years

1600.

dealt either violently or mildly, nor exercised my pastoral jurisdiction in Cork or abroad within my charge, The Romish priests and seminaries have them in too great awe to obey Her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws. These men baptise, marry, and perform ecclesiastical offices in houses where any may that will be present; and thereof they will vaunt it (*sic*), saying, 'This day I have been at mass; I would you had been there.' Trust me (Right Honourable), these priests (unless by your grave wisdom it be looked unto and prevented) will be the ruin of this realm and the utter overthrow thereof. Part of their treachery appeared in the abusing of my Lord of Ormonde, and yet no man dare say otherwise but that that priest is an holy father (for so they be called of the Irish). The Lord in mercy open the eyes of that most honourable state to see to this, that by some sharp law they may no longer be suffered to abuse and seduce Her Majesty's subjects as they do, no[r] none accounted subjects be any longer permitted to receive them to house. My jurisdiction thus taken from me I live like a private man, praying and expecting for better times, thinking it my duty to advertise your Honour of needful occurrents, leaving the same to your grave and godly consideration.

"When O'Neill was upon these borders, it was advertised to the Commissioners here that one Regan (who wrote himself *Vicarius Apostolicus* in the letters to the Lord Barry and others, to draw them into rebellion upon publication of the Pope's Bull of Excommunication, as your Honour hath heard), was come from O'Neill's camp into Cork, to confirm the priests and confer with them. Hereupon Sir Warham and the Marshal went to the Mayor, took him with them to find out this Regan, and the searchers, missing of Regan, happened on one Dominic Roche, a Jesuit and a townsman born, a principal fellow amongst them; which the townsmen hearing, there was such a sudden uproar, that the Commissioners were glad to leave the priest with the Mayor, who undertook to bring him before them; but they could not get him at the Mayor's hands, although they earnestly sought it and demanded it, and gave their words to the Mayor that he should go safe away, only they would confer with this Roche concerning Regan. One of the Commissioners' servants, seeing this priest running away, said that he thought to have killed him. The Mayor made answer he would not have him killed, no not for a thousand pounds. This he spake before Sir Warham and the rest, in my hearing.

"I did presume overmuch to write unto your Honour, not being known unto the same, and therefore I humbly crave pardon, assuring your Honour I could lay down reasons and grounds of my writings; but I will not now be tedious, only I wish (for the good of the Church and Her Majesty's service) I were found a liar."—Cork, 1600, April —.

[*Postscript.*] "Concerning those occurrents which touch these townsmen, at O'Neill's passing by, I was then on the top of an high castle in Cork, where her Majesty's munition is, in company with Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Charles Wilmot, Mr. Arthur Hyde, now at the Court, and with divers other gentlemen, and thence I beheld those things by the city, which I wrote of" *Signed. Scal.*
pp. 2.

1600.

April.

155. The muster-roll of Lord Barry's horse and foot. Foot, 300; horse, 122.—1600, April. *Unsigned. One sheet.*

[April.]

156. "A note of such traitors as came to Tyrone from the province of Leinster."—[1600, April.] p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

[April.]

157. Offer of service by Captain Thomas Lee.

In the second treatise of his book, the *Recovery of Ireland*, lately dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, had stated that it would take 1,800 foot and 150 horse to recover the province of Leinster. These forces, to have been divided into three equal portions, for the prosecution of the rebels in Leix, Offally, and the Byrnes' country, would have been sufficient for the purpose. But the traitors have been suffered since to grow strong, and to gather spoil, even from "the very heart of the civillest place of all the Pale, named Fyngall." Thinks 900 foot and 100 horse should be added to the above forces. Would jeopard his life that, with them, he would in one year's space, not only subvert the rebels, but reform and settle quietness in Leinster for ever. Meantime, the garrisons once being placed according to his prescriptions, he would not only defend the subjects, but "repossess every Englishman and other good subject in his former dwelling." This could be well undertaken, if the rebels were not given the advantage of gathering their corn and the profits of their cattle. Should this be done, they would in winter destroy all the provision of corn in the Pale, "and transfer that famine, wherewith we might oppress them, upon ourselves." The pay of the above suggested forces to be allowed out of the general checks for the insufficiency of companies.

Could raise 100 of the horsemen and 600 of the foot without any charge to the Queen, until their mustering. How the forces for the prosecution in Leix and the Byrnes' country should be raised. Offers to "erect" fifty of the horse for that prosecution.

Rewards he would expect for success in these wars. The seneschalship of the Byrnes' country. The Lieutenantcy of Leix. The lands and goods of the traitors, for distribution amongst those who had assisted him. Would be bound to fortify in the fittest places for the safety of the Queen's forces. Makes offers as to the victualling of the troops. If no other Commander will undertake to perform what has here been propounded, knows how to effect it.

"The names of the special men of employment are these":—In Offally, the Earl of Kildare and Sir Edward Herbert; in the county of Wexford, Sir Thomas Cokelye [Colclough]; in the Byrnes' country, Captain Montague; in Leix, Sir Francis Rush. If these succeed, prays that they may have the recompense he has demanded. Asks that he may have his former charge of horse, foot, and kern, restored to him; with certain suggested alterations in its composition and pay. Also that he may have Her Majesty's letters, as before, for the continuance of those men under his command only, to do service upon the Barrow side, and not to be removed thence. Also, that he may be assisted there by Sir James FitzPiers and his companies. Will then undertake to preserve the country from the Barrow side to the Naas, and to suppress the

1600.

Moore, Sir Terence O'Dempsey and all the rest of his name, together with the Keatings and gallowglasses bordering upon Slieve Marge ("a place of the greatest strength in all Leix"), provided he may have the lands and goods of those traitors.

Begs to be sent to Ireland, and to be supported there in his service, and to be rewarded as he shall deserve.—[1600, April.] *Copy.* pp. 3½.

[April.]

158. "Memorials of Ireland." Rough genealogical memoranda, partly in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil, concerning the rebel chieftains in Ireland.—[1600, April.] pp. 4.

VOL. CCVII. PART 3. 1600. MAY-JUNE.

1600.

May 1.

[Dublin.]

1. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "To answer your expectation concerning the Earl of Ormonde, there is yet nothing happened of any consequence. His own mind we cannot know, for whatsoever we hear from him comes by the ears or eyes of the rebels that keep him, and therefore likely to be theirs more than his. For they suffer no man to speak with him in private, nor receive so much as his meat unsearched for letters. I have spoken with divers that say they have seen him, for I have employed many underhand to that purpose. They concur in this, that he is continually tempted by priests, that he rejecteth their persuasions, and protesteth a constant loyalty to the Queen; inso-much that to one of them that being discovered to be sent by me (*sic*), they brought him to the Earl, but suffered not him to come any nearer than the length of the chamber, he openly bid him tell me that, having served the Queen long, and grown so old, he was now able to shew his duty and affection in nothing more than in suffering for her; and, if the rebels desired money for his ransom, he doubted not but Her Majesty would assist his ability to redeem himself; but, where they desired the country of Leix and other demands, he besought Her Majesty to yield to nothing, for his sake, that might any ways touch her honour, for he did not value himself, nor all the Earls of England and Ireland, at so high a price. He is yet in health, and kept in a castle on the borders of Upper Ossory, where, if it were not to hazard his life, there were some possibility to recover him. They do generally say that they repent his taking; and it may be, for he is a dangerous member to them now, and was held no evil friend unto them before. With themselves they know not how to keep him with safety, and certainly they are

1600.

loath to deliver him to Tyrone. They speak of his delivery upon pledges, but more than his present estate I can hardly deliver unto you of certainty. I have sent you divers letters by which you may better gather all circumstances than in any measure I can write them; but my opinion is, first of himself, that in this accident he was merely overreached, and, for the cause, that it receives by him no extraordinary dangers. It hath for a time heartened and kept out the rebels of these parts that were all coming in, whom I was at this time more afraid to receive, than I now fear any hurt they can do; for, if the army prosper this summer, they will come in upon what conditions we will give them. If it should not, which God defend, they would all have gone out again, what pledges soever we had taken. And so, Sir, you may be assured that even all the rest of this kingdom will do. For, although the Earl of Ormonde be the last man that I think would have clean quit the estate of England, yet I have great reason to be confident that, despairing in the force of England to protect him, he had already opened his heart to some other foundation to make good his estate in this kingdom; and, although he might wish that the Queen might prevail, yet he served her Majesty with fear and respect to that government which he looked would happen to this estate; and this was that which I meant to infer by the passages and interviews I did write to you of. Whereupon followed his strange prosecution of the Traitor in his journey to Munster, and not that I had ever any belief that he was taken by any conspiracy of his own. Sir, you must think of a course to be held, if he should die, for therein we have need of your advice, many alterations depending thereupon, and he being not likely long to live in the estate of his own body and years, besides his present danger. I found him much altered in his body and mind from the man you have seen twice in England; weak in both, and apparently governed by certain base followers of his. I have heard of strange absurdities that he committed in this last journey of Munster, and that he did manifestly overslip the utter ruin of the traitor, which was often in his power, and I have been certainly informed that sometimes he would in his rage break out into these terms with his followers; that he should never do the Queen a day's service, while those villains were in his company. At his being in Dublin, I gave him so little reason to think that I took notice of any his errors, that before his departure and at the same we were in great terms of kindness, and he seemed to be in extraordinary hope of the reducing of this kingdom; and I was so careful to give him all good satisfaction, that, before his coming to the town, I caused an Irishman to be whipped about the town, with a paper on his head written, 'For slanderous speeches against the Earl of Ormonde'; who had reported openly that the Earl meant not to fight with Tyrone, but had entered into combination to spare each other, and much to the like effect. The reason, as I gather by some other of his proceedings, why he never acquainted me with any purpose to deal with Onie McRory, was, because he presumed to have drawn him in before I should have ever heard of it, and to have gotten the more honour thereby to himself. And on my Christianity, I never dreamed of any such matter as his parley, till I heard he was taken; and therefore they

1600.

that are so apt to lay this accident as an imputation to my government may as well tax the Mayor of London because Dorington brake his own neck from the steeple of Snt. Pulchers [St. Sepulchre's]. Neither was it wonder that the horsemen did quit him, for they were all his own, and accounted the famous cowards of Ireland, and were always wont to leave him when he hath charged in the head of them. My Lord President could do nothing, having but one man of his own with him; neither could he prevent his parley, for the Earl had concluded it before he ever made him privy unto it, and for some reasons he had of the Earl's proceeding was the more desirous to be present to observe the matter and manner of their meeting.

"Sir, I would willingly relate unto you all our particularities, but I shall do it with too great difficulty to myself, and too much trouble to you. But, in general, the whole chain of this rebellion was breaking before it was patched up with this accident, the arrival of two ships with munition out of Spain, and assured promise of present supplies hither and invading of England, and of a confirmation out of England, whereof all Dublin was full of the like expected there, and the preparing of all the Queen's navy. Tyrone received the ships with great triumph, and hath blazed over all Ireland great and present expectations out of Spain. And, although it be by him very cunningly handled, so that all even in these parts believe it, yet I think the ships, as I have heard, were one Spanish and another Irish, and they brought little or no munition, and only some passengers and Jesuitical firebrands. But it is so general that I believe it, that he hath sent pledges into Spain; which I think he hath done rather with some new demands of his own, than required thereunto by the King. Our men have been near three weeks aboard, and no industry that I could use can or could prevent these strange winds so long constant in one corner; but even now the wind begins to change, and if God send us now well away, there is no time lost.

"If we recommend any suitors unto you, as of all people under heaven this nation is the most importunate, if you send them back, with no peremptory commandment for what they would have, they will be soon weary, and yet none that deserves Her Majesty's favour here shall be unsatisfied in anything within my power. I am in so good hope upon the change of these winds to send you shortly some good news, as I will now no longer trouble you with my extreme ill hand, but there is now no remedy, for I have no leisure to go to the writing school."—[Dublin, 1600.] May 1.

[*Postscript.*] "Since the writing of this letter, I received these I send you from my Lady. You may see therein the demands of the insolent rogue Onie. We will make the best provision we can for the Earl, as far as it may stand with the Queen's honour." *Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich the 7th. *Holograph.* pp. 2½.

Encloses:—

1. i. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council.* "Since the day I was most unfortunately taken by Onie McRory, I could find no means to make known to your Lordships the state I stand in, which is very hard, nor had

1600.

allowance to write, confer, or speak with any, without the consent and privity of two or three of my keepers; neither could I learn before now what their demand was, they expecting the resolution of others their confederates. But, urging them daily to know their intents touching me, at length they presented unto me these articles signed by Onie his own hand, which I send your Lordships hereinclosed, to be considered according your wisdoms and mature judgments, desiring your Lordships to let me understand your wills as well in this as in other your intents in my behalf.

“I have been solicited to intreat your Lordships to send good security and safe-conduct, under your Lordships’ hands, for James Archer and Robert Lalor, priests, with other three or four as shall accompany them in their journey, that they may freely lay down before your Lordships such things as they, in the name of their confederates, demand for pacifying (as they say) of these garboils and troubles, and that during that time they shall not only safely pass and repass, but also use their function without molestation or trouble. All which I thought fit to refer to your good Lordships.” *“The Woods,”* 1600, April 30. Subscribed and signed, “Your good Lordships’ to command in heart, though an unfortunate prisoner, Thomas Ormonde and Ossory.” The Earl adds the following in his own hand:—“This letter I sign was brought to me ready written, neither am I allowed any of my own men to write for me.” Endorsed:—Received the first of May. p. 1.

1. ii. “A note of Onie McRory O’Moore his demands for the enlargement of the Earl of Ormonde’s honour, the 30th of April, 1600.

“1. First, to take away all Her Majesty’s forces from the garrisons of Leix, and to deliver them (I mean the garrisons) to Onie at his own pleasure.

“2. Secondly, to deliver sufficient good pledges to Onie to put no garrison in any place within Leix from the time of removing the garrisons for ever again.

“3. Thirdly, in case that the said pledges be not had or enjoyed by Onie, that all the garrisons both of Leix and Offally be removed out of both the countries, and every man to shift for him (sic) thereafter.” Signed, “O.M.”

[Postscript.] “To send me and all my friends in Leinster a general protection for the space of six weeks, and after the receipt of the protection, I will send your Lordships word, who will desire the benefit thereof, or no. Also, to send no more of Her Majesty’s forces to Ulster during the time of the protection.” Signed, “O.M.” p. 1.

May 1. 2. Note of the forces in Munster, and of the victuals in store for them; also of the amount spent on victuals from 1 October, 1599, to 31 March, 1600. The foot, with their officers, numbered 2,767; the horse, 156.—1600, May 1. Unsigned. p. 1.

1600.

- May 1. 3. The Victualler's certificate for the issue and remain of victual at Cork; 1600, May 1. Signed by William Greatrakes, Deputy Commissary. *p.* 1.
- May [2.] 4. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Patrick Crosby, having to the manifest hazard of his own life taken great pains and travel for the effecting of the business wherein you employed him to Onie McRory, Donnell Spainagh, and Captain Tyrrell, wherewith he hath made us and the Lord President acquainted, is now to return to your Honour, to make relation of his proceedings, the particulars whereof, because himself can best deliver them, we leave to his own report. Only we desire your Honour, if you like of the plot, that you will be pleased to give it that furtherance and dispatch that the weightiness of the service doth require. For it will be the best time to begin it with the harvest, and the men will require some time to be gathered. We can say no less for the bearer than that, if he procure this matter to be compassed as he expecteth, and as the parties have promised, he deserveth great consideration. This nobleman, the Baron of Upper Ossory, that now goeth over, promiseth to give his best help thereunto, by adding one or two of his sons to undertake the matter."—Dublin Castle, 1600, May [2]. *Signed.* *p.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
- May 2. 5. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have been importuned by Sir Robert Lowell to give him leave for some small time about some business he hath concerning (as he saith) his whole estate. He can deliver unto you at large the estate of Connaught. For the matter of my Lord of Dunkellin, I can say no more than I have already written unto you; but I do believe him, that in his own particular he is afraid to stay amongst his own countrymen without more power to give them the law; and I think for himself you shall never hear that he will quit his allegiance to the Queen. But of that province I am afraid more than [of] any part of Ireland."—[Dublin,] 1600, May 2.—*Holograph.* *p.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
- May 2. 6. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "The last letter which I received from you bare date the 26th of March, enclosed in a packet to Sir Henry Power, of whom I did receive it, who is gone to his government into Leinster. The last packet which I sent unto your Honour was from Waterford, dated the 20 of April, sent in a boat of Padstow, called the *Honour*. The master and part owner, who was to deliver the same at Bristol to the Mayor there, is called William Michell. The contents whereof was the manner of my Lord of Ormonde's taking jointly written from my Lord of Thomond and me, with other private letters from me to yourself. Touching the points in your last letters fit to be answered, although there is no man that more mislikes that companies should be bestowed upon Irish captains than myself, yet when I find it to be expedient for the Queen's service, I am bound in duty to signify my opinion. And therefore, to encourage my

1600.

Lord Barry, who is now in blood with the traitors since his losses when Tyrone was in these parts, I think it were meet that a company of foot were bestowed upon him. He is exceeding poor and strong in followers. When I came into the province, he met me between Youghal and Cork with 500 foot and 100 horse of his own. He is mightily discontented, and thinks that the State neglects him, that he is not in the Queen's pay. There is no doubt but he is able to do great service; but, if he be not relieved, although himself will remain a subject, yet then he will underhand juggle with the enemy, and let his men be loose amongst them, if he do not worse, whereof I have some doubt. In like manner, Charles McCarthy were fit to be considered of, who is of a stirring spirit, much esteemed of in Munster, exceeding willing to do service, vehemently importuned by the traitors with large enticing proffers to join with them, valiant in his person, and, if he would be a rebel, there is no doubt but he were able to carry all the force of Muskerry with him, in despite of Cormack McDermond his adversary; which is 1,000 men at the least. His discontentments are equal to Barry's; and, Sir, believe me, I fear his courses will be nought, except he be pleased. He is able to do the Queen more service with a company, than three of the best English captains in Munster. For the pay of one band, he will evermore serve the Queen with treble the number. These men may be entered into pay by cashiering other Irish bands that be in this province, without increase of charge to the Queen. I have already written to the Lord Deputy to permit me to do so, but thereof, as yet, I have received no answer. If this motion for these two shall be liked of in England, then I beseech you to signify your pleasures in the same to the Lord Deputy. With much ado I have stayed my Lord Barry from going to England. I pray you to take notice of it, and give him thanks that he doth so much respect the Queen's service, and wish him to prosecute his suits by his agent, whom you may promise to have favourable hearing.

"Whereas you require me to send my opinion unto you touching the aiding of suitors with some hope during the wars, your Honour (by the opinion of all the Council here) understands that the rebels be 7,000 good able men, the Queen's forces but 3,000 in list, whereof dead pays deducts about 300, so as upon the reckoning I have but 2,700, of the which allowing sick and hurt men, together with wilful defaults of Captains and those that by death will be wanting, if I shall be 2,400 by the poll strong, I shall think myself happy. Of the which number I must be enforced, when I draw into the field, to leave at Youghal 100, at Kinsale 100, at Kilmallock 150, at Mallow 100, at Dungarvan 50, at the castle of Creagh 30, besides in other petty wards, which must not be lost, as Lisfinnin, Stranckally, the old Head of Kinsale, Wallstown, and other places, above 50 more, and of the whole number which should be turned over unto me, which should be 3,000 foot, I do want 80, being employed by my Lord Deputy in Leinster, who as yet I cannot get to be removed from the places they are in. All which deductions being added together, there is not remaining to go into the field with me by the poll but 1,740 foot, which is but a weak army to sustain the force of the traitors, except my strength in horse did overtop them,

1600.

wherein also I do assure your Honour the troops are weak. By this account your Honour may perceive how unable I am to spare any men to private ends, but, when the garrisons shall be settled, as at the winter they must, then such castles of subjects as are near unto them may, during the time of their abode, have some help to defend their castles. But, when the companies shall draw to a head, the owners must provide for themselves. To set Captains over countries for the defence of the same, the Presidents have ever had power to do it, and to constrain the inhabitants to bear the charge of horse and foot. But in those great rebellions where all is wasted, it is impossible to lay any such charge upon them; but where it may be done I will see it performed, for I hold it to be very excellent good service for the Queen. I beseech you to be the means that my Lord of Thomond's company may be paid in Munster. To the Queen it is all one. He will never serve under Dunkellin, if I may procure his payment here. I shall ever be sure of his company, which will give me no small advancement in the service, for his credit is great in these parts, and by him I shall effect more than otherwise I shall be able to perform. His faith to the Queen and his readiness to serve her, I do as much believe in as in any subject born in England. I would not so constantly write it, if I did not confidently believe it, led so to do by demonstrative reasons that are infallible. Yet his Lordship remains with me at Cork, and so he promises to do all this summer, if his country hold firm, as he makes no doubt. For he hath so well handled his business, as Thomond hath not a rebel in it, and feels no part of the war; which was as much disordered as any part of Ireland, when he departed from the Court.

"All the certificates of money issued, victuals and munitions issued and remaining, and the certificates of the checks, are sent in this despatch (*wanting*). My humble suit unto your Honour is, that we may be supplied in convenient time.

"There is yet no certainty what the rebels will do with my Lord of Ormonde. His enlargement was faithfully promised, but as I hear, not yet performed. What effects will proceed of his taking is hard to conjecture, for it is exceeding doubtful. God grant they may be good. James McThomas with all the forces that he can make are drawn to a head, to impeach my going to Limerick, and have amassed as much victuals as he can make to tarry my coming, which he should not long expect, if that idiot (*'ydeott'*) Florence did necessarily hold me to attend his pleasure, whether he will turn subject or persevere traitor, as now he is. If the man had faith or honesty in him, he would have been with me ere this time, as, by his letter to myself, which I received in my coming from Dublin, and his messages, may appear. And the like may be judged by other letters written by him, the copies whereof with these I do send unto your Honour [*wanting*]. But my hopes are dead, and I think he will never be honest. At his own request I have sent John Fitz-Edmunds twice unto him, not six miles from this town, but his returns are nothing but oaths and protestations of loyalty, and that he loves, honours, and respects me, as much as any man living, and that he will come unto me, but his fears do so much prevail in him, as he dares not, for fear of detention, trust me. To assure

1600.

him, to-morrow at his request my Lord of Thomond doth parley with him, with whom he promises to come unto me; whereof I am doubtful, expecting but delays. For to say my opinion directly as I think, I do believe that before he left England, these treasons were hatched, which if they were, then is he past recovery. But, if it be no more than he pretends, which is parleying and patching with Tyrone to save his country from spoil, and fighting against her Majesty's forces between Kinsale and Cork, there is no doubt but he will be reduced. The manner of that fight I have at large discoursed in Sir Walter Raleigh's letter, which I have sent unsealed unto you. The enemy lost 98 and we but 8 persons, yet, notwithstanding, I am exceeding sorry that Sir Henry Power did command the journey, for now he can allege nothing else to cause him to fear to come at me, but because he was in the field with his colours flying against her Majesty's forces. Florence himself is in nature a coward, and as much addicted to his ease as any man living, and therefore unmeet to be a rebel; which makes me glad that he is the chief commander of Carberry and Desmond forces. For, if he were gone, his wife's bastard brother would be far worse than he. He hath required my oath that he may come and go safe from me, which my Lord of Thomond in my behalf will swear unto him. When he required John FitzEdmunds to ask the same of me, I do think at that time he did purpose to see me, but his fears do so abound, as I have no hope of his coming. If by no means he may be assured to the State, yet I think it not amiss to temporize with him, and to permit him to be neutral, which I suppose he chiefly desires, being at all times ready to join with Spaniards, if they come, or to return to be a subject, if the rebels prevail not. By this temporising course, I shall spare 1,500 men of my 3,000, towards the prosecution of James McThomas [FitzThomas], for less than 1,500 is too little to prosecute Florence. To undertake both together, I cannot, and therefore, unless I be otherwise commanded out of England, I will temporize with Florence, and prosecute the other, whose kingdom, I hope, in a reasonable time will be dissolved. Florence, since my coming into this province, did never write unto me, which makes me to mistrust him the more.

"The White Knight hath sent sundry messengers unto me, promising to be an honest man. A more faithless man never lived upon the earth, yet, to satisfy his desire that he may have no cause to excuse himself, according to his own request I have sent Sir George Thornton to speak with him, and to bring him unto me; but I have as little hope in him as in Florence. If anything do move him to keep his promise, and to come unto me, [it] is the internal malice between James McThomas and him, which is irreconcilable. If these two men were reconciled to the State, I should in a short time draw from James McThomas all his best friends. For, had they but a leader, they would strive who should make his peace first. This I know to be true, for most of his best followers have by their messengers assured me that they would come in if they durst; which makes me the more desirous to reconcile Florence and the White Knight to the State; and yet I protest I do not seek it at their hands, but, in regard of the Queen's honour, do seem coy, and

1600.

deal no further in it than by their importunities I am urged. Until I do know what these guards will do, I am fast at anchor in Cork, not knowing which way to carry the forces. Delay me they shall not, for within four days I will be resolved on leave to treat. The Bishop of Cashel is busily working; within a few days that stratagem will either take effect or fail; but, howsoever it do succeed, I have two more as good, or better than that. I hope at last, if the devil be not his good master, but one will hit.

“Of the Lord Deputy’s proceedings in Leinster, or what forwardness the plantation of Lough Foyle is in, we here in Munster do hear nothing. God grant that garrison to prosper, the success whereof gives life or destruction to this rebellion; for upon the fortune of the north the rest of the kingdom depends. As I passed through the county of Waterford, two notable traitors, which disturbed all that country, came in unto me, the one called Thomas FitzJames, brother to the Lord of the Decies, the other Thomas Power, cousin german to the Lord Power. These two are upon my protection for two months, within which time they are bound to sue out their pardons. Their coming in hath cleared all that county, no man being in actual rebellion in the same. Since my coming into this county of Cork, divers gentlemen have likewise come in unto me, and submitted themselves, and have put in their pledges for their loyalties, and are protected for two months, within which time they are to sue out their pardons. Amongst others of the best sort is O’Callaghan and Barrett, Lords of countries, and chief of their names. The most cankered subjects that underhand support the rebels are the Lord Roche and Cormack McDermond Charles his adversary. Roche is a brain-sick fool, but the other is a subtle fox, under the habit and pretext of a subject working more villainy against the State than he were able to do if he were in rebellion. It is told me that he will send his agent into England, to what end I know not, I humbly beseech you (except you do not care to be abused) to reject all suits that is not commended from the Council and me; so shall you be sure to quit yourself of a great deal of trouble, and stop the multiplicity of suitors that will go unto you.

“The 30 of March, from Dublin, I wrote unto your Honour a letter in cipher. I would gladly know whether you had received it; for it troubles me much, fearing it may be lost. As in my former letters, so in this, I pray your Honour to let me know whether you have it. As touching my suit, I humbly thank you for being so mindful of it. Your Honour guesses rightly that to advance their good ends, they were desirous that their Dutchman should be my farmer; which, because I knew of no other, I did not deny; neither did I grant the same so far as that I hold myself tied to let him have it; but yet, if it be not much to my prejudice, to farther their farm, I could be content with somewhat the less, because they did give me the first notice of the suit. But, in faith, no firm promise was made; in token whereof I never spake with the Dutchman in my life, but all is one. What your Honour’s pleasure is, that I shall do, with that I am best pleased. My uncle Harry is my attorney in all my causes, who will do but what you still please to command.

1600.

"Amongst the rebels here there is nothing more constantly believed than Spanish forces to come presently to assist them; then do I not know where to find a subject on whom to trust, for the towns will be no less dangerous than the woods. But I am resolved to undergo the fortune of it, with confidence to prevail at last. To draw the forces into the towns, to master them, will be my best assurance, but therein, if I be not the more happy, I may be prevented.

"Here are seditious reports underhand cast out to encourage and animate the ill-disposed, that in England tumults and civil war is raised. I cannot for my life find an author of the same, whereof I would be glad to make an example, to the terror of others. I beseech your Honour to let me understand how the world goes with you there. I mean not touching these seditious reports, for I do assure myself they are false, but of your home accidents, as also what forwardness the peace with Spain is in; for thereupon depends the most of our business here. By this time I fear I have tired you, and therefore I do abruptly end."—Shandon, 1600, May 2.

[*Postscript.*] "I pray your Honour to write unto my Lord of Thomond. He avows much respect and love towards you. It will give him encouragement, and bind him more fast unto me, by whose credit and means I shall with the more facility proceed in my business." *Holograph.* pp. 10.

May [2.
Dublin].

7. Richard, Baron Dunkellin, to the Privy Council. "I did write, upon my coming over, to my Lord Deputy touching my manner of employment in Connaught, having found by the little time I spent in that place that which in the beginning I feared and misdoubted, that is, the little good I should be able to do with so small a proportion of men and so little authority and countenance. This was the cause (if it please your Lordships to remember) that made me, when this matter was motioned at Court, to be unwilling to meddle in it, being most assured that I should not be able to do any acceptable service, either in reducing those that were out or retaining them that were in, without I had those things that have been always required for the managing of the affairs of that province, though I must confess, for the force, it is likely I might be able to do more with a less proportion than any other, by my experience in the country, and that many would hearken unto me that would not to those they knew not, or were newly to come there. Yet it must have been the trust and confidence which Her Majesty reposed in me that were the ground for me to encourage those few friends I have there, and the means for the reducing of the rest; which when they see I fail in, and that I am restrained from power of doing them justice, and barred withal from those places whereof there is any care had, I mean Athlone and Galway, which the people have already apprehended, and upon this grow insolent and neglect me of all parts. So that I protest to your Lordships, I fear as much the practices of such as I might justly challenge an interest in myself, as those that are out in open action. The whole province is all out, saving a few followers of my father's who are

1600.

daily practised withal for the drawing of them from him, and I very much fear the event of their practices.

“My humble suit unto your honourable Lordships is, that since those things that are necessary for the avoiding of these inconveniences are not granted to myself, that your Lordships will be pleased to move her most excellent Majesty to appoint somebody else that shall be supplied with power and means, without which it is impossible for any to do good there. And for myself, because it shall appear that no private ends or hopes of increasing mine own authority in mine own country do lead me (though I must confess that I had rather bestow my life and labours there, than in any place more unnatural unto me), I will ab[andon] this soil, and any fruit or benefit or expectation in it, and serve Her Majesty in any other wars or place of the world, though privately yet with less dishonour than here, where I am limited and restrained from the means of doing good.” [Dublin.] *Endorsed* :—May, 1600. *Signed.* pp. 2.

May 2.
Dublin.

8. Richard, Baron Dunkellin, to Sir Robert Cecil. His desire to be discharged from his command in Connaught. Cecil was the first to procure the place for him; prays that he will work to deliver him from it, and that some other may be appointed with more authority and countenance. Will adventure life and all for Her Majesty, but cannot do any good under the conditions assigned him, for the people run any course to save themselves, and grow careless of him.—Dublin, May 2. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Holograph.* *Seal.* p. 1.

May 2.
Dublin.

9. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. His desire to serve Sir Robert. Better success in those parts than formerly hath been accustomed. Their fortunes somewhat blemished by the taking of the Earl of Ormonde without blood. “The traitors in many places receive blows, though we kill them not in multitudes; which cannot be, howsoever we beat them, they are so swift of foot. It is famine, not the sword, that must reduce this country to what is expected.” Necessity for planting strong garrisons, and making daily raids. Inland garrisons should be victualled for five or six months.

“We are presently to depart towards the north, having long awaited a wind. My Lord Deputy hath returned me to my former government of Knockfergus, and I have resigned my office of Sergeant-Major to my predecessor, Sir Oliver Lambert. I have left the army in better heart than I found them, and as good men as any in Christendom. I have seen a time when droopingly most despaired of what they now hope. I may truly say that Tyrone was thought a greater traitor than Her Majesty a prince in Ireland. His great braves (*sic*), pride, and vain journey into the west, effecting little of what he pretended, hath returned him hateful to his confederates and discontented in himself, and, notwithstanding his more than speedy and undiscovered retreat, could some men’s desires (foreseeing such his forcements) have been seconded with

1600.

present resolutions, he should not have escaped so untouched. Since his return, two ships have been with him from Spain, whether from the King or merchants it is uncertain. In them he hath returned his second son Henry, and other hostages of no value. In Munster, there is great hope of quiet. In Connaught, there is doubt, and dangerously commanded (*sic*), the whole force being Irish. In Ulster, God bless the designs for Lough Foyle, and we shall weary our neighbours. In Leinster, they have been well weakened, and by my Lord's care and pains they will daily smart, for I never saw man more desirous to be doing, which is the readiest way to light upon these pilferers."

Sends a list [*wanting*] of the army, as disposed in the provinces, and in the several garrisons of Leinster. Superfluous number of Commissaries. Four may be well spared, Sir Ralph Lane and Birkinshawe doing their duties. On his arrival in the north, will send true notice of the occurrents there.—Dublin, 1600, May 2. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 2.

10. Extracts from divers letters.

1. From Dermott Dwyne, 27 April, 1600.—"Redmond Burke came yesterday into my country to the number of 700 men, and this morning they sent 200 into my strong woods in hope of prey. I met with an hundred and more of them, and killed of them at least a full hundred. Afterwards, upon my return, I met with the rest of their company, which was to the number of one hundred at least, who had a great prey from me. I rescued them, and bereft them of the prey, and deprived most part of them of their lives; the rest fled away rescued with their battle, which was at the least 500 men."

2. From James Duff, sovereign of Ross, 29 April, 1600.—"Donnell Spainagh, Feagh McHugh's son, Edmund McBrian Kavanagh, and Thomas Roche, with their forces, went to the lower part of the English part of this country; Richard Butler and Edward Butler, with their forces, to the other part of the country; and this morning they burned Taghmon and all that was therehence to the Banno (castles in some places only excepted); the other company burnt from Taghmon towards Wexford. Their forces of foot and horse are 1,200 or thereabouts. The sheriff and gentlemen of the country were in arms two days past, some 40 horse and 300 foot, and hearing of the rebel's forces, every gentleman drew to his own hold. I have caused all the gates of this town, save one, to be closed up; and we are here upon our guard both night and day."

3. From Sir Samuel Bagenall, 28 April, 1600.—"The 27 of this present, I took the garrison of this town, and marched towards Armagh. This morning I came to Loughlackan, an island of Tyrone's. There we burnt good store of houses in the woods, and killed some of their people, and brought some 200 cows, an 100 garrans, some sheep and porks. They did us no harm at all. It is thought Tyrone will be this night at Dungannon, and purposeth to be our neighbour. I will use all diligence to harm him and his, by all means possible."

1600.

4. From Captain George Greame, 2 May, 1600.—“I have sent your Honour four heads heretofore, and now I send you two prisoners, and one head. He that lost his head, his name is Kelly, the ringleader of all spoiling and preying in the Pale.” *Copy.* pp. 1½.

May 2. 11. Certificate by Harold Kynnesman, Paymaster in Munster, of the sums issued by him in that province, from 1 October, 1599, to 31 March, 1600.—1600, May 2. *Signed.* pp. 10½.

May 3. 12. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Letter of
Dublin. recommendation for Captain Richard Crofts.—Dublin, 1600, May 3. *Signed.* p. ½.

May 3. 13. Joshua Aylmer, Commissary in Munster, to Sir Robert
Cork. Cecil. Explains his not having written before. The Lord President came to Cork on the 24th of April. Delivered Sir Robert's letters and instructions to him. Ever since has attended his Lordship's pleasure, but has not yet been appointed, because the Lord President's deputy made his man Turner one of the Commissaries in Munster. This the Lord President confirmed, since Sir Robert appointed the writer. Consequent disgrace. Prays Sir Robert, by his next letter to direct the President to establish him, or he will perish for want.—Cork, 1600, May 3. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 3. 14. William Jones, Commissary in Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil.
Cork. Thanks him for continuing his former entertainment, although the Commissaries in Ireland are to receive 3s. 4d. *per diem.* Favours received by writer's father and himself from the house of Cecil.—Cork, 1600, May 3. *Holograph.* *Seals.* p. 1.

May 4. 15. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the
Dublin. bearer John Allen, who has been employed many years in the office of the Ordnance, and is now sent to England to give particulars of several kinds of munitions requisite to be sent to Ireland out of hand. Prays that Allen may receive furtherance in a private suit he has about land fallen to him in England, so that his return may not be unduly delayed.—Dublin, 1600, May 4. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 6. 16. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Terence O'Dempsey.
Drogheda. “I would be glad to do anything that might tend to the ease or safety of my very good Lord, the Earl of Ormonde, and should take anything you should do, if it were indeed for his benefit, in as good part as if it were done to myself. And when to that end you shall either lend him your house, or do anything else his Lordship shall desire, you shall make as great testimony of your loyalty as in any one thing else, which you can do. I do not deny but I have heard

1600.

many things, which might give me occasion to be jealous of your sincerity, but I shall ever be more glad of your justification, than to find in you or in any of the Queen's subjects any true argument of distrust. And although, out of mine own particular, I could be content to use all persuasions to gentlemen of good birth, born under Her Majesty's allegiance, to exhort them from this impious rebellion and treacherous combination, nourished by such false prophets as the Church of Rome itself is ashamed to avow, yet I doubt not but God, by Her Majesty's sword which she hath delivered me, will approve her cause, right her distressed subjects, and give her own laws to her unnatural revolted subjects. And for yourself, there is nothing doth breed in me more distrust in you of the fidelity and duty of a subject than your desire to have that safe-conduct, which is free to all that are guiltless. Notwithstanding, if you have anything to negotiate in the behalf of the Earl of Ormonde, which you believe may tend to his Lordship's good, you may to that purpose repair unto me, and on my honour (which I will never break), you shall both freely repair unto me, and as freely depart."—Drogheda, 1600, May 6. *Copy. p. 1.*

May 6.
Shandon.

17. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Sir, when I dispatched all my letters and the letter from me and the Council here unto the Lords, bearing date the last of April, I reserved the writing of my letter unto your Honour, until the wind served to embark, which bare date the second of May, since which time the wind not serving, in these I thought good to relate unto you what hath passed between Florence McCarthy and me.

"In the former letter of the 2nd of May, I wrote that Florence McCarthy desired me to send my Lord of Thomond to speak with him, which at my request his Lordship was contented to do. The same morning, Florence wrote a letter to me, which I immediately answered. The copies of them with these I send unto your Honour. After, the Earl and he met, and more than two hours spent. Upon the oaths of him and Sir Nicholas Walsh that I had promised to permit him to return safe, he came to my house; and as soon as he came unto me, kneeling, he humbled himself with many protestations of the sincerity of his heart and the true loyalty which he bare toward Her Majesty, desiring me to receive him into Her Majesty's favour, and that he would do her more service than any man in Munster. After I had reproved him for his traitorous behaviours, and laid before him the foulness of his fault, and the monstrous ingratitude towards Her Majesty, from whom he had received so many great favours and benefits, all which he could not deny, I took him by the hand and led him aside, preaching obedience unto him, and using all the arguments I could to reduce him to conformity. The Earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and John FitzEdmund did the like, and unto us in general terms he seemed as reasonable and dutiful as we could desire. The same night he supped with me, and the Earl of Thomond conducted him to his lodging, for so fearful a creature I did never see, mistrusting to be killed by every man he saw. The

1600.

next day, which was the 4 of this present, he dined with me. After dinner, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Walsh, the Bishop of Cork, Mr. Cuff, John FitzEdmund, and myself, called him before us, and, as at his first coming, I laid his faults before him, challenged performance of his promises, which was not only to desist from doing ill, but to do some such service as might merit reward, which was expected at his hands, being so much bound unto Her Majesty as he was; and because that myself might not be thought to deal slackly for the Queen and partially, I did require from him his eldest son for a pledge of his good behaviour, and assurance of the service which he pretended to do. Which he refused, alleging many reasons to the contrary, pretending that the putting in of his son in pledge would cause the business to forsake him, and to erect his wife's base brother, and so drive him out of his country to his utter ruin; that he had of long time tasted of miseries and wants; that he had recovered his country of Desmond with great travail, danger, and charges; that when he should be a beggar, he knew the Queen would not regard him, and then he should be unable to serve her; and therefore desired that his pledge might not be exacted, being needless to be required at his hands, for that he was in his soul addicted to serve Her Majesty by all the means he might. Whereunto all the reasons that we could make was used to incite him to deliver his pledge. When reasons could not prevail, friendly persuasions for his good was delivered unto him; and at last, when nothing could move him, I, the President (wherein the Earl of Thomond was also very vehement), threatened him with sharp prosecution, protesting to neglect all other services, until his country were spoiled, and himself banished. Which did much amaze him, and then he said he was content to put his son pledge for him, upon condition that Her Majesty would be pleased to pass the country of Desmond unto him, as she had done unto his father-in-law, to give him the name of McCarthy More, or Earl of Clancar, and to give him 300 men in wages. Which exorbitant demands was so much disliked by us all, as we bade him begone, being weary to hear a man so far out of reason; and immediately we brake off, and the Council departed, leaving the Earl of Thomond, Florence, and myself in the Chamber. After long speech, debating the matter very seriously, he sware that the only cause why he was loath to deliver his son was, as before he alleged, the present loss of his country, which he knew would be taken out of his possession, if he were reconciled to the State, and not want of duty to Her Majesty; that he would write by this dispatch into England unto your Honour, humbly to pray you to be a means for the passing of Desmond unto him, with the title of McCarthy More, or Earl; as for a charge, he would not require it before he did deserve the same by some service that might merit so great a favour; which if he might obtain, he would not doubt but in a short time to be the best instrument for the finishing of the war in Munster. I told him his courses were nought, and that I would not give him any assistance in the same, being more meet for him to entreat mercy for his offences than to be so insolent in demanding of reward, and did beat down his pride (which is incredible) as much as I could. In

1600.

the end, I demanded of him what his purposes were, if he did not prevail in his desires. He sware unto me upon a book that he would never bear arms against Her Majesty's forces, except he were assaulted in Desmond, and that all his followers should likewise abstain from actual rebellion; but his buonies were more at the commandment of Dermond O'Connor than of himself, and therefore, whensoever Dermond would send for them, he could not restrain them. He likewise did swear unto me that whensoever I did send for him upon my word, that he would come unto me, and in the meantime he would evermore send me intelligence of the rebels' proceedings, and do me the best underhand service he could, and for testimony of his obedience he would at any time, when your Honour pleaseth to send for him (upon your faithful promise that he shall not be a prisoner, for he saith that he will rather run any fortune than to be detained) go into England, to make known unto you his sincere meaning. This is all that passed between us, and more than to be a neutral he would not promise, or could be exacted from him. Of his going into England, I would be glad that your Honour would make trial, which I do not believe that he will perform; for the which he sware upon a Pius Quintus, for upon no other book the Earl would believe him. He protests that, for his particular, he doth not expect the aid of Spaniards, although Tyrone, in a letter very lately did assure him that they would be here presently. He confesseth that he knows that at the last the Queen must and will prevail in Ireland; but yet he had rather die than to be a beggar again, to feel the wants he hath done, which he is sure to do, if he be reconciled. But these excuses are but devices to draw the Queen to yield to his demands, thinking that the time serves for rebels to obtain whatsoever they ask. But herein I hope his policy shall fail him, for I have as much from him as I desire, which is to have no cause to employ any part of Her Majesty's forces against him; for by his oath he is bound not to serve against us, or to annoy any of Her Majesty's good subjects, but to live privately in Desmond, and to keep his country; which if he perform, I shall be at the better leisure to prosecute James McThomas, and, when that work is finished, a few days will serve to humble Florence and teach him submissive entreaties, and to forget to capitulate either for land, titles, or charge. I never racked my wits more to beat reason into a man's head than I did to him, but pride doth so much possess him in being called McCarthy More, that his understanding is lost, and not capable of any reasons but his own. John Fitz-Edmunds is his godfather, and when he saw his foolish obstinacy, believing before that his credit had been able to have prevailed with him, in a great fury, after many revilings, cursed him to his face. In reasoning, persuading, and threatening, a whole afternoon was spent. All the benefits that the Queen hath formerly bestowed upon him are merely lost, for the remembrance of his imprisonments only remaineth. What he will prove, I know not, being exceeding doubtful of him, that at the last he will break his faith. Nothing gives me hope that he will be neutral, but his extreme 'cowardysme,' and the small account which he makes of the Romish priests, railing at them openly in the hearing of all men. If this temporising

1600.

course, which for a time I think good to be held with him, be misliked, then I pray your Honour to let me understand it, that I may begin the war upon him; but, as the world yet frameth, in my opinion it is good counsel to let him hold a neutral course, which at the last will confound him. Although your purposes be to deny his petitions, yet for a while it were not amiss (as I think) to hold him in some cold hope, to win time upon him. And, to draw the same to a more length, it were good counsel for your Honour to send for him into England, and in his absence I doubt not but to direct his wife's base brother, who before his return will be strong enough to yoke him. But, before I deal therein, I do pray to be advised from you, lest I may offend. If the Queen be so gracious unto him as to grant him his desires surely I think for the present he will requite her favours with his best services. But it will in after times make him too great, for he is heir to Carberry, which is a greater country than Desmond, and his foolish ambition is boundless.

"When I was thus far proceeded in my letter, I stayed finishing of the same, expecting these letters of Florence's unto yourself, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Stanhope; but he, having not drunk wine in many days before, to put care away so filled his skin with sack, as the whole day was lost in sleep. This day, better remembering himself, he brought me these three letters unsealed, and gave them unto me to read; which varies nothing from his former letters to me and others. But I do not give credit unto them, or to anything he says, for my intelligences assure me that underhand he combines with the rebels as firmly as he may, and yet his oaths are to the contrary. The report of the fight between Her Majesty's forces and him is false. Let your Honour believe what I have written to Sir Walter Raleigh, which is a true narration of that day's service, testified under a discreet Irishman's hand, who did view the bodies. This day I find him more tractable than before, giving me some good hope that he will deliver his son presently pledge into my hands. But such is his unconstancy, as I dare not trust him, for his fears on either side do so besiege him, as he cannot well resolve whether it were good for him to be a subject or a rebel; and to say my opinion of him he is good for neither of them both. If I were assured that he would keep promise with me, and do me underhand service as he protests, I could then be more glad of his walking in the woods than in the city of Cork. But cowards are faithless, and so I think I shall find him. But howsoever he deal with me, I doubt not but to make some advantage of him, and fight with him at his own weapon, so as he shall not overreach me.

"The White Knight hath sent this day a messenger unto me with faithful promise to submit himself, so as he may be pardoned for his life and goods, restored in blood, have his lands by a new grant from Her Majesty, and [be] forgiven the arrearage of his rents due upon him since the rebellion. All which, because they are not unmeasurable demands, and such as are neither unprofitable or dishonourable to the Queen, and such as I am sure, at the last, when he hath done more harm, Her Majesty will grant unto him, I will be so adventurous as to promise them unto him, hoping that

1600.

the Queen will not mislike it. The stay of Florence from aiding James McThomas, and the drawing in of the White Knight, doth in a manner free the county of Cork. Then my task lies only in Limerick and Kerry, in which counties I doubt not but to raise up factions against Desmond and his brother, which will give a fair hope towards the finishing of this war.

"This bearer, Captain Browne, son to Sir Valentine, and a cashiered Captain, I may not forget to recommend unto your Honour's good favour, beseeching you to give him your aid and assistance, if he shall have cause to be a suitor for the same. He is an honest man, very valiant, and, that which I like best, one that loves me."—Shandon, 1600, May 6. [*Postscript.*] "Let my answering of Florence, I beseech your Honour, be kept as secretly as you may, for otherwise my credit will be 'crackt' with him, for now he trusts much in my friendship, which I did unfeignedly afford him, before I saw his folly." *Holograph.* pp. 7.

Encloses :—

17. i. *Florence McCarthy to Sir George Carew.* "At the Earl of Tyrone's being here, I did assuredly believe that the best service that I could perform, and the best course that I could take for Her Majesty, was to confer with him, considering the present state that I stood in. First, I had a warrant, which I have here now extant, to confer with any rebel, and to entertain any rebels; which, with one barrel of powder, was all the help and means that I got of those that commanded Munster for Her Majesty, and all the charges that Her Highness was at for the recovery of the country of Desmond from the rebels; which I recovered with great pains and charges, with the help of other rebels, who were more faithful to the Earl of Tyrone than to myself; who, if I had not come to Tyrone, would have left me to my enemies, to be used at their will, or led me prisoner to Tyrone, if I had not run away to some town, where I had no means to live, or repaired into England, there to tell a foolish, cowardly tale, which is, that I durst not, for fear of the rebels that held my country, go in sight thereof, and to put Her Majesty to more charges to small purpose, whereof I knew her to be weary before. Therefore, I assure your Lordship that, if I had not come to confer with Tyrone, he had with his force in person spoiled, preyed, and burned all Carberry, and starved and killed all the people there, and had sent Redmond Burke and Dermond O'Connor with all the Connaught people and buonies in Munster and thereabouts, to dispossess me of Desmond, and to settle Donnell McCarthy there, destroying, preying, and burning, both the O'Sullivans and all my friends there; all which was the cause of my going to confer with Tyrone, who, as Mr. John FitzEdmunds and all Munster doth know, could presently work all these mischiefs against me, if I had not come to confer with him. Which course, considering myself to be sure of my own faithfulness to Her Majesty, I took the best for Her Highness and for myself. For, if I had taken banishment, and lost my country, people, and friends, I should but either charge Her Majesty to maintain myself, or else live and die miserably, without means to help myself. Whereas, by maintaining myself in

1600.

the possession of my country, I doubt not but to do Her Majesty and your Lordship more service than any other in these parts of Munster. Which, besides that I am bound to do for Her Majesty all that is in me, I protest I am, for your own sake, and Mr. Secretary['s] and Sir Walter's sakes (for whose pleasures I would not, so God help me, refuse to do anything that any of them commanded), willing to do your Lordship any service I may. In regard whereof, I am moved to open unto your Lordship my present estate, humbly beseeching your Lordship to consider duly thereof, and to grant my request, which is reasonable and beneficial for Her Majesty's service and my maintaining in the possession of my country. For at this present time there are 300 of O'Neill's buonies, as they term themselves, in Carberry, and as many in Desmond; 200 in Muskerry, and 150 in Dowalla. And now, within these four or five days, James McThomas of Desmond wrote to Dermond O'Connor for 500 or 600 to be entertained by him, whereof Dermond brought him now the most part, and will now presently get him the rest. All which buonies, with the said Dermond O'Connor, will lay hands upon all my people and followers, and dispossess me of my country of Desmond, which is a remote, strong, inaccessible country, far from the help of Her Majesty's forces, and incommodious for them to serve in. And the said Dermond O'Connor and all those buonies will presently acknowledge Donnell McCarthy, and take his part; and they, together with the Geraldines and Redmond Burke, who hath as many buonies as Dermond O'Connor, or more, will altogether banish me and maintain Donnell McCarthy, or Dermond McOwen, in the possession of my country, if now upon the sudden I had gone to your Lordship. And these buonies that are with me will straight go to Donnell, thinking that I have abandoned and betrayed them, whereby my state will hardly with great time and charges be recovered. My humble request unto your Lordship therefore is, to accept me as a subject, and to respite me for some such time as you shall think meet, whereby I may be as far out of their danger as I may, and they may not be able to dispossess me so suddenly as they may do now; as also that I may write into England, to Mr. Secretary, Sir Walter, and Sir John Stanhope, whose letter I sent your Lordship to peruse, and which I must answer, and beseeching your Lordship to send me his letter again. In which letters I must acquaint them with the spoils and burnings and killing of my people, exercised by Flower and Bostock against me, or hereunto they were hired by mine adversaries. And, if it please your Lordship to do me this favour, I will be sworn to my Lord of Thomond and to Mr. Justice Walsh and Mr. John FitzEdmunds, or to any of them, to come to your Lordship, and to do anything that they and your Lordship will command me. And so, referring unto your Lordship the consideration of my present estate and inward intention, which, God let me not live, if I have not without dissimulation opened to your Lordship, I humbly take leave this 3rd of May, 1600."

Copy. pp. 1½.

1600.

17. ii. Sir George Carew to Florence McCarthy. "Your letter this morning I received, in the which, although there be many oaths and protestations of your loyalty to Her Majesty, which you profess never to break, and other particular respects of friendship unto myself, yet you do not conclude so loyally as you ought towards your Sovereign, nor yet unto me so trustfully as a friend should do to one that he loves and trusts. For your ends of your desires are, to prefer your particular respects in saving your country from spoil, before the true demonstration of your duty to Her Majesty, which before all other earthly cares you ought to prefer; and therefore, as a true and faithful servant unto your Prince, you are bound to declare yourself to the uttermost of your power to be hers, and to give her your best aid and service in this distempered time, without such special regard of old 'thackt' houses, which, as it appear[s], you esteem at too high a rate. The scope of your purposes is but a temporising course, and to give aim, which sorts not with your duty, nor yet [is] answerable to your protestations in your first letters unto me, which I received when I came from Dublin. Wherein you did confidently promise to do Her Majesty the uttermost of your services, and to do her more good service than any man in Munster should do, and that presently, when I should come to Cork, that without delay, upon my protection, you would come unto me to give me satisfaction. Which protection you did desire, not in respect of any doubt you had of me, but in regard you had offended the laws in speaking with Tyrone. Wherein, as in all your other letters to sundry persons since that time, you protest no less. I did then verily believe that you would have performed your promises, and therefore the excuses and entreaties which you now make is contrary to yourself, and not seemly in one that protests to be a subject. If I had been a private man, in respect of the old love which I did ever bear you, I would have taken the pains to have spoken with you, to have advised you to better courses than you now undertake; for in the end, except in time you do reform them, it will prove your ruin. Middle ways are most unsure, and therefore, if you love yourself, declare your loyalty by your overt acts, being in duty and true honour bound to do no less. Let not a little loss of tenants' goods divert you from your obedience, or give cause to be separated from the state, and so consequently to lose the gracious favour of your Prince, who hath ever most royally bestowed her favours upon you, and be cast off by your good friends, who are in fortunes and willingness able and ready to support you. To be short, if you do follow my counsels, which, as your friend George Carew, and not as Her Majesty's Officer, I do advise, hereafter you will have cause to thank me; and, as her President, you shall be sure of all the lawful favour that I can do you. The losses which, by declaring yourself a subject, you may receive in this rebellion, Her Majesty, you need not doubt, but will have a princely regard of the same; and I, in the mean time, will give you the best assistance I may for your defence.

1600.

"Florence, fear not to come at me with my Lord of Thomond, and, according to your desire, I do promise that you shall return safe, without detention, which you so much fear. But delays are odious, and protestations, without performance, are idle. Tyrone in his beginning did entertain the like courses as you do now, and the State is too wise to be abused."

—Shandon, 1600, May 3.

[Postscript.] *"I have sent you herein closed Sir John Stanhope's letter, which you sent me, who will be sorry if you persevere in these ill courses."* Copy, certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

May 6.
Cork.

18. Florence McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour, before I was entangled in the wars of Desmond I wrote one letter unto your Honour; but, since I went thither, I never had so much time, leisure, or means, as to write, until I drew Donnell McCarty and his seven hundred Connaught buonies out of that country, although he was backed, assisted, and favoured by all the rebels of Munster, unto whom the Earl of Tyrone wrote daily, alleging that I with English policy went about to recover that country, which was the back and strength of all Munster, with the which I would undo all the rebels there. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavours, I scattered asunder and drew out of the country the said Donnell and all his buonies and accomplices, and was no sooner returned into the country, but within two days I received Tyrone's letter, signifying that he was come into Munster, and entreating me earnestly to come to him presently, and writing also to Carberry O'Connor and the rest of the Captains of my buonies or soldiers and to all the other Captains of his adherents in those parts, that upon pain of death (if I came not to him presently), they should all forsake me, and bring me a prisoner unto him, if they could. Which (I protest) I am persuaded they had done, if it had not been for Carberry O'Connor's friendship towards me. But yet, for all he could do, the Captains and soldiers, upon knowledge of Tyrone's commandment, grew into an uproar, mutinying against me, and alleging me to be an infidel, and a betrayer of themselves and all the rest of Ireland to Englishmen. Whereupon they all departed in a 'vengible' furious humour, leaving myself and both the O'Sullivans and all the rest of the gentry of the country there alone to the mercy of Donnell McCarthy and his buonies, if they had the wit or valour to return, or to the mercy of any other men of war whatsoever. Which when I saw, and that there was no other means of safety, I followed them, and by swearing that I would then write presently to Tyrone, and (upon sufficient assurance for myself returning) that I would go speak to him whensoever he came into the county of Cork, I pacified them, and thereupon wrote to Tyrone, and, within three days after, Dermond O'Connor, a great commander of Connaught buonies, came with six or seven hundred footmen into the edge of my country, and sent unto me either to come speak with him, or else that he would come into the country to speak with me. Which moved me to ride unto him, from whom I could hardly depart or escape by swearing that I would follow him

1600.

to Tyrone ; whom in the end I followed very slowly, for I made Tyrone stay a fortnight in the county of Cork for me, before I came to him ; which afterwards made him say still that I only spoiled his journey and starved his people. Before I came to Tyrone, I had his protection, and got himself and all the Captains and gentlemen with him sworn to send me and such as came with me safe back again, which protection I do send hereinclosed [*wanting*]. At the first two days, both he and James McThomas of Desmond, whom they call Earl of Desmond, with Bishop McCragh and Archer, were all very earnestly in hand with me to enter into their action of rebellion with them ; whom I protest I utterly refused, for I renounce God, if ever at any time I promised him to do anything against Her Majesty or the state of England and Ireland, but that I would ever continue for Her Majesty, as I have always done. Which when they saw, then Bishop McCragh cursed me, and they all concluded to take my country of Desmond from me, and to settle Donnell McCarthy there, and presently to destroy all the country of Carberry. To which purpose they removed the next morning towards Carberry, and stayed that night upon the river of Kinsale, where I made means to all Tyrone's gentlemen and people to intreat for me unto him, whose favour they obtained in some sort, so as I might satisfy him for Donnell McCarthy, whom (as himself told me) he created McCarthy More by his means ; whereby it stood him upon in honour to maintain his right, and that I should needs give him the award of the said Tyrone himself and Bishop McCragh, which I utterly refused ; for ever when I should speak for myself before them, the said bastardly rascal, Donnell McCarthy, came and abused me with villanous words, calling me always a treacherous, deceitful Englishman. Wherein O'Neill did still bear with him, and doth still favour him and write unto him by the name of McCarthy, which made me refuse him as an arbitrator. Whereupon he asked me to whose arbitrament I would stand with the said Donnell for the seignory of Desmond. I told him that I would stand to the award of both the O'Sullivans and all the rest of the gentlemen freeholders and followers of that country, who ever elected him that was McCarthy or Lord of that country. Of which arbitrament he would have the umpireship to be to himself and to Bishop McCragh, or to one of them both ; which I also refused. At last we agreed that the O'Sullivans and the gentlemen of the country should agree the matter, and that Bishop McCragh, as one of the arbitrators, should be joined with them, and that the said Bishop should go into Desmond by May-day, and agree the matter, he and the O'Sullivans and gentlemen of the country. And, to the end they should be sure of my performance when Tyrone were gone, they would have my son as a hostage, whom I promised ; but, because my promise would not serve, they would needs have the best hostages that I had, until I brought my son. Whereupon I gave them my brother, with whom they would needs have a gentleman of good estimation of my name, that was with me, which I was also constrained to deliver ; and therewithal returned their fores from Carberry, and consulted together how to take Kinsale. Which when I understood, I wrote to Captain Bostock that was

1600.

there, and to the townsmen, to stand well upon their keeping, and afterwards went to Tyrone, and told him that it was a most foolish opinion of them that persuaded them to attempt anything against the town of Kinsale, which himself and all the Irish forces in Ireland could neither force nor surprise. Whereupon he removed and went towards Kinsale, to view the town. I was with him still, and all the Munster men that were there persuaded him earnestly to assault the town, which indeed was reasonably weak. Yet I prevailed against all their wills, and got him to go towards Cork. The next day he went a very great journey, and the day after, and complained of me that I deceived him, and delivered him not my son, but my brother, who ever took his part, and therewithal enlarged my brother, and commanded my gentleman to be kept fast by Dermond O'Connor. During my being with him, I dealt for Her Majesty with the best gentlemen of Munster that were there; among whom I won the White Knight and the Knight of Kerry, and Mr. McDonogh, the White Knight's son-in-law, and O'Connor Kerry; who were all contented at my request and entreaty to become Her Majesty's subjects. But the same night that I departed, O'Connor Kerry's horses being tired stayed him behind, but Mr. McDonogh, with the White Knight and the Knight of Kerry, were all apprehended and carried away. At my departure, he understood of my Lord of Ormonde's being afore him, which made him desire me to go further with him, which I refused, having told him that I would carry no arms against Her Majesty, nor fight against my Lord of Ormonde for any other of Ireland, but would fight with any other of Ireland for him. He desired me then to send two hundred buonies, which accompanied me, with him. I told him if he could send unto them (for they were coming after me), and to persuade them to come with him, I would give them leave. But, when his messenger came with me, I persuaded the soldiers secretly to return with myself, assuring them that they should have nothing with Tyrone but blows, hunger, and travail, which made them refuse to go to him. And so I returned, and presently I understood that I was taken at Cork and every where else for a rebel, which made me afear'd to go in, lest I should be restrained. Whereupon I wrote to Sir Henry Power, unto whom I made known the necessities that constrained me to come speak to Tyrone; for, God let me not live an hour, if I had not come to him, he would, and might as easily as I can write one line, by commanding my buonies to bring me unto him, and by commanding Dermond O'Connor and Redmond Burke, or any of them, with his regiment of a thousand or twelve or fourteen hundred footmen, to go with Donnell McCarthy, and establish him in my country. Which, as God judge me, they might and would do presently, and would burn, kill, and spoil, all my friends and followers there; and, if I ran away from the buonies myself, I had no other means to live, but to starve in some town, or to repair into England, to put Her Majesty to more charges, whereof I knew her to be weary already. Which moved me to elect the best course that I could take for Her Majesty; for I knew, if I had not come to Tyrone, I should lose the country of Desmond, which with great pains, charges, and dangers, I recovered without any charges of Her Majesty,

1600.

and which would go near to maintain the rebellion of Munster for ever. Whereas, by keeping myself in possession thereof, and speaking not one word against the rebels and buonies of Munster, I shall be able, whensoever it shall please Her Majesty to set me to work, to do Her Highness more service than any three in these parts of Ireland ; which the Council of Munster would not, or could not, understand. For all that I could write to Sir Henry Power could do me no good, which moved me within a week after my returning to come to speak to Sir Henry Power ; and within a mile or two of Cork I came alone from my people, and conferred with him and with Sir Charles Wilmot and the Marshal Sir George Thornton, unto whom I told that I wrote to the Lord Deputy and to the Lord President, and would go to Dublin, if I were so directed by them. Whereupon they said they would expect their Lordships' resolution, and that my people should take no hurt in the mean time, so as they did not annoy none of Her Majesty's subjects ; and, if I undertook for the whole country of Carberry, that they should take no hurt by them ; which I refused to do, before I had conferred with the country, because some of them were in action, and others that were none of my people. Whereupon I departed, and willed some of my people that dwelt hard by Kinsale to draw home their chattels, and go dwell in their houses. Whereupon Bostock first went to a castle of mine, called Down McPatrick, and, finding there but two or three, went in and kept the place to himself, and all the goods and chattels there ; and returning to Cork, himself and Captain Flower were sent with Her Majesty's forces into Carberry, where they did nothing but burn two castles of mine, and kill as many men, women, and children as they found in them, and burned as many villages, houses, and corn as appertained to any of my people, taking away all their cattle, and so overran the country to Ross Carberry and over the Leap. At which time I was upon my way into Desmond, having before dismissed two or three companies of footmen before me thither, and, having stayed with me but one hundred footmen, I returned and met one hundred more of that country, which two hundred I sent to give Flowers and Bostock some impediment, and divert them from going any further into the country. Which, when they understood of my being here (*sic*), they returned in haste to Ross, having not the wit nor the conduct to keep the highway, although the forces that they had consisted of one thousand men with two troops of horsemen. Upon the report of these forces going from Cork to spoil Carberry, Dermond O'Connor, who understood thereof, and had Tyrone's warrant to take some part of his pay or bonnaught of that country, came thither with six or seven hundred men, and encamped himself two or three miles east of Ross in their way to Cork and Kinsale. He sent me divers letters and messengers to desire me to come and take charge of all the forces, and to revenge the wrongs and losses which I received at the hands of Flower and Bostock. Which I refused still to do, and wrote unto him that I would seek my revenge otherwise. Whereupon he removed and took his way directly towards Desmond, protesting in a great rage that he would with all the buonies in Munster spoil Desmond and dispossess me thereof for Donnell McCarthy. With

1600.

which hard message he dispatched my brother with some of that country['s] gentlemen unto me, and sent some of his own people with them, which moved me presently that night to ride to him. Whereupon he returned towards Ross where he was before; where we stayed a sennight, the Captains remaining still at Ross; and coming forth daily, as if they were marching away. At last I desired to speak with Sir Henry Power's Lieutenant, to know whether those forces were authorised or appointed by the Council to burn and spoil those lands of mine, or whether they did it of their own heads; for I imagined, because McCarthy Reogh gave Flower a couple of horse and another to Bostock, and that I understood that Flower received some reward of my Lord Barry, that they were hired to annoy me; which I understood afterwards to be so. The Lieutenant told me he knew nothing of the matter, and so went away. The next morning, betimes, the Captain drew out their forces and marched in all haste towards Kinsale, at which time all the buonies almost were gone for victuals, whereby there was not above four hundred there together, who took arms, and followed them in their tail, until the passage or ferry of Kinsale, and then returned four or five miles miles backward, where they met the rest of their people; and then they accused me, alleging that my parley with the English Lieutenant the day before sent away the Captains safe. Whereof I protest unto your Honour I was innocent. For God is my Judge, my mind concerning those forces, unto whom the Queen's Majesty gave pay, was that, if they all were at my disposition, I would send all the horsemen and footmen, with their furniture and colours, safe to Cork, and would hang Flower and Bostock. Yet was I by my soldiers wrongfully accused and exclaimed upon by everybody of them, which moved me to rail at them all, accusing them unjustly of cowardliness and disobedience, and protesting that presently I would bring them to fight with those Captains, and with that dismissed them to go to supper, and to arm presently after supper, which being done, I travelled that night over the river of Kinsale, and so through the country, until I came upon the way between Cork and Kinsale, where those Captains came; at whose sight they ran in order very desperately upon them, and overthrew them. Their horsemen stood still between both, and were soon distressed by the Irish shot, until they forsook the place, and then they ran upon their battle of footmen, and made them run away out of order, killing a number of them, until they came to a little castle, where, upon a trench that was thereby, they discharged their shot at the Irishmen, which did somewhat annoy them, and, supposing some strength or impediment to be in that trench, they turned back, all the credit that I had not being able to make them return; and striving to constrain them, I was myself shot in the arm, which made me retire with them, none following but seven or eight horsemen, which did them little hurt, but returned shortly, the Irishmen being stayed upon the hill, where they began the fight. Of the Irishmen there were seventeen killed, whereof four were Captains, and fifteen wounded. Of the Captains' side, I am not certain what number were killed, for I told them not, but I saw

1600.

above one hundred bodies of all sorts, beside such as died by the way. And at Cork afterwards, within three or four days after, the Lord President, Sir George Carew, and the Earl of Thomond came to Cork. At which time I was gone after Dermond O'Connor, to have the gentleman that Tyrone held as an hostage until May for the performing of the arbitrament with Donnell McCarthy. Which gentleman was delivered me by Dermond O'Connor at May day. From whom I departed presently to the Lord President and the Earl of Thomond, and upon their words I came to them to Cork. Which I believe will be mine undoing, for I fear me all the buonies, rebels, and Irish forces, will be upon my back, for my being here will persuade them that I am their enemy. My Lord President would have me deliver my son as an hostage, which if I had done, I should not dare go out of this town; for my chief strength being my buonies, they would be the first that would lay hands upon me, neither have I any of mine own men armed able to withstand them; besides that without doubt all the buonies and rebels of Munster would run upon me, and kill, spoil, and destroy all my people and country, and send me a prisoner to Tyrone; or, if I escaped their hands, I should [be] constrained to starve or live like a beggar in this town, where Flower or Bostock, or any of these universal Captains or damned drunken fellows, for a nag of my Lord Barry's or McCarthy's, would knock me in the head or murder me; which makes me that I cannot lose my country wilfully. For, by God, if I do refuse my buonies, having no means nor charge of Her Majesty to arm and maintain mine own people, all the buonies of Munster with the rebels will set upon me, and establish Donnell McCarthy in my place, a thing that neither myself nor all Her Majesty's forces in Munster cannot defend, because the rebels are so great in number all about my country, having whole countries of rebels between me and every town or garrison. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour to be a mean unto Her Majesty that I may obtain my country of Desmond of Her Highness in as ample manner as my father-in-law and ancestors enjoyed the same, and that it will please Her Highness with some sufficient charge to enable me to defend myself and serve Her Highness against all the rebels of Ireland, as forwardly and as faithfully as any other. And if your Honour do not presently find my service to be more available than any other's in these parts, and here all the rebels of Munster or Ireland exclaim and complain of me, I am contented to lose my living, charge, and credit with your Honour. I told my Lord President that, so soon as I had your Honour's resolution hereof, he should have my son and any hostages he pleased. In the meantime I will the best I can prepare myself and my people to be out of the danger of the buonies and rebels, and take such order as the Lord President shall understand any practice of theirs against (*sic*) and shall be advertised of anything that may advance Her Majesty's service in these parts. But I fear me most of all things that because of my coming hither now all the buonies and rebels will set upon me, and drive me away, and that the foolish malicious Captains here will not suffer me to do Her Majesty service. For, as I understand, they would now here go about to kill me, but for fear of the Lord President, and if I be once driven

1600.

out of Desmond, it will ever hardly be recovered, for it is so wild, strong, and inaccessible, all almost consisting of woods, steep mountains, bogs, lakes, and rivers, as no English forces are able to sustain the pains of service there. If, through any former imputation by mine adversaries sent against me for my parley with Tyrone, or renewed now, anybody there will suspect me, or believe not what I write, I will (upon your Honour's letter and upon your faith that I shall have no hurt nor stay), repair unto you myself, to affirm what I write. Therefore let your Honour rest assured that whatsoever yourself, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Stanhope doth say, I will believe it, and whatsoever ye will have me do, I will do it, so as I may live in good sort out of restraint. And so, referring my whole state to your Honour's pleasure and disposition, for, whatsoever you say or promise, I will believe it sooner, as God judge me, than the Pope's holiness, I humbly take leave." Cork, 1600, May 6. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 28th. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 4.

May 7.
Shandon.

19. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I gave straight commandment unto one William Williams, of what port in the west parts of England he belongs unto I do not perfectly know, but thereof this bearer Captain Browne will certify your Honour more directly, not to depart this harbour before he had received aboard him Her Majesty's packet. Yet, notwithstanding, contrary to my directions, two hours before the packet was ready, he stole away; by which means, because there was no other bark in this river, I was enforced to send Captain Brown to Youghal, and there, at Her Majesty's charges, to prest a bark for the carrying of the same. He hath also carried with him divers soldiers without my pass, being by me proclaimed in this town that no man, upon pain of death, should take aboard his ship any soldier, without a pass under my hand. I humbly beseech your Honour to cause some exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon him, and the like upon the soldiers, which are run away; that it may restrain others not to dare to commit the like contempts. He was bound for the port of Bristol, unto the Mayor of which city I have written in Her Majesty's name to make stay of the said Williams, his bark, and the soldiers, until the Lords of the Council's pleasures in England be certified unto him."—Shandon, 1600, May 7. *Holograph. p. 1.*

May 7.
Dublin.

20. Richard, Baron Dunkellin, to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the payment of certain accounts due to him in Sir Henry Wallop's time. Sir George Carey requires letters in the form of those issued in favour of Sir Christopher Lawrence, Captain Fisher, and others. —Dublin, May 7. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

May 8.
Drogheda.

21. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Mr. Ersfield, can give him an honest relation of the state of the munition. There have been very great abuses in that kind, and they are likely to continue. Sir George Bouchier has such mean entertainment for his under-officers, that they cannot be of any

1600.

sufficiency or of any great sincerity: "himself doth not so thoroughly understand that business, as so great a charge requireth." Necessity for some other under-officer, with a greater fee, as a Surveyor of the office of the Ordnance in Ireland. Recommends Ersfield for the post. "For the issuing of the munition, and abuses of the Captain and soldier, I will myself provide with all care; but there are some duties and secrets of that office, that must be discharged by some of more sufficiency than any I know belonging to that place."—Tredagh, May 8. [*Postscript.*] "I shall deliver Sir Henry Dockwra from Tyrone, for he doth me the favour to attend me, and says he will fight with me assuredly in my passage through the Moyerie." *Endorsed*:—1600. Received at Greenwich the 25th. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

May 8.
Drogheda.

22. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I should have been loath to have spared Sir Henry Harrington at this time, when we have so much need of such of his worth and sufficiency, but that he assures me his going over doth concern him in his whole estate. In which case I could hardly deny his request, neither this which he makes unto me; that I would desire you to be a mean that the best interpretation be made to Her Majesty of his absence from hence." Leaves to Sir Henry the relation of the present estate of affairs. He has long been a very worthy actor in Ireland, and is now a Councillor.—Tredagh, 1600, May 8. *Holograph. p. 1.*

May 8.
Drogheda.

23. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, Sir Francis Rush. His valorous service at the fort of Leix and elsewhere.—Tredagh, 1600, May 8. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

May 8.
Kilkenny.

24. Elizabeth, Countess of Ormonde, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The accident which most unfortunately happened unto my dear distressed Lord, makes me bold, out of the old acquaintance and friendship that passed between you and him, now to trouble you. And although your actions have made good testimony of your affection and love towards him (which have been arguments sufficient to persuade me that, out of the same love, in this his misery, you will be ready to use all the good offices you may for his good), yet could I not hold myself contented, until by my letter I have both acknowledged my thankfulness for the same and also entreated your perseverance therein, as there shall be occasion, in this time of trial, offered you; for which (I hope in God) his Lordship shall be able one day to give you thanks himself. Till then I must desire you to accept of mine. What I gather the traitor, Onie McRory, intendeth to do with my Lord (so far as I can yet judge or learn), I have advertised the same unto Her Majesty, which I know will come unto your hands, and therefore will forbear farther to trouble you therewith, until I shall be able to give you more assurance of their resolutions; which when I know, you shall be partaker thereof.

1600.

"I understand that my Lord of Upper Ossory is lately gone over to the Court, to make a surrender of all his lands to Her Majesty, and so to hold them again from her. And for that there are divers parcels of lands, which my Lord purchased of the old Baron, this man's father (a note whereof I have hereinclosed sent you), and are now in controversy between my Lord and him in the Chancery, I am earnestly therefore to pray you (if he be about any such matter) that you will be a mean that those parcels may be exempted out of the surrender.

"I am likewise forced to complain of the hard courses that Master Treasurer here taketh with my Lord, both before and since his imprisonment; who, neither out of the treasure last arrived here nor of the proportion before that, hath assigned him, for his own entertainment or his companies, a penny; all the army besides having had their portion out of both. In regard that my Lord's lands are all wasted (out of which, of this last Easter rent, I protest unto you before God I have not received about 100 pounds), and that the only relief and maintenance we have now is out of the entertainment he is allowed from Her Majesty, I pray you be a mean unto Her Majesty, that the Treasurer may not only be commanded to pay my Lord that which is already grown due unto him and his companies, but also from henceforth, as it shall grow due, to satisfy the same, as treasure shall come unto his hands."—Kilkenny, 1600, May 8.

[*Postscript.*] "Because you may see that my Lord's poor followers and tenants have not been idle since his most unfortunate accident, I have sent you a note of such traitors as, by the sheriff of the county of Tipperary and others of the country here, was slain from that time to this day. And if the Sheriff, for his better encouragement, may have the leading of a company of footmen in Her Majesty's pay, I make no doubt he will yield Her Majesty a good reckoning of his service and employment." *Signed.* pp. 2.

Encloses:—

24. i. *List of lands purchased by the Earl of Ormonde from Barnaby, late Baron of Upper Ossory, and father to Florence, the present Baron.* Copy. p. 1.

24. ii. *"A note of such traitors as have been slain and executed by O'Dwyre and others of the county of Tipperary, since the 10th of April, 1600, which was the day of my Lord's misfortune."* Total, 267. Copy. p. 1.

May 8.
Dublin

25. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. "I had sooner written unto you, but that I expected to see what settledness my Lord Deputy his coming would work in the general state of this country, and what plot in particular his Lordship would lay for mine enablement to live and to serve Her Majesty. By the long stay of the forces from passing to Lough Foyle, through contrary winds forcing them to live idle here, great hindrance is happened to the service they might have done in these parts, without furtherance to the intended service elsewhere, and the hope that some would have submitted themselves was changed by the unlucky taking of the Earl of Ormonde. Bremyngham and some others of

1600.

the Pale that revolted, sue now for pardons, whereof they have need, for they behaved themselves wickedly. The victualling of the forts of Offally and Leix by Sir Oliver Lambert, and the killing of Con McCollo by some gentlemen of the country, is the most important service lately done here, besides the killing of some rebels of Westmeath by Sir Francis Shane. If it please God to prosper the present action, and that such as are trusted with the service would do their endeavour, no doubt the success will be good. Whereof there is great need, for the small remain of the country is daily by piecemeal wracked and wasted by rebels or soldiers, through lack of defence and discipline ; which will be the ruin of all very shortly, without better order be observed. At my return from your Honour's, and arrival here, the traitor O'Rourke with 300 foot and 50 horse camped three days and nights near my house, which he besieged, burnt and wasted, mine own, my brothers' and kinsmen's houses and corn preyed and spoiled. Albeit the Lord of Delvin then had the command of the county and forces in that part, yet no defence was made, but what was done by my said brothers and kinsmen. The Archtraitor Tyrone, the five and twentieth of January last, came with all the forces he then had within less than a quarter of a mile to my house, and sent a letter inviting me to join with him. I answered in sort, as your Honour, I doubt not, know[s]; upon receipt whereof he gave public commandment to destroy and consume all things belonging to me, my brothers and kinsmen, and our tenants, without hurting any other. Which was with great fury executed, yea some houses of mine were fired with his own hands, most vehemently affirming that, notwithstanding Her Majesty's favour to me, he would make me the poorest Dillon in Ireland, he in the mean time in person, and by special direction, preserving all things appertaining to James Dillon, son of Sir Lucas. In the heat of which fury I left my house defended the best I might, and went to Athlone for the better defence of the town and castle there. By which malices directed against me for my service and loyalty to Her Majesty, I and mine are utterly impoverished, and not enabled to be revenged. What our deserts have been, the State hath always known, accepted, and commended, albeit that I or they have not been busy suitors to Her Majesty for reward or recompense, nor would not, while our abilities and livings lasted, to relieve such of us as were maimed and the children of such as were slain in service, or to revenge them on Her Majesty's rebels, our enemies ; and their decays is more grievous to me than mine own. Her Majesty's letter sent by me, that I should be employed and enabled to serve, gladdened them greatly ; whereof seeing no ensuing effect, they are discomfited. The redress whereof to be wrought, I humbly commit to your honourable regard of me and my state, which I had in person shewed to Her Majesty and to your Honour, if I might obtain license of my Lord Deputy.

“ These late firebrands were kindled against me for taking a notable traitor, Christopher Magawlye, and Omalaughlin's son, the one by my brother and the other by my cousin, both delivered after the redemption of Sir Francis Shane from rebels. My Lord Deputy and Council have signed a concordatum for the sum of

1600.

192*l.* 8*s.* due to me for entertainment in Sir Richard Bingham's charge in Connaught, whereof I could not get payment. Their letters in that behalf to your Honours they have written. I have appointed the bearer, Mr. Hadger, or John Conlye, to receive the same, and to pay it over in discharge of my debt and credit there, wherein, as in the rest concerning me, I rely only [on] your Honour's favourable regard of me. My private state affordeth no other means to wear time, but to retire, myself, my wife, and family, to some part of England, while what is left will maintain me, and so I shall not be a holder of the miseries that must fall upon such as are dear to me."—Dublin, 1600, May 8.

[*Postscript.*] "Even now I received news from my house that, upon Friday last, the Omalaughlins and their confederates came in my absence here to my brothers, and took their prey and spoil, my own company being left far off at Athenry in garrison. Notwithstanding, my brothers rescued the prey, with the loss of one James Dillon, my nephew, and three of my kinsmen, with five horses. Yet, I thank God, they slew two of their principal men, one Dalton and Omalaughlin, with six more besides, many sore galled and hurt; this being done three miles this side of Athlone, and none that had entertainment from her Majesty came to the skirmish." *Signed.* pp. 2.

May 10.
Dublin.

26. The Council of Ireland to the Privy Council. Stating the proceedings they have taken with regard to the sums of money which Sir Henry Brouncker prays may be allowed on his account for the impost of wines in Ireland, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1599.—Dublin, 1600, May 10. *Signed.* *Endorsed:*—Received at Greenwich the 25th. pp. 2½.

May 10.
Dublin.

27. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "As advertisements come to me, I make bold to transmit them, knowing that, even out of mean and particular accidents, your Honour may gather with what ebb or flood the greater affairs here are carried.

"By one of these two writings enclosed, your Honour may see a course begun with the traitor Captain Tyrrell, to reclaim him, and how apt he is to leave his degenerate manner of life to return to his Sovereign's mercy, and how small a block lieth in his way, namely, to see the issue of these Spanish expectations. I ought to have some interest in the man, for favours I did him when he stood a subject; and I know the recovering of him would be to cut off a right arm from Tyrone, which is the main cause that moveth me to practice to win him, so far forth as it may be done without blemishing Her Majesty's honour, or much straining of her purse, within which two limits I have and will still keep myself in treating to bring in any of these overgrown rebels.

"By the other writing your Honour hath the truest description that I can send you of the Earl of Ormonde his own feeling of his own estate, and how far off he is as yet to have enlargement. The gentlewoman hath begun to play her part well; she of whom in my last letter I gave you notice to be sent to the Earl, and to lodge

1600.

with him in the same room there. But now that he is taken out of the castle, and led from cabin to cabin in the woods, I doubt her access to him will not be so private and frequent. Yet she remaineth there, awaiting to take her best commodity; and I have this day returned to her her friend, whom I employed with her at the first. For the rest, I leave to the abstract, and touching any further succeeding issue by her labours, I will, God willing, advertise your Honour of every thing material, from time to time.

“I hear the Lord President of Munster hath begun to bestir himself well in his charge; for some of the heads of the rebels he hath drawn in, and some he hath cut off by the sword, namely, Florence McCarthy, if the advertisement be true.

“I hope the fleet for Lough Foyle is by this time near their place of landing, for that since my last there hath been good winds to carry them along from Carrickfergus. And the better to answer them from these parts, the Lord Deputy is drawn yesterday to Dundalk, from whence his Lordship will, God willing, pass to the Newry, and so look upon Armagh, and haply pierce into the Clondeboyes, if his victuals will hold out for this expedition. His Lordship is furnished with about 2,400 men by poll, and twenty days’ victuals [*in the margin*:—“The natures of the victuals are, biscuit, butter, and cheese”] which is all that Mr. Treasurer and myself can work out of the magazines here. But the proportion being for 3,000 men, I hope his Lordship’s army, consisting but upon 2,400, the victuals may be drawn out for eight or ten days longer. There is no further help of victuals to be hoped for here, till we be relieved out of England, these countries of the English Pale being utterly destitute that way, which I make bold to give you knowledge of, to the end your Honour might call upon the undertakers to haste away the quantities contracted for last, and appointed to be here by the tenth of this month at the furthest, as hath been advertised hither. If that proportion come not before the twenty days’ allowance for this army of Ulster be expired, the Lord Deputy will be driven to one of these two extremities, either to retire the army into the Pale, or to endure the murmurs of the soldiers, if not to hazard the breaking of the companies. But the worst of all is, that by leaving of Ulster, he shall not perform his intended diversions of Tyrone, and so consequently endanger the planting at Lough Foyle. In the well succeeding of which enterprise resteth the whole fruit and prosperity of the service of Ulster. I have not till now looked into these victualling affairs, but as a Councillor without any particular authority. But now that by force of his Lordship’s commission left to Mr. Treasurer and me, I have compared the quantities sent from England, and the issues of them since his Lordship’s time, it grieveth me to find so empty a store, considering the greatness of the action, which now being put on foot, if it be not thoroughly followed this summer, I dare not write what is to be feared of the estate of this kingdom. This is but to give your Honour a foretaste, whilst a more full collection may be made and sent to your Lordships by Mr. Treasurer and myself jointly; which shall be done with all the speed we can, humbly beseeching you in the meanwhile that the undertakers may be called for and

1600.

quicken to speed away the proportions already assigned for these parts, and to prepare more to serve the companies in Leinster, and to answer the plantation of Armagh, where I find that his Lordship hath a mind to settle a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse. The general quantities and their several natures, with the numbers and time for which they are to be victualled, together with the ports whither they are to be addressed, shall be set down in our next joint certificate; for I find that heretofore the demands made for victuals have been rather general, than orderly distinguished into quantities, natures, and proportions to serve numbers. In which course if there hath been a fault in others heretofore, I will labour to have it reformed, so long as I have particular dealing in the victualling affairs.”—Dublin, 1600, May 10.

[*Postscript.*] “This morning, being the 13th, a messenger came to me from Dundalk, by whom I understand the Lord Deputy passed over the Moyerie to the Newry upon Whitsunday in the morning; which maketh me think that his Lordship hath learned something of the landing of our forces at Lough Foyle. The Marshal and the Serjeant-Major are to carry after his Lordship the residue of the companies here in Leinster, who are to be at Dundalk upon Friday or Saturday next, God willing. I understand likewise this morning by the same messenger that Tyrone is posted down to Strabane, by whose absence the passage of the Moyerie was more free and safe for the Lord Deputy.” *Signed.* pp. 2½.

Encloses :—

27. i. *Advertisements received by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.*

“[10 May, 1600.]* *Right worshipful, Father Jarkey, [the unknown spy], hath been abroad now ten days at the place whither you sent him, and in that time he hath had sundry speeches with Sertoreo, [Captain Tyrrell], to whom he used the reasons and persuasions which you gave him, and now is returned with his answer.*

“*Sertoreo [Captain Tyrrell] saith that he believeth all your worship’s persuasions, and in his own conscience doth accuse himself to have held hitherto a most degenerate course from all his ancestors, who, he saith, are mere English both by blood and birth.*

“*That he wanteth no will to return to his Prince’s mercy and service, were it not that, in the discourse of his own reason, he cannot find any state of safety on our side for himself and his followers. The causes of this his fear are two; the first, the often and sudden change of Deputies, and the variety of their favours and affections. For, saith he, it is still seen that he whom one Deputy raiseth, the next will pull down. But he standeth not much upon this cause. His second cause is, and that which chiefly stayeth him from following your counsel, for that he hath very lately received letters from Tyrone, that there are two Irish Archbishops lately arrived in the north out of Spain, who brought them certain advertisement that there are two great navies ready in Spain, and by this time at sea, the one for England, and the other for Ireland. Which being*

* The italicised words in brackets are interpolations in Sir Geoffrey Fenton’s hand.

1600.

true (as he taketh it to be), 'what folly were it in me,' saith Sertoreo, 'to forsake that side where I have security, wealth, and countenance, and to betrust myself to the English, who I see shall have enough to do to deal for themselves.'

"Here Father Jarkey put him in mind again of your worship's reasons, which tended chiefly to this, that all these were but fabulous devices used by Tyrone to bear up his combinations. But he saw in his own heart that the Spaniards, having dallied with them these five or six years, would not accomplish with them now more than at other times before, and the wiser sort of his confederates were out of all hope to be relieved by Spain. Whereupon Jarkey willed Sertoreo to bethink himself better, and in time to provide for his safety, and not to depend more upon those Spanish formalities.

"At last Sertoreo gave him this for a full answer; 'I heartily thank Sir Geffrey Fenton for his good warnings and would be glad to take his counsel, were it not that I fear these Spanish forces joined to those that in England are ready to fall off, and to us that are here already gone, will breed greater troubles than all England will be able to pacify during my life; yet I pray you desire Sir Geffrey to give me respite till July, or thereabouts, that I may see what will be the effect of these great Spanish expectations, for, if I be mocked once more with them, I will frame myself and my estate to return whither his worship doth advise me.'

"Jarkey saith he saw a letter written from Tyrone to the Earl of Ormonde, which was to comfort him, and to advise him to be thankful to God, who now in mercy sought to recover him to the Catholic Church, to which Church if he would join himself, he would find favour in his distress." Copy. pp. 2.

27. ii. "The declaration of the Irish messenger employed by Secretary Fenton in company with Honora, to speak with the Earl of Ormonde."

"He saith that, upon Sunday and Monday last, Honora and he came in place, where the Earl of Ormonde was; but the bonnaughts flocked so about them, that they could not speak to him but in their hearing, until at last Onie McRory put the bonnaughts out, and himself stood a good way off, suffering Honora and the messenger to speak to the Earl, himself listening, but could not well discern what was said.

"Honora told the Earl that the Lord Deputy hath had goodwill to send to him before, but till now he could not get a messenger whom he might trust. And now by her his Lordship did assure him that his unworthy imprisonment grieved him greatly, and that, to rescue him out of their hands, his Lordship would employ Her Majesty's forces, and be ready to draw his own sword for him, as for one whom he loved with all his heart.

"And for that the Earl might know that Honora came from the State, she told him a token from Secretary Fenton, which his Lordship knew well, and did well remember it. The token was, that his Lordship had a green silk bag with books of the Secretary's, which he hath often demanded of his Lordship and his steward Henry Shea, but could not have it, till at his last

1600.

- being in Dublin. This token the Earl did acknowledge, and this token the Secretary told to Honora at her going up, lest, for want of such a help, her whole journey might be frustrated.
- "The Earl being confident upon this token, communed familiarly with Honora, to whom he said he was greatly beholding (sic) to the State for sending to him, and comforting him in his misery, and that, considering the grief he had, there was nothing that did more comfort him than to hear from the State and his particular friends there, naming the Secretary by name, to whom he sent a thousand blessings.
- "It did exceedingly rejoice him, when Honora told him the great care the Queen's Majesty had of him, and the gracious direction she had given to the State to use all endeavours that might be for his preservation and recovery.
- "Honora questioning with him what course they would take for his enlargement, and in what forwardness he was to have liberty, his Lordship answered that Onie had proponed to him conditions, which he neither could nor would yield unto; namely, that for his ransom they would have Leix delivered to them, and Offally to the O'Connors, with other lesser demands, such as were in his own power to satisfy, where the delivery of the two countries was absolutely in her Majesty, and that he would rather die in their hands than to strain Her Majesty to so great a dishonour and loss.
- "That he saw little towardness of his liberty, till God would put into their hearts to make more moderate conditions.
- "That Tyrone had now twice written to have him sent into Ulster, but whether Onie will consent to that or not, the Earl knoweth not. He hopeth the best, but yet he cannot but fear the worst.
- "The Earl is very full of grief and melancholy, specially since they took him out of the castle, where it was some comfort to him to lie in a house covered.
- "He is now in the woods of Leix, removed every three hours from one fastness to another, which often toiling of his body doth not a little grieve his mind.
- "Honora abideth there to watch times and seasons, for (as the messenger saith) she hath but interrupted speeches with him, and by snatches.
- "To-morrow (God suffering), I will return the messenger to her again, to bring back her further doings; and I must give him xx s. and a sword, for that the bonnaughts took all that he had from him.
- "The Earl hath his own cook and butler, and sitteth at a table by himself, and Onie at another. The Earl lieth in his own bed, and hath sundry of Kilkenny to come to him, but none can speak with him privately; yet he is suffered to walk abroad certain hours of the day, but under very strait guard, and under the woodside."—1600, May 9. Copy. pp. 2.

May 10.
Carlingford.

28. Henry Bird, Commissary, to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks Sir Robert for placing him as Commissary of Musters for Newry and Carlingford. Leaves it to Mr. Waad, to whom he has written

1600.

most particularly, to report on the state of the Newry garrison. Begs to signify such occurrences as he has either observed since being at Carlingford, or could gather from others of good credit and better experience.

“In the Newry, where Sir Samuel Bagenall hath the command, I find he hath some 40 or 50 kern, whom he keepeth at his own charges, that are good spials through the countries round about adjoining, and, by them having notice where the enemy lieth, or their creaghts a feeding, he doth daily make roads upon them, killing men, women, and children, burning their houses, and taking from them many of their cattle and horses, driving such a terror to his bordering neighbours, as they dare not keep their cows within ten or twelve miles of the garrison. Amongst many which (*sic*) his exploits, myself was lately an eye-witness at a journey he made within four miles of Armagh, in the gallowglasses’ country called Loughlurcan (where Tyrone is said to be at this present), and where the soldiers set fire of (*sic*) many houses, wherein was store of corn and other manner of provisions, of such plenty as it was a wonder to me to behold, and brought away with them many cows, garrans, sheep, and other spoils, which did greatly relieve the whole garrison, which at that time was brought to great wants, by reason of a contrary wind that kept back money and victuals from them. So as, to write justly of Sir Samuel, I do find him a most worthy gentleman, full of valour, painful, and of good direction, having done many services which, I understand, have not come to your Honour’s knowledge, and therefore (as I perceive) is very desirous to be possessed of your Honour’s favour and good opinion of him; but, being as yet a stranger, I will be bold, upon better experience of his disposition, to give your Honour further knowledge of him.

“At this present I hear that the shipping of Chester and Dublin are all at Knockfergus, from whence they will shortly set forth for Lough Foyle, the Lord Deputy being now at Drogheda, ready to put forwards, upon notice of their landing, towards these parts.

“It is said that Tyrone doth leave some 1,100 men on this side the Blackwater, to defend those parts, and hath summoned “all his complices to come unto him, but divers of them do stand wavering fearing the success of the Queen’s forces at Lough Foyle, and, finding a general dearth and murrain amongst their cattle, they would gladly come in to Her Majesty, if they thought they might be received.

“Those that are thought most firm to Tyrone are O’Donnell, McMahan, who is Lord of a country fifteen miles from the Newry, Magennis, brother-in-law and son-in-law to Tyrone, Cormack McBaron, brother to Tyrone; and yet there is great dissension at this present between them about the election of a new Maguire, Cormack standing for one that married his daughter; insomuch there were lately slain above 140 upon either side. There is the McSwynes and James McSorley, but Tirlogh McHenry, brother to Tyrone by the mother’s side, doth refuse to come unto him, or to drive his creaght into his country, and is thought will come in, if he might be received.

1600.

“Sir Hugh O’Hanlon, who married Tyrone’s sister, is of small power, and yet underhand hath practised to be received to Her Majesty’s favour.

“Sir Arthur O’Neill about Lough Foyle and Sir John O’Dogherty are thought to come to Her Majesty upon the landing of the forces, who are able to make good strength of horse and foot for Her Majesty’s service. So that they, standing jealous one of another, and growing into despair of their continuance, it is thought (under your Honour’s favour) now a fit time if Her Majesty would be pleased to rate certain rewards upon the principal rebels’ heads, and to make proclamation of pardon to whom will do *(sic)* Her Highness that service; whereby such fear will grow amongst them, that happy will he be that first shall be received upon such service by him to be done. About which there are some that already have made proffer, referring the consideration thereof to your Honour’s wisdom.

“Tyrone hath sent into Spain his second son and O’Donnell’s brother, as pledges, as is said, for some succour.

“With Tyrone is at this present a Spanish bishop called by the name of the Archbishop of Dublin, with some forty men attending him.

“At the river of Strangford there lieth three or four boats, wherein the enemy hath manned in each some twenty musketeers, to lie in wait for such small barks as shall go along the coasts between Knockfergus and Dublin.

“Of other matters touching abuses and disorders in these parts, I do at this present forbear to write, until I shall hear of your Honour’s acceptance of my poor endeavours.”—Carlingford, 1600, May 10. *Signed.* pp. 2.

May 11.
Carrickfergus.

29. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. “On the 25th of April I advertised your Lordships of my departure from Chester, and the state of my business to that instant. Within two days after I arrived in this bay of Knockfergus, expecting to have met with the fleet from Dublin, which notwithstanding came not till the 6th of this present. In which mean space, I first caused a muster both of horse and foot to be taken, which herewithal I send unto your Lordships (*wanting*); and then, because the fourteen days’ victual laid in by the Mayor of Chester was wholly consumed (and finding by my instructions that I was forbidden to break of the store provided for the garrison till our landing), the fittest course I thought could be taken, was to send for a supply to the Isle of Man. But I found the place altogether unable to furnish me with any thing, and therefore was constrained, whether I would or no, to begin with the store, out of which I have taken other fourteen days’ allowance for our passage (to be removed from shipboard and delivered to the soldier, if we perform it in less time), and another month’s more, to serve us after our landing. The rest I have left in the town to be brought after, as we shall need it. But your Lordships may be pleased to understand that, beside all this, not only the garrison of this town hath already spent, and continueth to spend, of the same store, but also I have been driven to help divers sailors, that were hired but to

1600.

this place (and yet taken further), also upon the same provision. In which case those were which brought the men from Barstable, and divers others that came from Dublin, whom I could not discharge, till they had performed the full journey; and therefore, fearing the time may fall short to be supplied anew, if it be not aforehand looked into and foreseen, I thought it my duty to put your Honour in mind, that, if it may stand with your likings, some two months' provision more may be made of bread or meal, and sent with that which shall be provided for the new victualling of the two crompters. For other provisions of butter, cheese, or flesh, I doubt not but either the country itself, or those that shall resort unto us, will plentifully enough furnish. The taking in of these fourteen days' victual, and disposing the other month's into shipping, together with cutting of grass for our horses, and new watering them, as also the settling of divers orders, and taking account of the whole fleet together, hath given me work for five days. This sixth, if the wind stand good, I set away, having all things in readiness thereunto, and spial sent into the country, that have promised to meet me with certain advertisement of the rebels' proceedings, who, for aught I can yet hear, standeth amazed, and doubtful what course to hold, Sir Arthur O'Neill and Sir John O'Dogherty having already betaken them to their guards, and the first confidently undertaken (as I perceive by letters from my Lord Deputy) to do some special service for the Queen, and to meet me at my landing; of which I doubt not but within very few days to advertise your Lordships at full."—Knockfergus, 1600, May 11. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 25th. *Holograph Seal.* pp. 2.

May 11.
Drogheda.

30. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "The fifth of May, my Lord Deputy departed Dublin towards Drogheda, and he remained at Drogheda from Monday until the Saturday following, which day, being the 11th of May, his Honour departed thence unto Dundalk, being very desirous to draw close unto the border; and the rather because the wind stood so fair for the sending of Her Majesty's navy unto Lough Foyle; and by this course to harbour an opinion in Tyrone's head of a farther intention of my Lord Deputy's to draw near the Blackwater, and by that means to enforce Tyrone to sever his forces. Tyrone, hearing of my Lord Deputy's purpose to come to the borders, came himself in the begining of May over the Blackwater to attend my Lord Deputy, and mustered (as the report goeth) 3,000 men. But the 9th of May he returned towards his own country of Tyrone, to pacify Sir Arthur O'Neill, who is accompanied with sixty horse, and assuredly supposed ready to join with Her Majesty's army upon their safe arrival. It is supposed that my Lord of Ormonde will work his own liberty by putting in four pledges for the assurance of the articles which shall be agreed upon for his release. His Honour's apprehension was very unfortunate, (and to your Honour I speak it) the imbecility of his judgment, with his confidence and trust that the honour of his name was among the Irish his security, which was the cause of this memorable accident. This Her Majesty's army of

1600.

Lough Foyle doth amaze and stagger Tyrone and the whole North ; and, I protest unto God, I do judge that he is at the highest of his pride. And if this action be well managed and supplied, as his fortune hath been long arising, so I hope to God your Honour shall see his downfal both great and speedy. I am commanded to attend my Lord Deputy this journey. I will not forbear from time to time to acquaint your Honour with all proceedings."—Drogheda, May 11. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

May 13. 31. "A list of the officers of Her Majesty's army in Ireland, according to the entertainments allowed by Her Majesty's establishment, to begin the first of February, 1599-[1600], and as it did continue the third of May, 1600." Total, 14,000 men. *Unsigned : corrected in one place by Sir Robert Cecil. Endorsed* :—1600, May 13. pp. 8.

May 13. 32. "The names of such noblemen and gentlemen, that (*sic*) have entertainment of Her Majesty, and are behind with the payment of their rents for divers farms, which they hold by lease of Her Majesty in the realm of Ireland." *Unsigned. Endorsed* :—1600, May 13. pp. 4.

May 13. 33. "Concordatums paid in the government of the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, between the first of February, 1599-[1600], and the 20th of April, 1600." Total, 2,403*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*
Among the items are the following :—

"George Darcy and George Gernon, gentlemen, for their good service in cutting off the head of Con McCollo McMahon, a most notorious rebel, per concordatum xiiij^{to} Aprilis, 1600 - - 100*l.*"

"William Galeballie, being dangerously wounded at the late alarum raised by the rebels in the suburbs of Dublin, per concordatum dated ultimo Aprilis, 1600 - - - 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"Susanna Kinnam, widow, late wife to the Lord Bishop of Kerry, in respect of her poverty and distress, the better to enable her to repair in[to] England, per concordatum dated ultimo Aprilis, 1600. 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"

The endorsement gives 3 May as the concluding date : this is correct. Unsigned. pp. 5.

May 13. 34. Richard Madan, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew.
Waterford. "The eight of this present, a ship of our town, lately come from Andalusia, arrived here. The merchant, being by me examined for news of that country, telleth that, about mid-February last, he happened to meet a Spanish soldier of Pontevedro, a town in Galicia ; of whom having asked for news of the state of that country, and whether there was any likelihood of peace to be betwixt England and Spain, the soldier said that no such thing was like to be, for that there was an army of four thousand men then in preparing to be sent out of Spain for Ireland this summer. Hereof I thought fit to advertise your Lordship."—Waterford, 1600, May 13. *Copy, certified by Sir George Carew.* p. ½.

1600.
May 13.

35. "Memorial for the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary, on the behalf of Mr. Treasurer of Ireland, by Thomas Watson: 13 May, 1600."

Mr. Treasurer [Sir George Carey] desires leave to go over to England before Michaelmas. The method of paying the Lord Deputy's allowance. Letter as to the arrears of rent on the part of those Captains that hold lands in farm of Her Majesty in Ireland. Letter as to Christopher Kennell, the Treasurer's deputy, who is short in his accounts, and who, if he gets into England, may go to the Low Countries. Armament of the bark that carries the treasure from Chester to Dublin. For an allowance to the Treasurer's paymasters: rates allowed by him to them. The Captains of Leinster and other parts to make no abode at Dublin, but to repair to their commands.

"To acquaint his Honour that the revenue of Ireland did amount this last year but to the sum of 4,401*l.* sterling."

The Captains absent in England to return to their commands, "divers services being in hand in Ireland." The Lord Chancellor and Mr. Treasurer not to be "so disgraced as to lose their entertainment as Lords Justices," from 10 January until the arrival of the Lord Deputy: precedent for the same. Of the 4,000*l.* allowed for extraordinaries, 2,400*l.* has already been issued: necessity for increase of the grant. Whether the money for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon is to go to Dublin first, or directly to those places from Chester. A commission to be granted for the taking of Mr. Treasurer's account of the revenue of Ireland for the past year. Unkindness between him and Sir Robert Gardener. As to the payment of 40*l.* due to the Mayor of Bristol.

"To acquaint his Honour what hard and strict words are expressed in the Commission for the taking of his account, that it shall be done according to law and justice and *bona fide*; which is impossible to be done by any accountant so great as Mr. Treasurer. His desire is, the same may be altered into the form that formerly hath been used for the taking of Sir Henry Wallop's accounts."

The Privy Seal to be amended, as it mentions 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, instead of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse: the Auditors do not think the Queen's letter for the continuance of the 2,000 men sufficient warrant to pay them. The account for apparel cannot pass by itself, but must be included with the other accounts. Dishonesty and corruption of Travers and Apseley, the Commissaries of Victuals: complaints by the Captains. The accounts of these Commissaries should be examined before the Treasurer at Dublin, and not before the Governors of the Provinces.

"That his Honour would be pleased to consider of the sending more money in time now this summer season, considering that the army hath lived only upon money, for want of victuals. And to remember that the 25,000*l.* sent by Thomas Watson, which was appointed for three months for Leinster and Connaught, could not be so employed; for that before his coming over, the Treasurer had borrowed 8,000*l.* of the City of Dublin, and that all the officers of the kingdom, patentees, pensioners, warders, almsmen, and other officers, were paid out of that money for the half year ended at our Lady Day, amounting to the sum of 7,000*l.*, the extraordinaries

1600.

being above 2,400*l.* since the government of the Lord Deputy ; and to consider, now the army is to go into the field, what want there will be of money."

Whether the arms and munitions are to be deducted out of the lendings or no, "because the general opinion is, there is no possibility that the soldier can do it." *Unsigned.* pp. 4.

May 14.
Dublin.

36. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Where, in one of my late letters of the 5th of this month, I wrote that the Earl of Ormonde had sent to Sir Terence O'Dempsey, to have the use of one of his castles for his Lordship's more ease, till his traitorous taker might consider further of his enlargement, now this morning I have received advice that the Earl is come to Ballybrettas, the said O'Dempsey's castle, and there guarded by twenty of Onie's men, whom he trusteth most. They brought him thither by night, not suffering the bonnaughts to know of it, lest they might attempt to rescue him; and, the more to abuse them, Onie caused a trusty friend of his own, of stature and resemblance like to the Earl, to put on the Earl's nightgown, which he was wont to wear, and directed him in that fashion to walk by the wood side, where the Earl used to walk, whilst Onie, and some twenty others nearest him in trust, put the Earl on horseback, and brought him to O'Dempsey's castle.

"This was the manner of their stealing him thither, but what was their secret purpose will not as yet be disclosed; and I see by O'Dempsey's behaviour, in leaving his castle to Onie to be warded by his kern, that O'Dempsey is apparently revolted, and therefore small hope to the Earl of good measure at his hands. The Jesuits are now grown to a faction touching the Earl; some of the best of them (namely, Doctor McCragh, legatus a latere to the Pope) maintaining out of his divinity that, as the Earl was treacherously taken, so it is not lawful for them to keep him prisoner, and laboureth to have him set at liberty upon easy conditions. Doctor McCragh is of great authority, and much revered amongst them for his learning and age; only Father Archer, who was a conspirator in the Earl's taking, standeth strainably against him, using the same conscience to keep him which he did to betray him. It is hard to guess when this tragedy will have an end, but the divisions amongst the Jesuits, and the jealousies Onie hath of the bonnaughts, which is not unknown to them, will haste it to an end. Besides, some of the principal confederates in Leinster do stomach his detaining so long, being taken against public faith. Upon these factions will be wrought the first step to his liberty, and perhaps, in the end, blood will ensue amongst them, which is the issue I look for.

"The Lord Deputy passed safely to the Newry upon Whitsunday, making his way through the Moyerie without impeachment, an enterprise taken in due time, and happily performed, if the residue of his army, which are to follow after, have the like good success, as I doubt not but they shall, the Marshal being left behind to bring them on. I know not what to say of the forces for Lough Foyle, but that they are either landed, or now in the action, for that I understand Tyrone is suddenly posted to Strabane, and that Sir

1600.

Arthur O'Neill is either come to the Lord Deputy already, or upon his way to his Lordship, a matter which perplexeth not a little both Tyrone and O'Donnell.

"I find it a tough matter to digest these victualling affairs, and specially to raise provisions to supply the Lord Deputy, having no help of the store, nor money to buy corn; and therefore I see I shall occupy a longer time here than was thought on; and it will be hard for his Lordship to send a convoy for me to pass into Ulster by the time I shall end, which cannot be yet these fourteen days, so as, for these respects, I am made absent from his Lordship against mine own desire."—Dublin, 1600, May 14. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 25th. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

May 14.
Iniskayne.

37. Florence McCarthy to Sir George Carew. "At my departing from you (God is my judge), mine intention and full purpose was, and is still (if your vain, wicked, foolish Captains do suffer me), to quit myself of the Connaught buonies, and of all those wicked rogues and rebels, with as much speed as I may for my life, I mean those that I entertain, who as soon as I have discharged myself of them, if I do not by service utterly overthrow them, or drive them out of all Munster, let me lose all my friends and credit with Her Majesty, and with all honest men. In the meantime, I will not fail to prey and spoil the rest of them and to kill as many of them, especially of the O'Malleys (who with three 'frystes' are now in my country) as I can. Therefore, seeing they are there, hasten Sir Finnin O'Driscoll's son to me, and write unto me by Captain Harvey, for I will not trust him, nor nobody in this age and country, but such as I will trust upon your Lordship's word and faith, whether he be subject or rebel, and, without trusting him, I can hardly succour him, nor do the Queen's sacred Majesty any service by his help or means.

"It may be some of my malicious adversaries may allege many matters against me, which may haply be furthered by some odd Councillor or other, as was done, before your Lordship came, by such as doth not know or understand my intention, or what may best avail Her Majesty, and further Her Highness' service. My humble suit, therefore, unto your Lordship (unto whom I have made known all my mind and intention) is, that my temporising with the rebels, until I may effect my purpose, may not be misconstrued. Which course, I assure your Lordship, I do take only because the assuring and maintaining of myself in the possession of Desmond, is the only way that is to overthrow all the rebels of Munster, and drive away quickly, or utterly overthrow, all the buonies there. For the compassing of which, my humble suit unto Her sacred Majesty is that it will please Her Highness to grant me my country of Desmond in the same manner that my father-in-law and grandfather held it, and as Her Highness granted it to any other of the birth of England that should marry my wife. Which grant I have ready to be seen, under the Clerk of the Signet Mr. Windebank's hand, tolerating with me to bear the name of McCarthy More, which both the O'Sullivans and the rest of the gentleman freeholders and followers of the country laid upon me, and constrained me to accept, thereby to procure the country to

1600.

yield unto me, and to come in and forsake that bastard Donnell McCarthy and the rest of the rebels. For, before I took the name upon me, I protest I could not get twenty of the country, men of war or common people, to come at me, as was known to Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power, who wrote to Mr. Secretary then to that effect, assuring your Lordship that I would never by any means accept it, if the recovering of that country (which of all other here is most available for Her Majesty's service) stood not upon it. Which notwithstanding if it please Her Majesty to abolish, I humbly beseech that it may be abolished in me by that means of creation that it was abolished in my father-in-law.

"I beseech your Lordship also to consider how remote my country stands from all succour, having all the rebels from Munster and their countries between it, and not any town of garrison or any place of country that are Her Majesty's subjects, which is as well known to your Lordship as to myself, whereby it is most certain that the rebels and buonies will waste and destroy my country whensoever I go to work for Her Majesty's pay. Wherefore I humbly beseech that I may have a sufficient charge to serve Her Majesty withal, neither will a Captain's charge serve for him that must keep many companies; nor I do not mean to charge Her Majesty with half so many as I will bring to her service. All which I humbly refer to Her Majesty's divine consideration, beseeching your Lordship to be an humble suitor in my behalf; the rather that whatsoever it shall please Her Majesty to deal with me, my full purpose and intention was, and shall be always, to rest Her Highness' faithful, true servant, to perform with my life any service that may benefit Her most sacred Majesty, assuring your Lordship, in proof thereof, that I will not fail from time to time to advertise and advise your Lordship by my letters, the best I may, to farther Her Majesty's service."—Iniskayne, 1600, May 14.

[*Postscript.*] "The young man of my wife's country, that I told your Lordship of, that came now out of Spain, is called Teig Ofaylne, a foster brother of my wife's. He hath been these nine years in Spain a student, and hath this last year remained with the Bishop of Kerry, one Michael Walter, born at Limerick, who being dead about half a year past, he hath since remained with Friar Peter de los Angelos, Provincial of the Franciscans of Andalusia, and Guardian of Seville, who affirmed and assured some of his friends there that Friar Mathias de Oviedo, who was Commissary General of the Friars of North Spain, and now is Bishop of Dublin, is come over with a great deal of treasure, weapon, and munition; and that a great number of men are ready to be sent to the Irishmen hither, if they will have them. Since the writing of this letter, there are some of my men come from the county (*sic*) of Limerick and Kerry, who brought me divers news that concerns you, whereby I must write you now another letter. And so requesting your Lordship in any wise to send me Maurice Moore, I humbly take leave."

Copy certified by Sir George Carew, who has added in his own hand:—

"In this letter he speaks nothing of his son, whom he promised faithfully to send unto me to Limerick; and in another letter unto

1600.

me he doth omit the same, and also excuses his own coming to me to Limerick, which he likewise promised, pretending that it would turn to his great hindrance, which omission and excuse I nothing like. In my answer unto him, I urge him to perform his promises in those points, but in them I fear he will break. This news of Spain I think to be very true." *pp.* 2.

May 18.
Dublin.

38. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Here arrived in this harbour yesterday two barks from London with victuals, whereof though the quantities are not great, yet they come seasonably to serve the Lord Deputy's turn in Ulster; for that out of these we shall draw so much as to increase the former twenty days' provision to twenty days more, and so make the whole proportion forty days for 3,000 men, which is the state of his Lordship's army for the field at the Newry and thereabouts. And, by the coming of these two ships her Majesty shall save a round charge, which otherwise she should have been at, in raising this twenty days' bread of the bakers in this city, with whom Mr. Treasurer and I had contracted for it. But now, upon the coming of the ships, we have withdrawn the contract, so as her Majesty's extraordinary charge that way is prevented. I understand by these two ships that there is a third upon the coasts, and others coming after to make up the whole proportion contracted for the tenth of this month, to serve 4,000 men for three months, and yet there must be a proportion particular to answer a garrison to be planted at Armagh, or the Blackwater, which is requisite to consist of 1,000 foot and 100 horse, if victuals do come to answer such a number; otherwise his Lordship must be driven to restrain that garrison to the half numbers, by which there cannot be so good service done as if they were full 1,000. It is great comfort both to the army, and to us, that are Her Majesty's ministers here, to find your Lordships' great care in sending of victuals hither, wherein for my part I have not seen so much diligence, and so honourable providence, used to answer the wants of this realm; which as it breedeth a heart in the army, that almost was out of heart, so I hope Her Majesty and your Lordships shall hear, ere it be long, of some honourable service done, toward the recompensing of this great charge. For I see, almost throughout the whole army, a hungering to do service, and I doubt not but the Lord Deputy will put them to it, inasmuch as his Lordship taketh the way thereunto. His sudden coming to the Newry, unlooked for, hath given the alarm already as far as Dungannon, but, when he shall sit down at Armagh, your Honour may happen hear of greater alterations in that climate. For it is this that many of the Archtraitor's followers have long looked for, namely, that Her Majesty would embrace him with two forces at once, one in his bowels at Lough Foyle, and the other to face him at Armagh and Blackwater; besides that the garrison at Knockfergus will be able to master the Clandeboyes and the woodmen. If so much had been done the years before, the heart of this rebellion had been broken afore now, and many indignities and blemishes to our nation prevented. Your Honour knoweth that this monstrous Archtraitor hath been rising to his height these five

1600.

or six years, but I hope God hath marked him to be pulled down this summer, specially if the Lord prosper the action of Lough Foyle.

“The Earl of Ormonde is at O’Dempsey’s house, at more ease than before, for that he lodgeth in a castle, but as straitly guarded as ever he was. And yet I am of mind that out of that house will be wrought his liberty, either upon conditions or by surprise. But of this I can write no certainty to your Honour till I hear more from my gentlewoman, who (if it please you) from henceforth shall pass under the name of *Imperia Romana*. I have not heard from her since my last, and I hope her lingering so long to send is, that she will take the more time to work her feat. I understand this day by a rebel come in, who saw the Earl of Ormonde two days past, that his Lordship is much altered since his imprisonment, and I hope even that degree of his adversity will be a step to his enlargement, for that if they see him grow sickly, and his health doubtful, they will the sooner resolve for his liberty, knowing that, if he die in their hands, they lose all the benefit they hope for by his taking, and I wish the Earl would a little dissemble to be sick, to make trial of his delivery that way. The French King could never get out of the Emperor’s hands at Madrill, till it was thought that the melancholy of his imprisonment had drawn him into danger of his life.”—Dublin, 1600, May 18. [*Postscript.*] “Since the writing of this letter, here is arrived a third ship with victuals, parcel of the contract for the tenth of May, all well conditioned as far as is yet discerned.” *Signed. Endorsed:—*Received at Greenwich the 25th. pp. 2.

On the third page of the sheet Sir Robert Cecil has written:—“Sir Terence married Mary, the daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Edmund Butler, the son of Piers Butler, the brother to the Earl of Ormonde.”

May 18.
Shandon.

39. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “In discharge of my promise unto Mr. John FitzEdmunds, whose particular friendships unto myself, and readiness to do Her Majesty service, deserves all the kindness that I may afford him ; which moves me to write unto you in his behalf, not to press you with any suit, for I know of none that he pursues, but only to make him better known unto you, who doth as well deserve for his loyalty to the Crown of England as any man may do, and hath in former times done exceeding acceptable services, and so perseveres in the same to the uttermost of his power, having lost in this rebellion the most of his goods, and his lands merely wasted. Sir, men of well-deserving in this broken time are worthy to be cherished, and a more meet man to be recommended I know not where to find in this province. He hath sundry times heretofore been known unto you by Sir Walter Raleigh, who hath done him but right in his reports. When he shall have occasion to use your honourable favours, I humbly beseech you to afford the same unto him, and the rather for my sake ; whom I would not commend unto you, if he did not worthily deserve the same. In the meantime, as cause shall be ministered, I pray you to make his well-deserving known to the

1600.

rest of the Lords, which will greatly grace him, and give him encouragement to persevere as hitherto he hath done.”—Shandon, 1600, May 18. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

May 18.
Shandon.

40. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “The Lord Barry, out of the great affection which he seems to bear you, by Mr. Pyne doth send unto you his dearest son, being the greatest jewel which he hath to joy in, and wishes that he may do you as acceptable service as himself is ready to do for his Sovereign, for whom he hath adventured his life many times in this last rebellion, and lost the goods and chattels of all his country. To support his present estate to enable him to serve her Majesty the better, his Lordship is an humble suitor that her Majesty would be pleased to grant unto him a company in her payment for one of his quality, whereof in my former letters I have entreated your Honour’s furtherance. And also, in regard of his great and insupportable losses, which he sustained when Tyrone was in these parts, who with all his force, for the space of eight days, encamped upon his land, within falcon shot of his chief house of Barry’s Court, the which he nobly defended, not once entertaining either parley or speech, whereunto by the enemy he was often entreated, he humbly prays that her Majesty would be pleased to bestow upon him the castle of Conyhie, with such lands as James McThomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, had appertaining unto the same, not much exceeding 30 ploughlands, unto the which the said Lord Barry hath a good title in law, but [was] dispossessed by the Earls of Desmond, who forcibly held the same from him. And the rather I am an humble suitor for him because he freely gave 30 ploughlands of his ancient inheritance, from himself and his heirs for ever, unto his brother John Barry, who was in action, to withdraw him from the rebels, and who, since his coming from them, hath done sundry acceptable services. All this I know to be true, which are the motives that cause me to write thus earnestly in his behalf. The favours that you shall please to do him shall be bestowed upon a worthy gentleman, and grace me exceedingly.”

“I humbly pray your Lordship to accomplish my Lord Barry’s request, if possibly you may.”—*Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

May 19.
Cork.

41. The President and Council of Munster to the Privy Council. “I, the President, have lately received from your Lordships two letters, the one dated the 7th of the last, willing me to have some special care and provision to be duly informed of the account and issuing of such munition as the cities and corporate towns in this province are stored with, or should be licensed from thence to buy. In performance whereof, at my late being at Waterford, in my travel between Dublin and this place, before the receipt of your Lordships’ said letter, I not only took order, by strict proclamations, that no merchant, upon pain of death, should sell any powder, or munition, or any other habiliments of war, to any person or persons whomsoever, and that no merchant should buy any, but should forthwith acquaint the Mayor or the town with the quantity

1600.

upon his oath, but [also] that the whole store of that town, as well with merchants as for the defence thereof, should be delivered up wholly to the Mayor, and kept in his private charge, and no part thereof to be issued but by special warrant. Which order we have also taken here with the Mayor of Cork (having since apprehended some for buying of powder, whom we will accordingly see executed), and will, God willing, upon our repair to Limerick, observe the same course with the Mayor there. The Mayors of Waterford and Cork have undertaken with all diligence and meet care to look into the restraint of these merchandises, and to use all possible endeavour for the prevention of any further reliefs to be given to the traitors thereby; and we hope the Mayor of Limerick (from whence hath been heretofore, as we are informed, most assistance given to the rebels thereof), will, after we have conferred and dealt with him in like sort, have better care to prevent the like hereafter. And as herein we can use no other means than to restrain by proclamation, so will the same be of little force against merchants, for that they pretend and stand upon their charters to free them from any danger thereof, inferring that martial law cannot touch any of them for selling the same within the corporation, otherwise than by a penal or pecuniary course.

“In your Lordships’ other letter of the 24th of the last, you have been pleased to consider rightly of the good use that may be made of Her Majesty’s castle of Limerick, if it were repaired and made habitable. And in the same respect, your Lordships have commanded that the castle shall be surveyed, what the charge thereof may be; and that, upon our certificate thereof to your Lordships, you will direct order for the payment of such monies as shall be necessarily expended thereupon. For which as we are most humbly bound and thankful to your Lordships, so will we with meet care, upon our coming to Limerick, perform your Lordships’ direction therein, and return what we shall find upon the surveying thereof; wherein we will be very careful not to expend more than shall be urged by the occasion. But because the season for this will quickly overpass, and that we hold it very necessary to have some part thereof begun, before too much time be spent, we do purpose, God willing, after our surveying thereof (if we shall find the charge thereof to be within any reasonable sum), to cause some work to go forward, beseeching your Lordships’ favourable allowance thereof; and that withal, for the ease of Her Majesty’s purse and charge, you will be pleased to direct the Mayor, by your strict letters, to see all needful carriages by land and water performed by the town, and the townsmen assisting to the work.”

“Here is lately arrived a proportion of victual forth of England, being part of that provision which John Woods undertook to make. We have, according your Lordships’ former direction, by your letter of the 28th of March, appointed with the Mayor of Cork, Joshua Aylmer, one of the Commissaries of the Musters, to view and survey the same very respectively, with charge to allow no more thereof than they shall find to be well-conditioned, and fit either to keep, or to be carried, as there shall be cause; which certificate (by reason of a journey to be by us very speedily begun, as after in this shall appear to your Lordships), we shall not be able to return before our

1600.

going. The like shall be appointed upon our repair to Limerick; for the survey of the victual directed thither, which we hope ere this is safely arrived there; and the same order from time to time shall be, God willing, duly observed, as the victual in either port shall arrive."

Pray for a new supply of biscuit, butter, and cheese, for 3,250 men for 3 months, to be sent one half to Cork and one half to Limerick, as requested in their despatch of April 30 by Captain Thomas Browne; the supply to arrive about the end of July next, "at the furthest." Also, that after that, in view of stormy and uncertain weather, order may be taken for supplies for six months at once, during the winter season. Pray further for a supply of munition: will husband it well.

"Here is, two days past, arrived within this harbour the summer suits of apparel due now to the companies of this province, for which we are also humbly thankful. It is come in very seasonable time, to comfort and hearten the soldiers upon their entering into the field. But inasmuch as these here do daily infinitely decay, and the companies thereby grow weak, as well as by the insufficiency of the men sent over to supply with (wherein great abuses have been committed, both by those that have made the choice, and the conductors), as by sickness and men running away, which we have endeavoured with our best cares to prevent, both by publishing proclamations, and restraining the ports and all barks and other vessels, so do we humbly beseech that your Lordships would be pleased to direct forth your speedy warrants for a supply of 500 men, to be here by the end of July next at the furthest, but sooner, if it might be; and therein that your Lordships would more strictly infer (*sic*) to the Lieutenants, or other officers of the counties, where and by whom this choice shall be made, the great abuses that hath been used in putting forth men altogether unserviceable, being many of them either lame, maimed, or so weak with lingering, loathsome diseases and sickness before they arrive, as we are ready still, upon their landing here, to return many of them back again, holding it rather meet to want so many than to charge Her Majesty with such impotent people as will do no more than help to eat her victual, which abuse were easily remedied if the gentlemen authorised for these services would but justly consider the hindrances that accrue to Her Majesty's services by their negligences and frauds therein, which we humbly leave to your Lordships' grave wisdoms to be reformed."

Pray for a further supply of money: what they have will last till about June 14.

"The 20th of this month, I, the President, do intend, God willing, with the best force I can make, to enter into the field, and to begin my march towards Limerick; in which the enemy, being gathered to their greatest head and strength, do purpose to attempt all the impediments they can, and to endeavour to hinder the same by stopping our passages, which (God assisting us) they shall be little able any way to do, for that we mean rather to enforce our way than to admit of any let by them. This journey we have thought most necessary to undertake in respect that many (as we are informed) who now attend the

1600.

rebels, are desirous to be taken into subjection, having already promised to submit themselves to Her Majesty's grace and mercy, when they shall see some means abroad to countenance them ; and who (besides), if they should not be taken at the instant of their offers, will perform nothing at all. The White Knight, so soon as the army shall come to Kilmallock (being already prepared) hath promised assuredly to come in, and to make his humble submission to Her Highness for grace and favour, with promises to deserve the same by very acceptable services, and to repair his credit and reputation, lost by his lewd and disloyal courses. What shall further happen to ensue in the time of this journey, your Lordships shall be, God willing, very particularly advertised with our best expedition."

For want of carriage horses, are transporting money and munition to Limerick by water. The powder then remaining at Cork will hardly serve to fill up each soldier's flask before he leaves that city, and to carry any quantity in the journey. Pray for a further supply ; also for the remainder of the oats promised.—Cork, 1600, May 19. *Signed.* pp. 4½.

May 19.
Cork.

42. The President and Council of Munster to the Privy Council. "I, the President, have received lately sundry intelligences touching a preparation in Spain intended before Midsummer next for these parts of Ireland, which hath come from the traitor Tyrone to Desmond and others here, to animate them to continue in this wicked course ; and the same hath been confirmed by an advertisement from the Mayor of Waterford unto me, wherein he manifesteth, upon the examination of a merchant lately arrived from Andalusia, that the preparation still continueth, as by the copy thereof enclosed will more particularly appear to your Lordships. In which respect (if your Lordships shall find these intelligences to agree with yours), we are then humbly bold to beseech your Lordships to have such consideration and regard of us, for some helps of all means to prevent the danger thereof, as in your honourable grave wisdoms shall seem meet."—Cork, 1600, May 19. *Signed.* p. 1.

Enclose :—

42. i. Richard Madan, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew. Copy of No. 34 above.—Waterford, 1600, May 14 (*sic*). p. 1.

May 19.
Cork.

43. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Speaks of the good services of the Mayor of Cork. Prays that he may receive a letter of thanks, and that the agents of the city may have their suits furthered.—Cork, 1600, May. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 19.
Cork.

44. Hugh Cuffe to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays for the augmentation of his entertainment of 3s. 4d. *per diem*, which scarce defrays his ordinary expenses. Besides the duties expected from a Commissary, has to be attendant about the State, which occasions further charge. Reaps not one penny profit by anything he has in the land.

1600.

"Touching the estate of this country, had you not been advertised by our general letters, I would not have neglected that particular duty. Only I may not forget to signify a foil of late given to John Fitz Thomas by the Lord of Dunboy (*sic*) the manner whereof, as also the two copies of two letters from the Earl of Tyrone to the Earl of Ormonde, may appear by the enclosed. If your Honour expect any advertisement from me as Commissary, I beseech you let me be excused this time, because, ever sithence my arrival, I have been resident as a Councillor about the State. Howbeit my son Northcott and a man of mine, as my deputy, ever sithence my coming hither, have been employed thereabouts in the circuit appointed for us; so that, upon the drawing up of the army, at my coming to Limerick, I shall be able to certify your Honour the true estate thereof."—Cork, 1600, May 19. *Signed.* p. 1.

Enclose:—

44. i. *John Verdon to Sir George Thornton.* "I thought good to advertise you of the foil received by John Fitz Thomas, the Earl Sugane's brother. He went yesterday to the borders of the river of Suir, to take a prey. He was 200 foot and 10 horse. This morning, my Lord of Dunboyne's men, and all the rest of that country gathered together to the number of 500 foot and 60 horse, and overtook the enemy, before they gathered any prey, and killed an hundred of them; the chief leader of his foot, named Edmund McSheehy, was sore hurt and taken prisoner; Gibbon Duff, Ton Buy Rueghe's brother, killed; Richard Fitzgerald sore hurt; Davy Fitz Ulick Brown sore hurt; Davy Fitz William McCruddery sore hurt and taken prisoner; besides twenty or thirty of bonnaughts sore hurt, which he brought upon garrans to Arlo.

"Since your departure, Piers Lacy burnt the Bruff, both castle, barn, and all the houses there. The castle of Loughger was almost delivered to Richard Rowley, but for Piers Lacy, who interrupted the same, when he heard of Cormack McDermott's going out of Cork. All the traitors were broken in themselves, till they heard of Cormack's going away, which animated them very much. Derby O'Connor only is with them, and none other of the strangers, for Redmond Burke and all the strangers are quite gone out of the country. We wonder greatly here that my Lord do stay so long from us."—1600, May 15. *Holograph.* p. 1.

44. ii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* ["O'Neill"], to the Earl of Ormonde. "We send our commendations to you, the Earl of Ormonde. We are told that you are apprehended by Onie McRory. You know there is none of the birth of Ireland that we would grieve more to fall to trouble than you. Notwithstanding, we thank God that you are in the hands of the servants that are true to God, and the Pope, and the King of Spain, whence, with the leave of God, your salvation shall come, and the safety of your conscience and country, by mean of your trouble in the hands of men that have less worldly credit than you, and that you may give credit faithfully from henceforth in (*sic*) the Catholic faith. At Dungannon, the second of May, 1600." *Copy.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

1600.

44. iii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* [“*O'Neill*”], *to the Earl of Ormonde*. “*Albeit, since I have borne arms against the Queen, your Honour did not only disfavour me or mine, but used all means possible for my overthrow, and the extirpation of the Catholic faith, and the ruin of the whole kingdom, being the chiefest and principallest instrument to put in execution the evil by English intended against your natural country; yet, in respect of your goodwill and good turns shewed to me long before the wars, I cannot be so ungrateful but that I would rejoice at your good fortune to be in hand, where, without any fear, you may be converted to the Catholic religion, detesting that damnable faith which hitherunto you have professed, or rather sect; requesting you to accept of imprisonment as punishment due to your offences in times past committed, and to leave off your delays of conversion to Him who shall infernally punish the obstinacy of such as do not accept of His proffered grace. As for any favour I can do your Honour, you shall be most assured, though this long time undeserved. I commit your Honour to God's protection, whom I pray God to convert you (sic) to the apostolic faith, and to keep you safely in that place, lest liberty should work our servitude, former life, [and] the death of many poor innocents, as well men as women and children, and else, &c. (sic). Dungannon, 9 Maii, 1600.*”
Copy. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

May 20.
Shandon.

45. *Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil*. “*If you in England do apprehend the intelligence which we have here of the Spaniards invading of this kingdom, then I think it worthy of your considerations to prepare for a sufficient resistance both by land and sea. But if the contrary be known unto you, that no such matter is intended, yet, lest therein you may be mistaken (although I will do my best endeavour to preserve some places for the Queen and her army), yet (sic) I would be glad to receive instructions from thence, that I might hold that course which may be most agreeable to your pleasures. The places I most doubt of, which they will first attempt, is either Cork or Limerick. Cork is exceedingly weak, and not possible to withstand them, nor yet to be held by us, though a strong garrison be in it, for he that is master of the field will carry it. Limerick is a strong seat, and with a reasonable garrison may be defended, but the people are corrupt and traitorous, and therefore such a force must be put into it as may master the town, or else the garrison, town and all, will be lost. The weakness of the one, easily to be taken by the enemy, will invite him to attempt it, and the rather because it is seated more in the heart of Munster than the other, whereby the general revolt will be the more speedy and dangerous; and the outlet from Cork is more easy and nearer the sea than out of the river of Limerick. On the other side, there are reasons to induce them to take Limerick first, but especially the strength of the place, for their safety; which being once theirs, it will be very difficult to win it from them. But to one of these I do not doubt but they will make their attempt. As for Waterford, I do least mistrust their*

1600.

coming thither, being seated so near England, and so far within our seas; and truly to say my opinion, although that people be no less superstitious Catholics than the rest of the citizens elsewhere, yet I do suppose them to be the best Royalists.

"Sir, I beseech your Honour that I may receive directions from England in this weighty cause, if there be occasion offered by the Spaniard; and also, if there be cause to send forces into this kingdom, that they may land at Cork, being the most indifferent place to disperse them to best purpose."—Shandon, 1600, May 20. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 20.
Dublin.

46. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Here have arrived in this harbour, within the compass of one week, four barks with victuals, the quantities and several natures whereof, and how they are conditioned, I leave to the Comptroller's collection which he hath sent herewith to the Lord Treasurer. All that I have to say now is the great comfort that the army findeth to be so seasonably supplied with victuals from thence, giveth them another manner of life to the service than ever I saw them to have, and I hope it will bring forth another manner of success than hath been; for now that the companies are answered with victuals and money for their pay, with a superior commander to lead them out to the service, I hope they will labour to redeem those taints which in late former times have blemished the whole nation.

"The Lord Deputy, upon Wednesday last, marched seven miles out of the Newry, where he came within two miles of Tyrone, and only saw his scout, but not himself, for that he kept close within his strength; and, upon Thursday last, the fleet for Lough Foyle loosed from Knockfergus, having had since a reasonable good wind, so as I see not but they should be near their landing place before this. And yet it is rumoured here that, as they coasted the country of the Route and the Glinns, they landed many of their men there, and have burned much of those countries, carrying to their ships great quantities of corn, swine, and sheep: for, touching the cows, Sir James McSorley was fled with them into the fastnesses. And lastly, they have placed a garrison in the abbey of Coleraine, which, if your Honour behold the card, it (*sic*) standeth upon the river of Bann, near to Mount Sendal. If this be true, they made it a good bait in their way, but I dare not write it for truth till I hear more, neither do I wish your Honour to be otherwise than ordinarily confident, though you may hear of these things from others, but by my next your Honour shall be certainly advertised. This is but to answer the present going away of the passage, which hath lingered here these twenty days at least, for want of wind."—Dublin, 1600, May 20.

[*Postscript.*] "There is nothing to be advertised touching the Earl of Ormonde, till Cantwell's return from Tyrone, who, being a follower of the Earl's, was lately sent thither by Onie McRory, with the Earl's consent, to negotiate the conditions for his enlargement. But your Honour shall find that, if he be delivered, it is the faction

1600.

and schism amongst the priests that must do it, or else the Earl must dissemble a profound sickness." *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 25th. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

May 21.
Mallow.

47. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. The Commissary of the Victuals has importuned to have his accounts audited and allowed. Has now entered on a journey, and, knowing that sufficient money has not accrued by the checks for extraordinaries to satisfy the Commissary, has deferred the examination of the accounts till his return. Recommends the Commissary.—Moyallo, 1600, May 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 21.
Cork.

48. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. Has given Allen Apsley, Commissary of the Victuals for Munster, sufficient rooms for the stowage of the provisions lately arrived. Prays that the rents of these rooms, and of others taken for the same purpose, may be duly satisfied. Has also received their Lordships' letters directing him, and Apsley, and one Aylmer, to survey the said victuals. This shall be done. Prays that some favourable dispatch may be given to the agents of the city of Cork, who are long absent, to the charge of the Corporation. Their assistance in these troublesome times is greatly missed, the one being Recorder of the city, and the other one of its Aldermen. Cork, 1600, May 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 21.
Cork.

49. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. That the suits of the agents of the city of Cork may receive favourable dispatch. Sir Robert is "a patron and benefactor to our poor commonwealth."—Cork, 1600, May 21. *Signed. p. ½.*

May 21.
Cork.

50. William Jones, Commissary of Musters, to Sir Robert Cecil. Encloses a brief [*wanting*] of the delivery of the summer suits to the companies in Munster. For the next half-year, will be eased by Mr. Cuff and the other Commissaries of the province, to whom he will impart the best of his skill. Acknowledges Sir Robert's kindness to him.—Cork, 1600, May 21. *Holograph. Seals. p. 1.*

May 21.
Newry.

51. Henry Bird to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last letters sent to Sir Robert, service has been done, whereof he gives notice to his Honour.

"On Whitsunday, the 12th of this month, the Lord Deputy being come to Dundalk, sent overnight to Sir Samuel Bagenall to repair unto him with the most part of the garrison of the Newry, about some piece of service that then was intended; but, finding his purpose discovered, his Lordship came presently hither, with such forces as then could be gathered out of Dundalk and Ardee, with which his Lordship passed the Moyerie very quietly without sight of enemy. Within two days after, the Knight Marshal and Sir Francis Stafford came with some other few forces, and passed through the

1600.

same passages with the help of a convoy from hence. And upon Friday following, my Lord Deputy drew into the field all the forces that then were come together ; where were about 1,600 foot, contained within seventeen colours, and some 200 horse, and marched some six miles into O'Hanlon's country, towards Armagh, within two miles of Lough Lurcan, where it was said that Tyrone then lay, being a place of great woods. And there his Lordship, leaving the enemy behind him about a mile and an half, went with the horse to see the trenches which O'Hanlon had aforetime made about four or five miles in compass, for the better keeping of his creaght from being taken away. But all that day there was no appearance of enemy, save some few horse, which afar off were seen to keep scout, so that his Lordship, after some hours spent, and taking his repast, towards evening made his return to the Newry. That night his Lordship had word that the Earl of Southampton was come to Dundalk, and therefore gave order to Captain Edward Blany, Serjeant-Major of the garrison, to carry a sufficient convoy thither, to be with the Earl on the morning early. And the next day, the Lord Deputy himself, with a good guard of horse and foot, did after dinner go as far [as] the Four Mile Water, being just the middle way. Now, for that on that day Tyrone had notice of this meeting being so advantageous a place for him, as in all Ireland there is not a more dangerous both for wood and bog, and that he had laid the way, whereby there was a great skirmish had to the foil of the enemy, I will refer your Honour to the view of this enclosed discourse, which was drawn by the aforesaid Captain Blany, who then had the vanguard, and was a principal man of that action. And because I know him to be endued with great virtue and valour, I am the bolder to present it to your Honour, as a discourse of truth, having received it for no less from his hands, as it was delivered to the Lord Deputy.

"As yet the companies of the Marshal and of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence are not come unto the army, which, when it is joined, will be thought to make about 2,000. Notwithstanding, this small handful, being accounted good and perfect soldiers, are thought sufficient to encounter with all the power that Tyrone can make. And therefore this present day, the Lord Deputy doth cause the army to draw into the field, purposing, according the proportion of such carriages as this place can yield, to keep in camp, and drawing near Tyrone, to give the better advantage for the forces of Lough Foyle, who at this time are said to be landed.

"His Lordship sheweth himself in all his actions full of true nobility, carrying himself towards every man to their general love, and therefore there is great hope of his good success. And, thus, in brief, being ready to set forward in the attendance of this garrison, I do humbly take leave."—Newry, 1600, May 21. *Signed. Seal.*
pp. 2.

Encloses :—

51. i. "*Captain Blany's report of the Earl of Southampton's passing through the Moyerie.*" In margin :—"On Saturday, 17 Maii, 1600."

"*Being sent by my Lord Deputy from the Newry to convoy the Earl of Southampton through the Moyerie with 500 foot and 50*

1600.

horse, I passed through the pass, and made a stand with the foot on the hill of the Faughart, being in two squadrons of 250 in each, myself with the horse going to Dundalk. Where, finding the Earl with the foot companies of Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Henry Folliott, and some 40 horse, all voluntary gentlemen, we marched to the Faughart, where my Lord of Southampton commanded one of those said squadrons to march, and in the rear of that all the carriages; next, my Lord himself with all the horse, then the other squadron; and lastly, the companies of Sir Oliver Lambert and Sir Henry Folliott."

"Myself, having the command of the vanguard, advanced towards the Four Mile Water, and being within half a mile of the place, we discovered several troops of the enemy on both sides of us. Whereupon my Lord of Southampton sent direction to me that I should march over the Four Mile Water, and make that place good, until the carriages came over. When I came in musket shot of the place, I might perceive at the least 200 foot of the enemy lodged on the other side the water, in the most advantageous places to impeach our passage. Then I divided the first battalion into three maniples, and sent Captain Adderton with 60 men on the right hand; Captain Williams his Lieutenant on the left hand with the like number; myself with the rest taking the middle way directly towards the place which the enemy had possessed. We being ready to charge, Sir Oliver Lambert came to me, and, liking our manner, gave us order to charge. At which instance we discovered, to our general encouragement, the vanguard of my Lord Deputy his army, commanded by Sir Charles Percy, being then in sight both to us and the enemy, and not above two musket shot from us. Whereupon we gave on, and, after some volleys on either side, the enemy that were on the right hand quitted the place, and retired in haste through the woods towards our rear, and I with the first battalion, having cleared the Four Mile Water, made a stand on the other side, till the carriages were passed over, together with the horse. By this time the vanguard of my Lord Deputy his army was come up on our left hand, as far as that passage, where they maintained a resolute skirmish with the enemy that were on our left hand, and secured us altogether on that side. The enemy, thus beaten on both sides, drew all their forces to the rear, saving some 100, which skirmished with the vanguard of my Lord Deputy his army. To be short, the enemy came very desperately on the rear with their horse and foot, where Sir Henry Folliott made a very good stand. But Sir Oliver Lambert, doubting lest our men should be distressed, took his own colours in his hand for the better heartening of his soldiers, and, together with some 30 of our best men, which at that instant I had brought back to the rear, hastened towards the assailants to second my Lord of Southampton, who at that time with some six horse charged them, and beat them a musket shot back, still pursuing them till they, having spent their powder, thrown their staves, darts, and innumerable stones, recovered the place where Tyrone stood with some 120 horse and 200 foot, which never came to the fight. Then, having

1600.

gained so much ground, my Lord of Southampton commanded us to march towards our army, and having passed the Four Mile Water, the Marshal came with order from my Lord Deputy, commanding us to continue our march towards the Newry. By which time the enemy, being repulsed in all places to their great loss, had no desire to come to any second charge. In which conflict there were slain two soldiers, Captain Adderton [and] Mr. Chute shot, and four more hurt with the sword." Copy. pp. 2.

May 21. **52.** Depositions by Edward Taaffe and Thomas Stanton.

(a.) "John Taaffe, of Rosmecheo in the county of Louth, made an escape from Tyrone, the 16th May last, being Friday. During his imprisonment with the said Tyrone, saith, and is ready to prove the same, that he saw Patrick McMahon, one of Sir William Warren his men, with the Earl of Tyrone; and the said John did ask him what business he had with the said Earl. He said he was sent by Sir William Warren's lady to the Earl. And this he spake in my house the 21st of May. And further he saith that he saw Sir Garrett Moore his messenger with Tyrone, whose name was Hollowood (*sic*), the week before he went to Munster; and upon the said Tyrone's return homewards to his country, he saw the same messenger again with him. This was written the 21st of May, 1600." *Signed by Edward Taaffe. p. ½.*

(b.) Edmund March was hanged at Ardee for taking his horseman's staff from Harry Hagan, being his proper goods. The contrary was informed by the Moores and Warrens to Essex, and and he thereupon was executed in the harvest, 1599. He was Ross Bane McMahon his chiefest man that he did account of; and thus caused him to go into rebellion again." *Signed by Thomas Stanton. p. ½.*

May 21. **53.** Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. Gives notice
Carrickfergus. of intelligence that comes to him by spials, hoping to be excused, though every part prove not such as they report.

"The fleet and force for Lough Foyle departed hence on Monday, the 12th of this instant, with a fair wind, and, landing there shortly after, with small resistance they took Newcastle, belonging to Sir John O'Dogherty, and other places upon the mouth of the river, which country they have much spoiled and wasted. They sent forth certain forces to prey O'Donnell, with whom they fought, but, being seconded by the rest of our army, they brought some cows, having some killing of both sides. They are now at the Derry and near it, settling their plantation. Sir Art O'Neill, purposing to come to our fortress, was waited for upon the way by Cormack McBaron. Some spies say he was there slain, others that he escaped with the loss of 24 horses; and this is more likely. Others say that Tyrone sought treacherously to betray him upon a word. Sure it is they are doubtful of him, and his desire is to come to Her Majesty, and can effect much of this business, being countenanced. O'Donnell hath taken O'Dogherty by the neck, fearing him; and another spy,

1600.

come unto me since the beginning of these letters, saith that our men are entrenched at Port Culmore, where they have drawn the sea round about them. Tyrone himself is busied with my Lord Deputy, who is advanced so far as Armagh, and there hath been fight betwixt them, in which Tyrone hath lost some of his best esteemed followers, O'Hagans and others. They fly from our greater forces, and retire themselves to their "fastnadge," and places farthest from garrisons, knowing, when the forces are withdrawn, the country will be as free for him as formerly, and never will fight but upon their holds, which is not without danger unto us, and a cause of our often receiving the worst. It is our continual abiding near them that must undo them, and a million of swords will not do them so much harm as one winter's famine. Tyrone hath sent for all his assistants; few come unto him; every man looks to himself. These plantation and forces being well maintained, and kept in heart, will bring forth good success, God favouring our attempts.

"I have here driven my neighbours far from me, and must now seek them in their woods, some of which they have already abandoned. If I might be allowed some means from Her Majesty for such as would resort unto me, and are enemies of force against their wills, I should think to bring these parts to quiet shortly. I am of opinion that the Scot James McSorley, would fain be drawn to Her Majesty, but, doubting that I seek a revenge for the death of my brother, keeps himself far off. My Lord Deputy is acquainted with my doings to free myself from that suggestion, for I beseech your Honour to think that no particular cause of my own shall ever carry me to the hindrance of Her Majesty's peace and quiet. As I am bound unto your Honour, so I refer myself to be ever commanded by you, and humbly entreat to be excused for what I have written, for I know it not all to be truth, and I have done it in haste. Such as I can learn, I will from time to time advertise as I have opportunity."—Knockfergus, 1600, May 22. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 22.
Carrickfergus.

54. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "I know you desire to understand the news of these parts, and it is true I owe you greater services than the writing of a few lines, bound thereto by your kind deservings, and you shall find me ready to acknowledge it in whatsoever you shall have cause to use me." Departure of the fleet on the 12th. Arrival at Lough Foyle. Wasting of Sir John O'Dogherty's country. Being drawn by McSwyne, 1,500 of them went towards O'Donnell's country, where they were charged by O'Donnell's men, but rescued by the rest of the army. Loss on both sides. They are now planting about the Derry. Sir Art O'Neill and Cormack McBaron. Assured of the landing of the troops.

"I have, in my general letters to my Lord Deputy and Council, sent you notice how far I have proceeded with the Scots and others. I think, if I had Shane McBrian assured, to weary the rest quickly, but little can be done here with violence. I have sent you [*wanting*] the copies of my letters, and Sir James his answer, which I pray you to show to my lord, together with those which I have written to

1600.

the Lord of Cantire. I beseech you to further this business, as you shall think it worthy." Asks for a warrant for his doings touching Angus McConnell.—Knockfergus, 1600, May 22. *Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.

May 22.
Limerick.

55. Elizabeth Cambell to Dean Cambell of Limerick. "Dear husband, I have received your letters sent by the ships that brought Her Majesty's victuals. I received other letters before Dublin, certifying the sorrowful news contained in yours, which renewed my grief for the same, and yet comforted me greatly, for that they signify your health. I hope you have received before this letters sent into Scotland by your man Douglas, who is come home from Spain; and as for my departure herehence in any shipping till you return hither, I mean not, God willing; and therefore expect it not. But I beseech you hasten your journey hither with as convenient speed as you may possibly, which God grant may be shortly and safely; and so I end, till I have occasion to write more news, for the ship arrived here but this day, and as yet I have not received anything but the letters, praying for the continuance of your health to the Almighty, to whose everlasting tuition I commend you with heartiest commendations. In haste, Limerick, the 22nd of May, 1600. Your loving wife, Elizabeth Cambell." [*Postscript.*] "Your worship[']s poor assured friend to command and your substitute, Winter Bridgeman, heartily commendeth him unto you." *Addressed*:—"To the worshipful Mr. Dennis Cambell, Dean of the Cathedral Church of Limerick, in England or Scotland cause these to be delivered." *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 23.
Cork.

56. Sir Richard Percy to Sir Robert Cecil. For payment of his entertainment during the time of his being in England. Was detained longer than his license warranted, by unexpected business importing his private estate. The Treasurer in Ireland cannot pay without special authority.—Cork, 1600, May 23. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 24.
Derry.

57. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "After my departure from Knockfergus (Right Honourable), whereof I then advertised your Lordships, within three days I arrived in the haven of Lough Foyle, being for the most part calmed by the fairness of the weather all the way. On the 15th of this month, I put the forces on shore, upon a head of land called Kylmoore [Culmore], the most commodiously seated (in my opinion) of any that ever I saw for guarding the river, and a place that, had the enemy we have to deal withal known the importance of, or any other enemy of better judgment and force but once possessed, it would have been a hard matter to have planted any garrison in these parts; as I think your Honour may partly discover by the card and seat thereof. There were lodged in it some 40 men, that stood up and made a show to impeach our landing, but they only gave us a volley of shot, and that without any manner [of] hurt to us, and so betook them to their heels. At the entering into the Bay, I had twice run aground with the greatest part of all the fleet, and so stuck fast for the space

1600.

of two tides, which made me distrustful of the navigableness of the river, whatsoever had been reported before. But indeed it seemed afterward it was but mere error of the pilots, and the river, as I discover it more and more, one of the fairest and fittest for navigation of any, not only in all Ireland, but of most countries that I have seen. Immediately upon my landing I betook myself to building of a fort, the face whereof I only traced, and yet in respect of the rebel, with whom we have yet only to deal, raised it strong enough to be defended with 500 men, and, being finished as I purpose within one month, it shall be guardable with 40; the whole circuit of the ground being capable of 1,000, which may at any time be conveniently lodged in it, or a town for fishers or other people, that may have occasion to trade there, builded proportionably. I had, before my coming from Knockfergus, dispatched away three spies for discovering of the rebel's courses, and expected to have met with them immediately upon my landing, but not one of them that I can hear a word of. Two others I employed again after them but of them also neither returned; so that I was held a good while in suspense (or rather in mere ignorance) where the enemy was, and what they intended; till in the end I received a letter from Sir Arthur O'Neill, that informed me of Tyrone's attempts only upon him, and earnestly desired me to hasten toward him to Dunalong, where he would not fail to meet with me. I was somewhat jealous at first of the fidelity of the message, yet in the end by circumstances perceived manifestly there was no fraud; and therefore, leaving a garrison in the fort at Kylmore of 700 men, to make it the surer, I took the rest, and by land marched to the Derry, where I am set down with a resolution to plant and settle, and informed him thereof, that he might repair unto me, being as commodious a place for him to do so as Dunalong, and more fit for me, in respect that Dunalong, as I am informed, is a ground of small scope and but moist and unwholesome to build upon. So that, within these two days, I expect to see him accordingly.

"At my lying at Kylmore, I received a letter from Sir John O'Dogherty, wherein he desired to speak with Captain Thornton and McSwyne Ne Doe, whom for that purpose I sent unto him, guarded with 1,000 men; and accompanying them myself, about three miles from our camp we met him; and after a little speech with Captain Willis and McSwyne Ne Doe (for him I sent first in the place of Captain Thornton because of his language), he desired to speak with me, and I yielded to his request. His demands or offers were nothing, for he only told me that his goods and pledges were in O'Donnell's hands, and to him he had passed his word, and to him he would be true. Another manner of tale, I think, he desired to have told, but durst not, for fear of one Hugh Boy, a creature of O'Donnell's, that was in his company, and, but in his hearing, would not suffer him to speak. I told him Her Majesty's pleasure was, out of her gracious and princely clemency, that such as would truly and sincerely return to their due obedience, should be more favourably dealt withal than in any reason (the heinousness of their rebellion thoroughly considered) themselves could expect. But if it were so that he had, whether wilfully or for want of due

1600.

circumspection, given himself into the hands of a rebel, and out of his own power to become a subject, I could not esteem him worthy of favour, but must proceed to turning him out of his country. But, if he would come in with his followers and give me good security for his loyalty, I could easily with his own help recover his goods from O'Donnell, and would upon just reason employ the forces thereunto, when occasion might serve. He desired leave to respite his answer till the next day [at] noon, and licence for a messenger to bring me the same; which I granted, and so parted, having from that time till now (being a sennight ago) heard no more from him. And this, in effect, is the sum of all our proceedings to this hour, having, without blow striking, attained as much as was, I think, expected at first with much difficulty. O'Donnell lieth yet near unto us, and yesterday had thrust down of his men into a coppice ground hard by our quarter, when our soldiers were busy cutting of boughs for their cabins; but I had provided a strong guard that maintained the beginning of the fight, and afterwards supplied them again with fresh men, that did all acquit themselves so well as, after two hours' fight, the rebel was glad to be gone, with loss of some twenty of their men dead in the place, beside their hurt, which by all appearance could not but be very many. Of ours, we had only three killed outright, and four hurt. The numbers they had brought down to maintain the skirmish seemed to be some four or five hundred, backed, as I think, with their main force, whom we might easily have chased, had it not been for the difficulties and advantage of the ground, of which beside we were merely ignorant for want of guides.

"The business I have now in hand is to dispatch away Sir Matthew Morgan for Ballyshannon, whose defects for performing the journey I did long since foresee, and now daily more and more discover, and could therefore have wished his forces might have been joined to these, till either a new preparation might be made, especially in victual, or else that he might have been conveyed to the place by land, which I am of opinion might better have been done than by sea; but neither I could adventure, nor durst presume to alter the course determined by your Lordships, nor in him found any conformity thereunto, and therefore do impart unto him as much aid as possibly I can, not prejudicing mine own charge, having of my men spared him 1,500. Till whose return, the greatest service I can foresee we shall be able to do, will be to build up these two places (especially this where we are seated) with storehouses, guesthouses, and such other business as must of necessity be provided for against winter. At their departure, I will see them mustered; and then, both of them that go and these that remain, your Lordships shall be particularly informed of the strength; for doing whereof, though in many respects it were requisite to be done before this, and hath been required, yet I have not seen any manner [of] opportunity, the loss whereof turneth in the mean time only to the Captain and not to the Queen, which I thought better they should sustain, than of a time so precious, and of a business so necessary to be dispatched without delay, to waste one day. But I assure your Lordship the men do yet hold exceeding well up in health, and that much better than I could have expected."

1600.

Acquainted their Lordships in his last letter how the victual was employed, and for what time it was likely to continue. Is forced to supply out of the store the mariners that go to Ballyshannon. Usefulness of the two crompters both in the river and for the sea.

“For the means of victualling this garrison I have conferred with many, and bethought myself much. From Scotland, Chester, Bristol, London, Dublin, many have offered to come and traffic, but with none of them could I grow to any certainty (saving with a merchant of Chester only for 200 tun of beer, by my Lord Treasurer’s warrant). For other sort of victual, I doubt a fit proportion for so great a number will hardly be brought, nor do I think it good we should put ourselves upon the hazard; and therefore, with the advice of Mr. Travers, a man experienced in these kind of matters, I have thought good humbly to desire that some proportion of meal only and butter may be provided against this we have already shall be out. Those two sorts we rather desire than any other, for that by experience we find both cheese and baked bread (though it be into biscuit) to waste and decay exceedingly. For corn we have no means to grind it; for fish or flesh we may boldly adventure upon the hazard of getting it in the country, so soon as we shall be settled, and have gotten guides to lead us abroad.

“For the benefit the planting of this garrison is likely to afford to Her Majesty, though I acknowledge mine own judgment too weak to enter far into a matter so subtle and of so many considerations, yet in discharge of part of my duty, and under correction of a clearer foresight, I would not omit to speak a little of my opinion, which is this. The strength of this war consisteth in the men, and the means they be maintained by is only their cattle and corn. To destroy either of these must therefore all our counsels be bended. For the men it is hard (or rather impossible) to lay hold on them to any purpose; but what may be done must, as I think, be done in the dead of the winter, when they must be forced by the sharpness of the weather to keep themselves settled in some place or other; from which being raised, they cannot easily provide themselves again, neither have they covert at that time of year to hide themselves from us; so that, having once got good espial, I am of mind that in that season much service may be done upon their persons, and at any other time nought. For their cattle, though they may have many means to keep them from us all the year long, yet by good spial we may at all seasons be working and doing good in that nature. Their corn must needs be destroyed, either in the harvest when it is ripe, or, at the season when they should sow it, by hindering them from the same; so that the beginning of the spring, the harvest, and the dead of winter, are, in my opinion, the seasons of the year wherein the war must chiefly be followed; and therefore the time of our plantation not unseasonable that falleth in neither, but giveth us commodity of first settling ourselves, and inuring our men’s bodies to the country; so that, when the harvest cometh, we may be provided of forces fit and convenient for such a service. Which I speak in respect of those men that are sent away to Ballyshannon, that by their return cannot but be much decayed in their numbers and weakened in their bodies;

1600.

and therefore that your Lordships may be pleased against that time to provide a supply of some 500 men, which, coming over about that time the others come home, may be employed to singular good use in making up of the companies; and amongst them, if also it may stand with your honourable liking, that a special regard may be had to send smiths, masons, carpenters, saddlers, and coopers, of whom we begin already to stand in want, and especially of the two last, that were not provided in the former levy, but only a very few hired by some one particular Captain, and those already decayed, and not now to be found. These supplies and the victual may, if your Lordships be pleased, come very conveniently together; and, if with them also we might be furnished with a punt for transporting our horses from one side of the river to the other, it could not but very much advantage us upon many occasions of service. Wherein I submit myself wholly to your Lordships' wisdoms, from whom I shall attend further directions, and according to the same in every point conform my proceedings."—The Derry, 1600, May 24.

[*Postscript.*] "Because your Lordships may perhaps think it strange that I demand a punt, considering the barges which I am already provided of, that may seem to be able to serve that turn, I thought good to add thus much to the former, in answer to that objection. There are of them three, where six were intended. Their building is exceeding weak, and such as I fear they will not last above this one winter. They are high-built, and almost unprofitable by reason thereof for landing of foot, much more for horse. One of them I send with Sir Matthew Morgan to continue with him; another with Sir John Bowles, which is to return; the third only I keep to myself, and the greatest use I shall be able to make thereof will be for fishing, and fetching of wood." *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the first of June. *Holograph.* pp. 7½.

May 24.
Kilmallock.

58. [Meyler Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since I wrote the last letter unto you from Waterford, of which I received no answer as yet, I had not such opportunity or causes to write as now I have. And first, in general, your Honour shall understand that at the first coming of *Sir George Carew* to *Munster*, the whole province was so greatly altered, as well by the sudden change happened to [the] *Lord of Ormonde*, as by the relics that *Tyrone* left there, that by many it was thought impossible for any to qualify the distemper thereof without long time, great change, trouble, and danger. Yet, God be thanked, the matter was so well and wisely handled, that as well the enemy and the dissembling subjects hath been deceived in their hope, and frustrated as yet in their expectation, so the true subjects were comforted and relieved very much in a short time; that after leaving good order for repressing and banishing the enemy from annoying the subjects as they were wont in the heart and borders adjoining to civil places, a general journey towards the accustomed places of abiding of the *rebels* was taken, and is now followed in *Munster* in such a sort as, after that many of the *traitor's* chieftains had freely offered their submission, the rest had fled to high

1600.

mountains, thick woods, and deep bogs; so that from the first day of this journey to the present, good success was had, and so still, with God's assistance, are we like to have. And as concerning Cather Castle, which is now lost the 22nd of this month by very negligence of the ward, I am persuaded that the losing thereof shall not prove to be so hurtful as the first getting of it was chargeable to *Her Majesty*. I am witness myself that *Sir George Carew* hath appointed 33 men for the keeping of it, with two months' victuals, and a strait order for their further relief as occasion should require; although in my knowledge twelve might suffice to keep the same against all the *rebels* of *Ireland*. And although it was negligently lost, yet I suppose it to be less chargeable than to keep it still as it was since his first taking. And for the matter wherein the *Archbishop of Cashel* was employed, I hope in God to have a full perfection therein shortly; for *Derby O'Connor* seemed to be ready to give *James Fitz Thomas* to *Sir George*, if *James of Desmond* were once in *Ireland*, and some little formality of conditions yielded to the barbarous suspicious people, over and besides the contents of the first articles, which I do wish your Honour to will *Sir George* to grant, as in discretion shall be thought fit and necessary. And for myself, being unable to follow the same 628 [*undeciphered*; ? employment] any more for lack of maintenance to bear my charges, I beseech your Honour, if the matter be not ended before your next letters, to discharge me from attending it; and to appoint to me to whom I shall deliver such writings as I have concerning the same." —Kilmallock, 1600, May 24.—Signed, "1070"; and underneath, "George Smythe." Endorsed:—Received the 25 June. Archbishop of Cashel to my master. *The words in the letter in italics are in cipher deciphered.* Seal. p. 1.

May 25.
Derry.

59. Captain Humphrey Willis to Symon Willis. "I could not but write in a few words unto you, acquainting you with the success we have had since our coming into this harbour, both in our landing first at Culmore without any resistance, and, secondly, of our coming to the Derry by land, and possessing the place, likewise quietly. We have not seen above 700 of the enemy, foot and horse, since our coming, only O'Dogherty, who desired to speak with me. So I met him on horseback in company with our chief commander; and after some idle talk found him very firm in show to O'Donnell, and so far engaged unto him by his pledges, goods, and promise, that he knew not in what sort to withdraw to free himself. Yet, when we are thoroughly settled here, I think he will return. If he be taken, we have had some messengers from Sir Arthur O'Neill, signifying his coming to us, but he desires we should draw further up the river, near Strabane. One day, since our coming to the Derry, the enemy had possessed the wood before us, where our men were to fetch wood; and I assure you our men beat them very well from off the wood, and killed some twelve of them, with the loss of two of our men.

"I have sent you hereinclosed the whole discourse of our journey since we came from Chester, which I pray you deliver your master from me; if you think it fit to be sealed, you may, and deliver it to

1600.

his Honour, I pray you, and tell his Honour that I will from time to time send a true discourse of all our own proceedings. I did write unto you from Chester by Captain Hart, but never had any answer of my letters. We have some five companies here of foot, trusting to Lieutenants. It was promised no Captain should hold his company, unless he were present. Here are absent, Sir John Pooley, Captain Kingsmill, Captain Roper, Captain Bassett, and Captain Plunket. I have my Lord Deputy's warrant for a 150 of the first that shall fall, which will be I know not when. I would I had your Master's letter to the Governor here, that I might not be put off then; for he hath many of his own friends to prefer, and, since my Lord Deputy's coming into this kingdom, there hath been many captains made. I might have been remembered for one, but I will say little until I hear from you by this bearer.

"Sir Matthew Morgan shall be sent away by the last of this month with his own regiment and Sir John Bowles' regiment for Ballyshannon."

Thanks for all kind favours. Sends commendations to "all the honest gentlemen in" his cousin's house.—Derry, 1600, May 25. Addressed:—"To my very loving cousin, Mr. Symon Willis, secretary to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, at the Court." Signed. Seals. pp. 1½.

Encloses:—

59. i. "*The discourse of our journey to Lough Foyle from Chester, the 22nd of April, 1600.*"

"*Inprimis, we shipped at Neston, Hilbree, Liverpool, and other the adjoining harbours, the 22nd of April, with a fair wind, east north east. The 24th at 12 of the clock at noon the wind came up well at east, and we fell down, and anchored by Hilbree, to gather the rest of our fleet. The wind continued well all night, until the 25th at 11 o'clock. Then, when we had weighed anchor, it fell to the west till three, then came about again with a great shower to the east south east, and we set sail. Towards evening it hovered, and some calm; at nine at night a little gale at north north east, and all the night a little wind, but calm for the most part.*

"*The 26th, a little wind at east the forenoon; afternoon, a small gale at east north east. At 12 of [the] clock in [the] night, we passed the Calf of Man, where lieth a great rock, half a mile into the sea. The 27th, the wind somewhat high at east north east; at 12 of the clock we did anchor at Copland Islands, and there stayed until five o'clock afternoon; and then we set sail with a little gale of wind, and came to Carrickfergus. At nine in the night there, a fly-boat laden with munition and a bark came in with Captain Heath's company. The 4th of May, afternoon, with a fair wind; the 5th the wind wavering, at 6 of the clock in the afternoon came well at south-east. The 6th, in the morning, at 9 of [the] clock, the fleet came in from Dublin with a stiff gale of wind. The day and night following, a fair wind for Lough Foyle; the 7th, a fair wind also for Lough Foyle. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, a fair wind for Lough Foyle, until two of the clock in the afternoon. Then the wind came up to west north west. The 12th, the wind at north*

1600

- north east, at 6 of the clock afternoon ; then we weighed anchor and set sail. At 9 at night, the wind came up at north.
- “ Our fleet (being 69 sail) was divided into three squadrons [‘squadrautes’]. The Moon, wherein the chief commander went, had the vanguard ; Sir Matthew Morgan, the battle ; Sir John Bolles, the rear guard.
- “ We did anchor at Mr. Geye’s castle the 13th, at three of the clock in the morning. At six o’clock in the afternoon, we began to set sail again with a very little gale of wind at east south east. Note, there is a rock directly out from Olderfleet some league, where we sounded, and some of our ships found but five fathom water. All the day the wind continued a little gale at east south east ; in the night a calm. The 14th day, the wind came up a little gale at east north east. At 12 of the clock afore noon, we came into the bay of Lough Foyle. Then the wind blew a strong gale, as fair as might be, for our fleet to come up. Some small troops of the enemy in O’Dogherty’s side did coast us, and burnt their dwellings next adjoining the Lough. We did anchor at six in the afternoon, five miles short of Culmore, where some of our ships were aground for want of good pilots. At night following, the enemy fell out on the shore side several small watches for a show.
- “ During our anchoring there, a pinnace was sent ashore two several times, and did talk with the enemy.
- “ We landed at Culmore the 15th. The wind continued very fair, and our ships were sometimes aground for want of good pilots. In the morning I came aboard Sir Henry Dockwra, and did assure him we were not in the right channel. Then we found out the channel, and had four fathom water, and came up close by the castle of Culmore. There the enemy, some forty, delivered 20 shot, not hurting any man, and so departed. We landed our men by regiments at 12 of the clock, and presently took in a piece of ground, and began a fort. In the afternoon, the general took horse, and with 100 horse and 400 foot went up to the hill near a mile from the fort, and saw some few of the enemy, but no skirmish.
- “ The 16th, our men were set to work again. In the morning, some went into the country, scattering some two miles, and brought in garrans ‘stoudd,’ corn forage, and many other things, without resistance. At ten of the clock there was sent abroad to look into the country, 1,000 foot and 100 horse. We marched to the castle of Ellaughe, O’Dogherty’s chief house, and there finding it broken in some part, all the town burnt and by them quitted, it was determined that a ward should be left in it ; but that resolution held not, in regard there was no direction to that purpose given from the Governor ; so in the afternoon it was agreed to draw home. At our being there, the enemy came down a hill, some 500 foot and 100 horse in our opinions, and we stayed for them until they came in near us, horse and foot. So skirmish on both sides was entertained. The first shot, one of their principal horses had his leg broken. After we had some light skirmish between us, as we marched, and little hurt done of each side, we came to our camp at five of the clock.

1600.

“The 17th, upon a letter that came from O’Dogherty, the Governor drew out to meet him, to parley with him, these troops, 100 horse, 500 foot; Sir John Bolles, with 500 foot for a second; Sir Matthew Morgan, with 1,000 foot for a third. We met with O’Dogherty two miles from our camp, with some 40 horse and 200 foot, where the Governor, McSwyne Ne Doe, and myself, had parley with O’Dogherty and two others in private the space of one hour; but we found him so bridled by O’Donnell, as indeed he could not do that of himself which with willingness he made show of.

“The 18th, some six of our men, straggling in the country, were slain by the enemy. In the night they came on Tyrone’s side, and gave us some forty shot into our camp. The 19th, two serjeants, going to fetch wood for cabins with sixty soldiers, and being charged but with thirty foot and six horse, our men most cowardly ran away. Four soldiers more were lost that day straggling, and some arms besides.

“The 22nd, we came to the Derry, leaving at Culmore 700 men. We had no skirmish by the way. The 23rd, our men went to the wood, where the enemy fell down with them, and did entertain skirmish for two hours. There were twelve of them slain, and two of our men. Our men beat them out of the wood, and served very well.” Unsigned. pp. 2½.

May 26.
Derry.

60. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. “After I had written my letter to the Lords, the bruit came to be thrown abroad of our purpose for setting forth a journey to Ballyshannon; and thereupon first a muttering amongst the masters of the ships, complaining for want of victual and pilots, so that I was driven to fall into conference with the chief of them about the matter. They had no colour of excuse, but upon those two wants.”

Details of the conference. The supplies he granted to them. “Nevertheless, when I shall have yielded them all this, I am very doubtful whether they will yet undertake the journey or no, without compulsion and some trouble. Pilots can yet be found but two; but I have caused diligent enquiry to be made for as many as may be found in the fleet, and they shall be commanded to go. If yet the journey be broken by their wilfulness, or other necessary cause of staying here (for I must of necessity make the quarter where I am set down guardable with those men I keep, before I let the other 1,500 go), I doubt not but my endeavours shall sufficiently excuse me of all manner blame for mine own part. And surely I am of opinion that the taking in of the Strabane and divers little castles, which are held hereabout, whereby the passage between Tyrone and O’Donnell may be stopped, and the whole country of Enishowen wasted by setting some garrisons between us and the Lough Swilly, that the service of Ballyshannon would very near be recompensed; which cannot [be] performed till the men I send to Ballyshannon return. But therein I submit myself to better judgment, and truly protest that neither I have willingly or wittingly laid any manner impediment to this journey, nor will adventure out of mine own head to proceed contrary to the resolution taken by those that have

1600.

better judgment, and absolute power to command me.”—Derry, 1600, May 26.

[*Postscript.*] “I have caused a muster to be taken, since the writing of my letter to the Lords, upon the importunate suit of the Captains. It is fully finished, but the books not made up. I have required the state in general of the Commissioners. It is a work of not above a quarter of an hour’s labour, and they are gone about it, but they come not with it; and, the wind and tide serving fit to put forth, and many ships already gone, that are discharged, I thought it not good for the same to stay the making up of my letter any longer.” *Holograph. Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the first of June. *pp.* 3.

May 26. **61.** Book of weekly certificates respecting the garrison at Newry, from 29 April to 26 May, 1600. *Signed by* Henry Bird, Commissary. *pp.* 6.

May 26. **62.** “A note of such letters and other papers as were delivered to my hands by Mr. Secretary.” *The list includes Nos.* 41, 42, 43, 47, 50, 57 and 60 above, and others, between 19 and 26 May, [1600, May 26]. *pp.* 1½.

May 27. **63.** The Council in Ireland to the Privy Council. “Since the Dublin. Lord Deputy’s departure to Tredagh, being the 5th of this month, and so to the Newry, we have deferred to write to your Lordships, expecting still to hear out of the north, where lay the most occasions of advertisements. And now, his Lordship having written to us two days past, both of his passage over the fastness of the Moyerie, between Dundalk and the Newry, and of his further proceedings since his coming into Ulster, we are bold to send the double of his letter to your Lordships, for that in it is represented a particular narration of all things that have passed in those parts, since his Lordship’s going from hence. Only concerning the landing of Her Majesty’s forces at Lough Foyle, touched in one branch of his Lordship’s letter, some of us have received a confirmation of that advertisement, both from the Governor of Knockfergus, and by some other means out of the north, whereby we have reason to be out of doubt that that army is landed, and are now working to plant at the Derry.

“Since his Lordship passed over the Moyerie, the rebels of Leinster, using the advantage of the absence of the forces attending his Lordship into the north, have made great gatherings of men and victuals, and have broken into the Pale with great violence; where, in the county of Meath, not far from Trim, they have burned sundry villages, swooped away much of the subjects’ goods, and brake into Athboy, being a corporate town, which they set on fire in one part, but were repulsed out again by the valour of the inhabitants. And in Westmeath they attempted Mullingar, another port town of good quality, where they break down the gaol, and set at liberty all the prisoners. Against these violences there was little or no resistance made by the country,

1600.

notwithstanding the diligence used by the Sheriff to call them out, and our frequent letters written particularly to the noblemen and chief gentlemen to forewarn them of these preparations, and to require them to gather the forces of the country, to make a common defence against so common a danger. But all prevailed not, such was their backwardness, pretending (as it seemeth) that it was enough for them to guard their own castles, leaving thereby their tenants and neighbours to the spoil of the rebels. They pretend, likewise, the poor estate of their country, and want of means to make defence. But for our parts, we think this backwardness hath another root, namely, that most of them are over far gone with a popish zeal to their Catholic cause (as they term it), wherein their Jesuits and priests have so far poisoned most of them, as they hold it a danger of damnation to do anything to impeach the proceedings of that Catholic cause. In the county of Dublin, the traitors on that side are so busy to use violence upon the subjects, where they can get way, spoiling them of their cattle within two miles of the city, and plotting, as we understand, to attempt to burn some of the suburbs of the city, against which we have put in arms the citizens, and do still give them the best advice and direction we can, to use a strong defence, whereunto we find the city far more willing and pliable than the country. And yet the Lord of Howth, to whom the Lord Deputy left the charge of the whole county of Dublin in his absence, and who, for his own person, we find very forward, hath, with the consent of the residue of the gentlemen, agreed to raise a holding of 500 men for defence of the country, the same to continue for twenty days, at the charges of the country, conditionally that the State will dispense with them for their general hosting this year; to the which we have assented, having no other way to raise a present defence for the country. And we wish that, by their example, the county of Meath and the other shires of the Pale would be drawn to do the like. By which course we might hope that these strengths of the country (joining faithfully with such of Her Majesty's forces as are in the Pale, and all commanded by Sir Henry Power, whom the Lord Deputy hath constituted Colonel-General of the forces in Leinster in his absence), there might be some better defence made against the rage of these rebels, that so dangerously environ the Pale on all sides, until the Lord Deputy shall return, or send back some of the companies remaining with his Lordship, to put on foot a stronger prosecution in Leinster. Thus much we make bold to acquaint your Lordships with the staggering estate of this poor portion of the English Pale, which we may doubt will not grow to better, but by the help of a greater force to be specially assigned for the preservation of it, and the recovering of Leinster; a matter which we fear will hardly be done without some further help of men out of England, considering that Her Majesty's main army, as it now consisteth of 14,000 foot, is distracted into many several parts of the realm, which of good reason and necessity require so many numbers as are assigned to every place. But of this we forbear to give particular advice, but do leave the same to the further consideration of the

1600

Lord Deputy, who, by the small time he hath spent in the government, seeth at eye what is the main strength of the rebels, divided into several parts, and the many distractions of the enemy to answer every part, and is best able to judge what further supply of force is requisite for the speedy passing through of this war; being still inwardly grieved, for our parts, to see Her Majesty drawn on to excessive charges by the still increasing of this monstrous rebellion.

"Touching Munster, we have little to write to your Lordships from thence, for that we have not heard from the Lord President of any of his proceedings in those affairs, since he entered into charge; which maketh us think that he taketh his course to certify your Lordships more amply by some other way. And for Connaught, we must say the like, not having received any advertisement from the Lord Dunkellin, nor that Council, since the Lord Deputy's departing northwards. The treasure arrived here seven days past, which I, the Treasurer, am now about to cast into dividend, to answer every part, as far as it will go; and by my next your Lordships shall receive from me a perfect certificate of the distribution, issue, and remain, if any do remain, humbly beseeching your Lordships that we may be timely supplied with more, for that service is now on foot, which, if it should not be thoroughly countenanced with means, may hinder greatly the good event thereof.

"The Earl of Ormonde remaineth still at O'Dempsey's house, guarded by Onie McRory and his men, as he was; yet we hear this day of a flying rumour that he should be set at liberty upon pledges. But we dare not advertise it to your Lordships otherwise than a bruit, which hath no certain ground. Only we know assuredly that O'Dempsey himself is apparently declared against Her Majesty, and so are many other of the Irishry, which seemed hitherto to stand firm."—Dublin, 1600, May 27. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Enclose:—

63. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Sir R. Wingfield, and Sir F. Stafford, to the Council of Ireland.* "Before I make answer to your letters, I think it meet to give you a taste of my proceedings since my departure. On the 11th of this month, upon intelligence that the passage of the Moyerie was clear, I drew down hither with the forces of this garrison, which came to meet me, and with those of Dundalk. On the 14th, I, the Marshal, followed the Lord Deputy with those of Ardee and Kells. What hath been the fruit and success of this journey, may appear by this, that Tyrone, who before lay with his forces at Neuton, within six miles of Strabane, upon notice of my being at the Newry, rose presently, and on the 13th came to Dungannon, the 14th brake down the fort of Blackwater, and the next day drew to Longbrurkin, where yet he remaineth. On the 16th, I drew forth the troops within two or three miles of the place, partly to breathe them, partly also to try what stomach the rebel had to fight; but he would not move out of his strength. The 17th I sent a convoy for the Earl of Southampton and the Sergeant Major, who were come to Dundalk with the rest of the forces appointed for this service. Whereof Tyrone having intelligence, and thinking to take them at the advantage in their return through the Moyerie, drew all his forces thither, and, at their

1600.

entrance into the pass, his vanguard discovered themselves to the number of 300 foot and three-score horse, and charged our men hotly, with purpose, as it seemeth, to entertain them in skirmish till the rest of their forces, which were in the woods adjoining, might fall down upon them. I think it meet to yield the due commendation of valour, both in general to our soldiers in this service, and in particular to the Earl and Sergeant Major, of whom the one with some six or seven horse charged the enemy's horse, being so far above him in number, and the Sergeant-Major ran, with his own colours in his hand, where he saw our foot somewhat distressed, and led on his men to their seconds. Yet although the vanguard of the rebels were thus repulsed, it is not unlikely but their main forces, falling down out of the woods, would have tried our men thoroughly, had it not been that Tyrone perceived that I was come to the other side of the pass with the rest of the army, and the vanguard of those troops I brought already in skirmish. For suspecting that which happened, I had sent my Lord of Southampton word, that by two of the clock I would meet him beyond the causey, of the which the whole pass hath the name of the Moyerie. This did not only stay Tyrone from proceeding any further, but also, as since I have understood, drave him home to his strength again in haste, with fear and disorder, insomuch as some of his men, as I am informed, died by the way for very travail. On our part were slain but two common soldiers, and some six hurt, among whom none of note but Captain Aderton, the Earl's lieutenant, and Mr. Chute; of the enemy's, three principal horsemen slain, some foot, and divers others hurt. Thus we have gained these two points, most material, as I suppose, for the service; first, the diversion of Tyrone from Lough Foyle, where, as I understand out of his camp, but not as yet by any certain intelligence from Sir H. Dockwra, our men are landed, and have already spoiled O'Cahan's country, and settled about the Derry; the second, an encouragement and heartening of our soldiers by this good success, when they find themselves able to encounter the rebel, even where himself did most desire, being one of the greatest strengths he hath in Ireland.

“Now concerning the letters I received from your Lordship and the rest, I am sorry that, with those forces which are left me for defence of the Pale and for this northern service, I am not able to answer all occasions. But I was in good hope that, having left behind me in those parts above a thousand foot and towards an hundred horse, they together with the rising out of the country might in mine absence have preserved the Pale from any great apparent spoil. And if there were in the gentlemen of the Pale that forwardness to defend themselves, as in the rebels to assault them, my hope therein would not be frustrate. Yet, for their farther supply, I have sent back the Marshal's company, both of horse and foot, which I was purposed to have drawn down hither; and I doubt not but a competent force may be raised for securing the Pale out of all these companies; the Earl of Kildare's, the Lord of Delvin's, the Marshal's, Sir James Fitz Piers', Sir Henry Harrington's, Sir Thomas

1600.

Loftus', Sir Thomas Wingfield's, Sir H. Warren's, Sir Francis Shaen's, and Lord Thomas Burgh's, being in the whole above 1,200 foot, and about an hundred horse; besides the forts of Leix and Offally guarded, the county of Kilkenny and those parts secured by the Earl's and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence's companies both of horse and foot, being four hundred of the one, and about threescore of the other; and lastly, a great part of the necessary wards of the Pale allowed out of these companies here. Now whether it were meet for me to abandon this service, being so important, and to draw back again into the Pale, or to diminish these forces by sending any thither, and thereby to make my abode here unprofitable, I leave to your considerations. For, howsoever it may seem that this army consisteth of about 3,000 men, yet if the necessary guards of those garrisons whereout it is drawn, and the wards belonging to them and to other places in the Pale allowed out of these troops, and lastly, the ordinary dead pays of each company, together with some sick men, be accounted, it will be found that the forces, which at any time I can draw into the field, will come short of two thousand; a small handful to effect any great matter, and to front Tyrone, who is now drawing together his great strength.

"For the government of the forces appointed for Leinster, I sent Sir Henry Power from Drogheda, even when I was coming hitherwards, supposing that I had left sufficient authority with your Lordship and the rest to establish him therein; the same being such and as ample as heretofore hath been given in like cases, and as your Lordship and the rest, to my understanding, did think sufficient; but now, perceiring the contrary, I have sent a commission to him accordingly."—Newry, 1600, May 22. [Postscript.] *"We pray your Lordship and the rest to have consideration of the soldiers' want of apparel, and to send it away with all speed for those of the Newry and Dundalk. For the rest, they may take some course hereafter to fetch their apparel from Dublin or Drogheda."* Endorsed:—"Received 26 ejusdem." Signed. pp. 3.

May 28.
Dublin.

64. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Received Sir Robert's letters of the 21st inst. Hopes by the next to understand his and the Lord Treasurer's pleasure touching the memorials sent to Sir Robert by Thomas Watson. Sends to the Lord Treasurer a book of the extraordinary charges, from the first arrival of the Lord Deputy until the 5th inst., when he departed for the north. The 4,000*l.* allowed per annum, and more, is already spent. The book does not include the 1,000*l.* allowed for Munster, nor the 500*l.* for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, nor the charges for the shipping conveying the soldiers and munition to Carrickfergus and Lough Foyle. These charges are paid but in part. "I beseech your Honour to consider that, my Lord being now in the field, there will be daily occasion of issuing out of money for extraordinaries; and whatsoever that will come unto, I know not, before his Lordship return; and therefore I humbly beseech your Honour there may be a further warrant granted, or otherwise the necessity of the service

1600.

will enforce me still to issue forth money without warrant, which may prove very perilous unto me.

“How the state of this ruinate kingdom standeth, your Honour may perceive by our general letter, and by the copies of the enclosed from my Lord Deputy. We stand in good assured hope that Her Majesty’s forces are landed at Lough Foyle, and that they are planting at the Derry. Hereinclosed I send your Honour Sir Arthur Chichester’s letter, which doth confirm most part of those intelligences I formerly sent to my Lord Treasurer, having the occasion to write unto his Lordship. But directly from Sir Henry Dockwra we have not heard sithence his departure from Knockfergus.”

The debt of 60*l.* due from one Walter Grant to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Cannot satisfy the same, without an order signifying Her Majesty’s pleasure. Captain Walter Grant, in Lord Burgh’s time, in the journey towards the Blackwater, took up for the relief of the army 212 beeves. For these he had a concordatum for 159*l.*, which the writer’s predecessor never paid. Since then the said Grant has been utterly spoiled by the rebels. He is indebted to Her Majesty in 60*l.*, and to Sir Geoffrey Fenton in the like sum. Prays for order to pay the concordatum.—“From my house by Dublin,” 1600, May 28. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the first of June. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

64. i. (a.) “*Extraordinaries granted by the Right Honourable the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, since the time of his Lordship’s government, as hereafter particularly may appear, to the 5th of May, 1600*”; with marginal notes, some by Sir Robert Cecil. pp. 6.

(b.) “*Charges of the fleet sent for Lough Foyle.*” pp. 3.

(c.) “*Imprests upon accounts made by Sir George Carey, knight, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, within the government of the Right Honourable the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of the said realm, as hereafter particularly may appear.*” pp. 2.

Among the items are the following:—

“George Darcy and George Gernon, for good service by them done in cutting off the head of Con McCollo, a notorious traitor, [ut] per concordatum datum xiiij^{to} Aprilis, 1600, patet. 100*l.*

“William Galeballie, being dangerously wounded at the late alarum raised by the rebels in the suburbs of Dublin, per concordatum datum ultimo Aprilis, 1600. 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

“David Floudd, an old servitor, being now licensed to go into England, for his relief, being not able to serve, per concordatum datum xxvij^{mo} Aprilis, 1600. 66*s.* 8*d.*

“Susanna Kinham, widow, late wife to the Lord Bishop of Kerry, in respect of her poverty and distress, the better to enable her to repair into England, [ut] per concordatum datum ultimo Aprilis, 1600, patet. 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*”

The ships mentioned in the fleet for Lough Foyle are, the “Swartrutter,” of Delft, in Holland; the “Susan”: the “Margarite, of the Peele of Fowdre”; the “Ellen,” of Liverpool; the “Curtelage,” of Chester; the “Peter,” of Drogheda;

1600.

the "Angel," of Hillbree; the "Honey," of Drogheda; the "Peter," of Dublin; and the "Elizabeth," of Dublin.
 "To Mr. Alderman Chamberlain, Alderman Weston, and James Warren, per warrant for erecting of the hospitals near Dublin, 150l."

64. ii. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir George Carey. "My spies have assured me of the safe arrival and landing of the forces at Lough Foyle, and they say that they have taken Newcastle upon the entrance of the river, which belonged to Sir John O'Dogherty, whose country they have spoiled; and 1,500 being sent upon a draught of McSwyne's, took good store of cows, and had the killing of some of O'Donnell's men. They are now at the Derry, settling their plantation; they found no great resistance. They hear that Sir Art O'Neill is slain by Cormack McBaron, who lay for him upon a strait, as he was to pass to our army; and other saith that Cormack took from him 24 horses, himself escaping. This is the news of my spies; if there be hereafter alteration, I pray excuse me; but sure I am they are quietly landed; of their doings I am uncertain.

"All my neighbours are so far withdrawn with their goods, and people, that I cannot do that I desire. I have some 'scambling' with them, which they like not; they must shortly return, or pine where they are. James McSorley, flying his creaghts and people from me to the other side the Bann, hath lost many cows and other goods, with divers people drowned in passage. Many men and cows do daily resort unto me, and we have under our commands once again more than formerly. I beseech you to give present order that we be supplied with some store of powder, whereof we have need, before other necessities come out of England. And we all are suitors unto you to be furnished with apparel, whereof the garrison hath great need. I beseech you to remember us in these things, which be our greatest wants for the present. When I hear more from the north, and more certainty, I will trouble you with longer letters. I am much indebted unto you, I acknowledge it, and you shall ever command me."—Knockfergus, [1600] May 21. "The fleet went hence the 12th." Holograph. p. 1.

May 28.
 Dublin.

65. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "One Udall being arrived here not long since out of England, came to my house and charged me that I should write to your Honour that Sir Christopher Blount, late Marshal here, was reconciled to the Pope at his last being in this land, and that your Honour should tell Udall so much. How untrue this is, your Honour knoweth best, to whom I never wrote of such a matter, and I know Udall dealeth most untruly, in saying you told him so much. I doubt not but by Udall's means this falsity may spread further to my hurt, both with Sir Christopher Blount and his far higher friends; against which danger I humbly beseech you be my defence, who can best justify me, for that you know me to be clear in this point. And I humbly beseech you that I may receive my justification from you by your next, for that then I will seek reason of Udall

1600.

here, if your Honour do not countermand me, to whom I will always obey, both in this and all other matters, how nearly soever they may touch me in credit or otherwise. Udall hath ill requited me, considering how long time I have borne him up here, upon sundry letters from Sir John Stanhope, charging me to preserve him from being arrested, for that he had to deal in some weighty services for Her Majesty; which I did perform, as Udall well knoweth, who otherwise had been laid up for his debts and other his misdemeanours. To your Honour I speak it in my wonted duty and love towards you, that such an instrument as Udall is, of a turbulent spirit and a mind corrupt, to be used in Her Majesty's causes, cannot but do hurt in this broken state; and therefore it were better he were restrained, or at least not countenanced as he is from thence, being a person hateful to the better sort and not trusted with the worse; a man altogether fashioned rather to increase the fire of the kingdom than to quench it. I humbly leave this matter to your Honour's handling, and that I may be cleared by your next letter, with your permission that I may either take my reason of Udall here, or to bury it."—Dublin, 1600, May 28. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 31.
Waterford.

66. Sir Nicholas Walsh to Sir Robert Cecil. "About the time of the last departure of the Lord President of Munster from Cork, viz., on the 23rd of May, his Lordship wished me to appoint some such instrument among the inhabitants of this city of Waterford, for intelligence to be had from the Court of Spain, as I should find most fit, and to that end consented to my coming hither. I am therefore to let your Honour to understand that I have made special choice of Patrick Strang, a merchant of Waterford, whom I always found to have been faithful to the State, and of very meet parts for such a service, as well in respect of his acquaintance there, as also because he hath of late received very hard measure in that Court; whom your Honour may instruct as to your high wisdom shall be thought most meet."—Waterford, 1600, May 31. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May.

67. "A brief of the summer apparel delivered to the companies in Munster, in May, 1600." *Signed by Commissary William Jones.* One sheet.

June [1].
The Moyerie.

68. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. In the letter sent to the Privy Council by Lord Mountjoy and those of the Council with him in the wars, is related both what has been propounded and disputed of for advancing Her Majesty's service, and what is thought for the present most convenient, and so resolved upon forthwith to be put in execution.

Sir Robert, in his letter to Lord Mountjoy, was pleased to say that, if Sir Samuel Bagenall were to quit the government of the Newry, he would recommend Sir Francis to the command of that place. Lord Mountjoy was most desirous to satisfy Sir Robert,

1600.

and assured Sir Francis that he was very willing in any way to advance his reputation and entertainment. Lord Mountjoy's eulogy of Sir Robert, and favourable usage of Sir Francis, promising the latter the command of the Newry, and adding to his entertainment the charge of Captain O'Dogherty's fifty horse. Owes all to Sir Robert, and assures him of his devotion. Will advertise him, as occasion shall serve, of all the particulars of this summer's service.—[1600.] *Endorsed*:—June. From the Moyerie. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

June 1.
Dublin.

69. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Sir Edward Herbert, who has obtained license from the Lord Deputy to repair into England.

"I doubt not but it is well known to your Honour by former commendation that, since he was able to bear arms, he hath followed Her Majesty's service here, and hath often times made good proof of his valour and forwardness therein. His patrimony, lying in the King's County, is utterly wasted, and his house in that country, wherein was most of his substance, taken by treachery of some that kept it, and now utterly defaced; what was in it possessed by the rebels, and two of his poor children then likewise taken and held still in captivity by them. This is his present estate, and, unless by Her Majesty, in her princely and gracious regard, it be repaired, either by employment in this service, or some other mean, I see no way left for him, so much as to sustain himself, his wife and children." Begs Sir Robert to give his furtherance to the case.—Dublin, 1600, June 1.

[*Postscript.*] "This common calamity hath now 'light' heavily upon myself, for even at the writing hereof (as this bearer can tell your Honour), the rebels of these mountains by Dublin, watching an opportunity to have attempted something against my house of Rathfarnham, have taken from me all the cows, horses, sheep, and other cattle that I had, and have not left me so much as one beef or mutton to feed my family. The Lord in His good time be merciful unto us, for we are in great misery." *Signed. p. 1.*

June 1.
Dublin.

70. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I doubt not but large reports will be made there of the burnings and other havocs done by the rebels in the Pale two days past, being their second incursions (*sic*). It cannot be denied but villages have been burnt, and some of the subjects' goods made booty to the rebels, but the particulars I leave to other men's advertisements; for, if I should write in these matters, I must lay some blame of the country, who raised no strength for their own defence, but suffered the traitors to take their pleasures without any resistance, and so they cannot deny but they have justly suffered the calamities which they might have withstood. In these incursions I note this one thing specially, that though both Tyrone and all the Jesuits had prepared the hearts of the Pale beforehand by the denunciation of a Popish bull, which they had strongly settled in the hearts of the people, yet, in the executions of their burnings and other rages, they have

1600.

made no difference between one and another, but have made all alike subject to their violence, as though their goods were heretics, though their persons were Catholics. I hope by this tyrannizing the subjects of the Pale will better bethink themselves, both on the point of religion and their loyalty to their Prince, when they see that sour effects follow the sweet dissembled promises and offers made by the bull.

"Now that the Lord Deputy is returned into the Pale, I doubt not but these rebels will disperse, and his Lordship will begin to prosecute a revenge of their hurts done in his absence; and I hope your Honour shall hear of a round prosecution in Leinster, so far as our poor handful of men will reach. His Lordship came but yesterday into the Pale, and is not yet come to Dublin; and therefore to-morrow, God willing, I will repair to his Lordship, to put him in mind of this prosecution, that no time be lost therein.

"I have yet nothing to write touching the Earl of Ormonde, other than that I think his liberty will not be long deferred; the chief let whereof is the contention amongst the Jesuits, of whom the most part labour to have him detained still, till they see what the King of Spain's promises will sort into this summer; for the whole side of the traitors is possessed with a confident expectation of the coming of Spaniards before the time of harvest."—Dublin, 1600, June 1.

[*Postscript.*] "It may be your Honour will hear that the Lord Chancellor was distressed by these rebels in his house at Rathfarnham; but I wish your Honour to believe that as historical, but not as canonical. And for the burning of these villages in the Pale, Her Majesty is not [to] trouble her thoughts therewith, for that they be no other than bordering accidents." *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 9th. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

June 1.
Moymet.

71. James Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. Living in a place very subject to the incursion of the enemy, who of late have burned and spoiled a great part of Meath, he would be glad to be enabled to do the Queen and his country service. In the Earl of Essex's time, he erected 25 horse at his own charge, and was left out of the list upon the Earl's departure. Prays to have these horse entered again in Her Majesty's pay, and also for a company of 150 foot, as other commanders have. Relies on Sir Robert only.—Moymet, 1600, June 1. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 2.
Dublin.

72. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending to his favour the bearer, Sir Edward Herbert, who is proceeding to England. If Her Majesty grants a new supply of men this summer, hopes Sir Edward may take charge of some of them.—Dublin, 1600, June 2. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 2.
[Dublin.]

73. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am newly come to Dublin, and intend to make a present despatch unto you at large, which I cannot now well do, being so full of this present occasion, to take order with the Leinster rogues, who in my

1600.

absence, have been masters of the field in these parts. They have taken a prey, and burned many houses, but killed none, and such as they take prisoners they presently release. All that they have done, believe me, Sir, doth conduce to our end, which is, to make an end of this war; and whomsoever they have spoiled are little better subjects than themselves. Upon that experience which I now begin to have of this people and this country, I dare confidently speak it, that the Queen may have an end of this war very speedily, if it shall please Her Majesty to take the occasion; and an end of it she must make, or else the charge will still grow upon her. The end of my journey into the north is thoroughly effected, for I kept Tyrone with his chief forces my near neighbour, and eased the plantation of Lough Foyle, who I heard to be settled before my departure. I have brought back the army sound and in heart, as I carried it out, with the loss of only two men killed, none sick [or] wounded that I can hear of; and yet since these wars, the Traitor himself in person was never better fought with nor better beaten. I beseech you, Sir, to pardon me now, that am setting much in order that must be presently done, and the rather because I think you shall hear from me again before the receipt of these letters."—[Dublin,] 1600, June 2. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 3.

74. "Certain things to be considered in the victualling causes of Ireland." *Endorsed*:—1600, June 3. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

June 4.
Dublin.

75. Sir Arthur Savage to Sir Robert Cecil. "Sithence I may not conveniently have liberty to attend you, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Honour with the effects of our late journey, and with what else I thought most fit and material for Her Majesty's service.

"Your Honour may please to understand that the Lord Deputy being assured of our forces intended for Lough Foyle their being at sea, he drew himself in person, attended with most of the companies of the Pale, to the Newry, and left the Lord of Southampton to follow him, accompanied with the Serjeant-Major and two companies of foot. Tyrone, who before had settled a resolution to impeach the landing of our forces, being on the coast side ready for that purpose, upon the true knowledge hereof, withdrew himself and a good part of his force to attend my Lord, whereby, thanks be to God, our forces landed in good safety, without striking one blow. His number then not being compatible to my Lord's, he durst offer nothing upon him; yet, hearing of my Lord of Southampton's being to come to my Lord, and to pass one of his great fastnesses, he drew himself thither to intercept him. My Lord Deputy fearing the worst, sent a convoy of 500 men, and seconded himself with the rest. Notwithstanding, Tyrone in that fastness assaulted us both with horse and foot, but could not brag of his running. We lost there two soldiers, and had four hurt, besides Captain Atherton and Mr. Shuit. His loss, I dare assure your Honour, was many more; and although the number, being no greater, were not worthy to be written of, yet because of

1600.

his own being there, and in such a fastness, was not able to prevail, it gave good comfort to us and great dismay to them, insomuch as after that, though we lay in a plain champaign for ten or twelve days very near him, he offered not one blow; and yet was his ambition great, as his case is more desperate, as will appear, and that with expedition, if the prosecution go forward more in orderly course as is intended. There wanteth now but for a season those succours demanded, and the companies of Connaught to be exchanged. For to lie unprofitable, as they do, is a shame, and a far great[er] shame that any companies should hold, or stand in, such a condition. But the State are here 'afeard,' but of what they know not, but all men would be glad to pass over the time for the present, not esteeming the future, to how much more prejudice they forthink not. They dare not alter the property of my Lord of Clanrickarde, or his son's companies, for fear of his revolt, whereof they are now not in hazard, if they will rightly consider. For the chief man with whom he must have compound was O'Donnell, who is now so busied at home, that he can have no leisure to look so far behind him. Moreover your Honour may please to understand that, if he shall go out, he cannot hurt one subject of Her Majesty's in Connaught. I doubt not but we shall be able to keep Galway, Athlone, and the wards from him, if we may be in any measure seconded. But, besides all this, the 'jayn' [chain] that curbs him most is his brother's sons, who will be ready and do offer themselves at an hour's warning; which he knows, and doth also know that he is not able to bear head against them. But this will hardly sink into many men's heads here, although they know this to be reason and sensibly true. And because your Honour shall understand more particularly the number of the companies of Connaught, and how they are disposed of, I have sent your Honour the list, with a true comment, leaving it to your honourable judgment."—Dublin, 1600, June 4.

Endorsed :—Received at London the 12th. *Holograph.* pp. 2½.

Encloses :—

75. i. "*A note of the companies in Connaught, by whom they are commanded, and how they are disposed of.*" *Unsignied.* p. 1.

June 4.
Derry.

76. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. "The first of this June, Sir Arthur O'Neill (son to the late O'Neill, Sir Tirlogh Lynagh), came to us here at the break of day in the morning, accompanied with forty horse and foot of his own followers. That night, and before, day and night, since our landing, Cormack McBaron, Maguire, and O'Cahan have laid the ways for intercepting him, and that night he came to us he was so hard followed that he left part of his horses. I find him very forward and willing in this service, and have very great hope of him.

"O'Donnell with his forces, since our landing, hath lain in camp some five miles from us, near a strait. This night we expect Tyrone's coming down with his forces to Strabane, and so to join with O'Donnell. If all their forces were together, we are able to deal with them on good ground. I hope our men will fight well. They have made good show in the skirmishes we have had since

1600.

our coming. We have beaten the enemy two several times out of the woods, and given them the worst. The second of this present, they put part of the enemy to a run of four miles. In our return we viewed the Castle of Ellaugh, which stands in the midway between this place and Lough Foyle, O'Dogherty's chief house; the one side wholly of the castle is broken down. There we left Captain Floyd and 200 foot, to make up the castle wardable, so as we have O'Dogherty's country within us, all wherein is sown great plenty of corn, which will be a great help for the garrison. All the cattle were fled before we landed, and are under O'Donnell's grip. This is the sum of our proceedings, since my last to your Honour the 25th of May.

"Since my departure from your Honour, I have continued with Sir Henry Dockwra for the better furthering of this service. It pleased my Lord Deputy to send me by my man his Lordship's warrant for one hundred and fifty of the first company that should fall here of these 3,000 foot, which I may long wait for, unless it be holpen by your Lordship's letters to the Governor here for one of these companies whose Captains are absent and came not here at all, but sent Lieutenants with their companies:—

"Sir John Pooley	- 150	Captain Plunket	- 100
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"Captain Roper	- 150	Captain Barsett	- 100
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"Captain Kingsmill	- 150	Captain Ranne	- 100
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"If I may not be holpen in this, if [it] please Her Majesty to increase the army for this kingdom, I humbly beseech your Honour to remember me there for a company, that I may be set down there for them. I desire to follow your Honour here in all dutiful services during life; and, as anything shall happen by our proceedings or amongst the enemies, I will advertise your Honour from time to time.

"We have taken one of O'Donnell's boys, who reporteth that O'Connor Sligo sent 150 foot to help him, and that O'Connor Sligo and O'Rourke have undertaken to keep the Curlews against any our forces for coming that way.

"Some of the Captains that were appointed by the Lord Deputy for this service have stayed without license, and other some have sold their companies in England, as Captain Walter Floyd to Vaughan his Lieutenant, Sir Carro Reynolds to Dutton, late Lieutenant to Captain Skipper. Either of these companies by promise had fallen unto me."—Derry, 1600, June 4. *Signed. Seal.*
p. 1.

June 5.
Dublin.

77. Sir Griffin Markham to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being upon my journey for Ireland, I found divers of my people and old soldiers come to Chester, to let me know the casting of my company there, and to entreat entertainment in the new [one] appointed to me for Lough Foyle. It seemed strange, my Lord having moved to me before either to go thither with command of the horse, or to Ballyshannon as Governor, which both I refused; the one, as not fit to go under a man that never commanded in better place than myself; and the other out of fear, if a disgrace should happen, that it should be imputed to my ignorance or rashness, having not yet by long

1600.

command given assurance of any worth. But when I found that my fortunes still must carry me into the worst parts of Ireland to hazard, without either reputation or recommendation, being out of the Deputy's sight, and that I must be not only commanded by Sir H. Dockwra, whose continuance in the wars might make me hold that no disreputation, but by Sir John Bolles, who by commission holdeth a second place, and who, in absence of the other, is absolute, and in comparison of myself but a young soldier, I rather thought it fit for my reputation to hazard all, and come to expostulate it here, where I find my Lord contented with my reasons, but myself unsatisfied, till I have satisfied your Honour, upon whose favour and good opinion I protest I desire to build the whole sequel of my fortunes. For the better testimony of my Lord's satisfaction, his Lordship hath promised with what conveniency he can to draw my company towards those parts, and in the meantime to propound me for a company of one hundred and fifty foot.

"It pleased your Honour, when I was last a suitor to you, to promise me your best furtherance in any thing [that] should be for my good; and I think, if it will please you to consider it is now no rare thing, nor never was, for gentlemen of any quality to have charge in both kinds, that without foot no man riseth, without horse and foot no man can do important service, the infinite charge I was at in raising the half of my company, unrequited by my Lord of Essex, my disgrace in casting my regiment, for which I am in no way repaired, the greatness of my hurt, which I protest will prove an irrecoverable mean, I hope your Honour will not deny your best furtherance."—Dublin, June 5. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

June 6.
Dublin.

78. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "This bearer, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Her Majesty's Secretary here, being now by our joint consent employed from this table upon some weighty solicitations to be followed to Her Majesty and your Lordships, as by a general letter from us all and instructions may appear; and for that most of us have very long known him a most faithful and painful servant to Her Majesty in this realm, and almost continually an actor in her services, whether they lay at home or abroad, without reproach in his calling; neither have we hitherto known him to receive any taste of Her Majesty's princely bounty by way of recompense for his long time spent in this realm, being near twenty-two years; we are now, according to our long knowledge of him, and in regard of his poor estate known to us also, upon this occasion of his sudden employment thither, most humbly bold to recommend him to your Lordships' wonted honourable favours, for some consideration to be had of him towards his relief; wherein we are humble suitors to your Lordship, that you will be pleased to move Her Majesty on his behalf, that she will vouchsafe of her princely and royal disposition so to comfort him as he may be made able to stand in Her Majesty's services, and be encouraged to continue his course with the like zeal and uprightness he hath done, without being driven to regard

1600.

his own particular; wherein we eftsoones beseech your Lordships for him, and do leave him to your Lordships' wonted honourable regard."—Dublin, 1600, June 6. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 6.
Dublin.

79. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Recommending the bearer, Captain Edward Trevor, for a command in the troops to be sent to Ireland. His previous good service. Has chosen him for the charge of 150 foot.—Dublin, 1600, June 6. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 6.
Dublin.

80. Sir Robert Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Captain Stanton, who came to Ireland with letters from the Privy Council, and is now desirous to return. He has laboured much, with many difficulties and some danger, and with charge to himself. The Lord Deputy has doubtless written over about Captain Stanton.—Dublin, June 6. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Signed.* *Seal.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

June 7.
Dublin.

81. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "Upon the late return of me, the Deputy, from the north, and having altogether considered in Council of the estate of this realm, growing more and more dangerous by the still increasing strength of the rebels in all the provinces, we find by their great difference and odds in numbers, partly known to some of us, and partly estimated by good probability to be above 22,000 fighting men, and they so disposed into many parts in every province, as Her Majesty's army, consisting but upon 14,000, is thereby drawn into sundry divisions, for answering of them in their several quarters, which your Lordships may think cannot but greatly weaken the main proceedings of the army; and having considered with the best foresight we can how, in this great inequality of numbers, Her Majesty's forces might best be employed, to answer the service in all parts, whereby these barbarous proud rebels might be brought to chastisement, we see not that, in such an odds and overmultitude of the traitors above Her Majesty's forces, I, the Deputy, shall be able to do that against them which both I would and ought, unless it shall please Her Majesty, for this summer season, to increase her list to 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse; with which increase (being sent hither in good time), as we hope to put on foot several prosecutions both in Ulster and Leinster, and by planting a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse at Armagh, to entangle Tyrone in those parts, and to give correspondence to the forces at Lough Foyle, so we most humbly beseech your Lordships to move Her Majesty for this addition of 2,000 foot and 100 horse, and that they may be speedily sent hither, to answer the time of the harvest, as well for securing of the subjects' corn, as for destroying of the enemy's, which will be a mean to bring famine upon them, and consequently a step to their destruction. The necessity and urgency of this matter hath driven us to dispatch to your Lordships this bearer, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to solicit the same, who though he could hardly be spared from his place, in regard of the use that is made

1600.

of him in the public service, yet, weighing the importance of the business, and the expedition to be used therein, we have (much against his own mind) imposed upon him this charge; and do most humbly beseech your Lordships to consider of us that are Her Majesty's ministers here, and do see at eye in what dangerous estate her affairs do stand, that nothing could draw us to write or send in an increase of Her Majesty's charge, were it not that we see that without this charge Her Majesty will be drawn both to a greater and longer charge by this rebellion, if it be not thoroughly put to this summer, which is the only opportunity (if it be taken) to shake the pride thereof, both in Ulster, by placing a strong garrison at Armagh, and in Leinster, to enable a sharp prosecution to be made there; both which are so requisite as, they being not performed, we see not but the danger of the whole kingdom will rise above our strength to prevent it; humbly putting your Lordships in mind eftsoons, that no time be lost to haste away these forces, for that in their timely arriving here may be confidently expected many good services to be done for Her Majesty this summer, and to continue so long (if your Lordships shall like of it) as the necessity of the service shall require. For all other circumstances, either concerning this motion for men, or the general state of the realm, we refer all to the bearer, who, out of his experience and knowledge of things, may supply that which is not here written, having delivered to him besides certain instructions, signed by us, which it may please your Lordships to favour, and to give credit to him, as to a person long known to yourselves, and by all us, for his good deserts in Her Majesty's service, thought worthy to be credited and countenanced."—Dublin, 1600, June 7. *Endorsed:* Received the 11 of June: London. *Signed.* pp. 2.

[June 7.
Dublin.]

82. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Both ourselves and the enemy did discover that, to make such a prosecution as must ruin them, we have need of more men; and therefore, whatsoever you will do, I thought it good to handle it as no secret that we did expect more men; the occasion whereof all our voluntaries have apprehended, and come to me in swarms for recommendations. It is true that I think it much more right that these, which 'voluntary' at their own charge do venture their lives here, should be sooner preferred than such as stay in England, and importune you there; but, because I cannot pleasure them all, and yet would seem to be desirous to do it, I do recommend unto you my true desire herein, the which I beseech you, Sir, to keep it to yourself, but that it may be, as near as it can be, effected; for that favour hath been allowed to all generals, and, without it, I shall be much the less able to do the Queen service. And, believe me, you are many time[s] and for the most part much deceived in such as you recommend over. I durst not tell you how poor a project Captain Stanton's was, for fear you would have said that we young men distaste such grave Captains; but he is as 'seedy' a subject, and the other whom he brought in as poor a rebel, and to as little purpose as could be. Sir Geoffrey Fenton can inform you thereof,

1600.

unto whom I have referred so much as I cannot write.”—[Dublin, 1600, June 7.] *Endorsed*:—Received the 11 of June, 1600. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 7.
Dublin.

83. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Had a purpose from his first coming into Ireland to give some preferment to the bearer, Captain Linley, but, opportunity having failed hitherto, has thought good to recommend him for a company in the new supplies.—Dublin, 1600, June 7. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

June 7.
Westminster.

84. Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Mr. Arthur Hyde, “a very near and poor kinsman,” who is seeking for some employment, or other means of relief. He has lost a very good seignory in Ireland, purchased through the sale of 160*l.* a year good land in England. He is very valiant and honest, and has so carried himself many ways since these last troubles in Munster. He has been twice hurt, and his horse slain under him with three bullets. For these two years he has followed the wars with his son and two servants, well horsed, without any manner of entertainment. He is well worthy of a charge, or of any reasonable maintenance.—Westminster, 1600, June 7. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 7.
Dublin.

85. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. “My Lord Deputy hath, in his journey into the north, and by drawing his army into the field, wrought the thorough establishing and settling of the garrison of Lough Foyle, which was (as I suppose) the matter your Honour purposed, and the effect of my Lord Deputy’s desire.

“My Lord Deputy being passed from Dublin unto Drogheda, and from thence unto Dundalk, and from thence unto the Newry, leaving some part of his army to draw after him, and for the guard of my Lord of Southampton, upon assurance that the Earl of Southampton was at Dundalk, his Honour sent him 500 foot for a convoy. In their march towards my Lord Deputy, Tyrone, having intelligence thereof, drew such forces as he could then assemble into the passage between Dundalk and the Newry, called the Moyerie, where, in his supposed place of best advantage, called the Four Miles Water, he there did entertain my Lord of Southampton and the convoy with good troops both of horse and foot. And in this skirmish there fell such store of rain, that their pieces of neither side could take fire, so that they were forced to betake themselves unto their swords and throwing of stones. My Lord Deputy, misdoubting some such intention of Tyrone’s, drew into arms with the residue of the army to meet with my Lord of Southampton, in which march he discovered the fight, and then presently sent away the vanguard of his forces, which came into the fight and second of my Lord. Tyrone, espying the gross of our army, made his present retreat, and with greater loss than we received. Of the English, there was hurt Captain Henry Adderton, the commander of my Lord of Southampton’s company, two soldiers killed, and some four hurt. My Lord Deputy likewise

1600.

drew unto the Newry, and there did remain almost 20 days in field, whereby Tyrone was constrained to attend himself on the hitherside of the Blackwater, and to assemble and gather all the power he was able to make for the defence of his followers on those parts, which did both prejudice and discontent him for two causes; the one, that my Lord Deputy's presence in the field forced all their cows to feed from the plains into the woods, and so for want of grass did starve their cattle, and for want of milk, which was their food, distress his people.

"The other, and principal cause; my Lord did so confront Tyrone, and by twice presenting his army into (*sic*) the field, offered to fight with Tyrone, and forced him from the hills and places where he was accustomed to make his show of his troops, both of horse and foot; and by this course both drew and held Tyrone from the action of Lough Foyle, not knowing what my Lord Deputy intended. Then my Lord Deputy, by certain knowledge and letters sent by sea from Sir Henry Dockwra, manifesting to his Honour that the forces were landed at Culmore and the Derry, and there accommodated, his Honour, upon consultation, returned towards the Pale, and without impeach or loss of man or horse. The second of June, his Honour came unto Dublin. The army which attended my Lord this journey were not full 2,000 foot by poll, and not 300 horse, the Earl of Southampton and voluntaries withal included. And, if his forces had been answerable to his Honour's desire, he would willingly have planted a garrison at Armagh, which, in my opinion, both hath been and would be a garrison of that consequence and importance that, if it might please Her Majesty, with your honourable assents, by your opinions to give the motion your favourable allowance, with the increase of 2,000 foot, whereof 1,000 to be planted at Armagh with 100 horse, the other 1,000 to be added to the forces already allowed for the prosecution of the rebels in Leinster, which of late have discovered themselves to be of far greater number than heretofore they have been estimated. And, by Tyrone's procurement, they do daily enter into a greater disturbance and annoyance of the Pale than heretofore they have done; Tyrone in this persuading himself that there is no so good course for the withholding of my Lord Deputy from his journeys northward, and from the assisting of the forces at Lough Foyle, wherein he doth greatly hold himself taxed and troubled, but by continual annoyance of the subjects and inhabitants of the Pale, which both hath been and is the magazine of our relief. Truly, Right Honourable, I do think that Her Majesty shall not have cause to judge either her treasure to little purpose spent, or her subjects not well employed, when there shall in general opinion rest, by the comfort of these 2,000 foot and 100 horse now sued for, an assured hope of great quiet to the country and much honour to Her Majesty.

"My Lord Deputy, Right Honourable, is now somewhat better informed, and hath a feeling of the state of Ireland, and findeth in his own judgment that there is no place more answerable to the service and garrison of Lough Foyle than Armagh, and without, his experience teacheth him that the war will be of long continuance and so very chargeable unto Her Majesty; considering withal that,

1600.

as the province of Connaught is now managed, although there be by the view of the list 1,300 foot and 100 horse, they stand now to so little purpose, that, in this last journey intended by my Lord Deputy for the diversion of Tyrone, my Lord of Dunkellin thought himself too weak to raise head so far as the abbey of Boyle.

"I must withal, and under the correction of your honourable favour, sitting in the place where now I do, make known unto you that there be divers Captains in Her Majesty's list, that have companies both of horse and foot, a course nothing profitable to Her Majesty, and more incommodious in the advancement of Her Highness['s] service, to have under one man's command contrary charge, unless it were to a nobleman, a provincial Governor, or a principal officer in the field. Besides, it hath bred this inconvenience and so common a precedent, that many hold themselves disgraced, if they have not the like, which breedeth a great discontent unto Captains of antiquity, and of equal quality, to see advancement run by favour and not by desert. Besides, there be Captains appointed for Lough Foyle, which privilege themselves, reaping the benefit of their companies, and not attending the service.

"The particularities of many other things I will forbear (Right Honourable) to set down, because I know Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who is employed over by the Lord Deputy and State, will discover [them] unto you by the 'tender' of his instructions. Yet I think good to acquaint your Honour that, as the province of Connaught is now governed, Her Majesty is at a very great charge to no purpose. Only the town of Athlone is guarded by Sir Arthur Savage his company of foot, and the town of Galway by Sir Robert Lovell. The rest of the companies which are 1,000 and more, there is nothing to be expected from them, but their own benefit and Her Majesty's great charge. May it further please you that, contrary to Her Majesty's pleasure and your honourable directions, there is a practice to hold Sir Arthur from that government, and to infer (*sic*) it upon some other. I pray God that every man may use his wits to employ his service to the content of that honourable table, and to the furtherance of Her Majesty's service.

"It hath pleased your Honour to recommend over unto Ireland one Henry Bird, which belonged unto Sir Edward Hoby, for a Commissary for the musters. His charge is now at the Newry, Carlingford, Green Castle, and Narrow Water, where he mustereth 11,000, and 1,000 horse. His travel is with peril, his pains great, and his means small. By opinion he hath discharged his place with good truth and sufficiency. I leave both this and the rest to the censure of your honourable consideration."—Dublin, 1600, June 7. *Signed.* pp. 4.

June 7.
Dublin.

86. Sir Arthur Savage to Sir Robert Cecil. "There is come hither from Lough Foyle one of the Captains, who assureth of Sir Arthur O'Neill's being come unto them, who will be of great furtherance to the proceeding, if a measureable hand can be carried on him. For, notwithstanding he is barely come unto them, as but with the number of 14 or 15 horse and foot, yet when the rest of his people

1600.

shall know of his safe being there, and of his good acceptance, they will follow him to how great peril soever; and then shall your Honour see, and that immediately, if the coming of the Spaniards do not hinder it, a present reducement of those northern rebels, and the rest will assuredly follow.

“Right Honourable, I am most humbly to crave pardon of you. I am again nominated to exercise the place which formerly I held in Connaught; and, albeit that by the course here intended against me, I find small reason to expect any good thereof, yet, sithence I am engaged therein by Her Majesty’s commandment, and that it was moved, as I conceive, by your Honour with an intent of good unto me, I will with all thankfulness receive it and ever acknowledge it unto your Honour, as to him from whom I have received most favours. My Lord Deputy showed me Her Majesty’s pleasure touching my going down, but now he is so importuned by Sir Henry Davers as he offereth not to dispatch me, of purpose to win time for a return from England. I moved his Lordship for his letters in my behalf unto your Honour and the rest of that honourable table. He answered me that his voice was passed to my Lord of Southampton, but he presumed he would not hold it, but pass it over to some other, and that it was fittest for him the rather to satisfy my Lord of Dunkellin. But your Honour may please to understand that my Lord of Southampton must be but the shadow for Sir Henry Davers, and so much is plainly confessed by Sir Henry. I confess unto your Honour that the case being now as it is, that I am again nominated to, it being the third time that I have exercised it, and by three several commissions, I had rather lose one of mine arms than to have it taken from me by a man of no greater merit or quality; and do therefore most humbly beseech your honourable allowance and furtherance of me. But, were it not so far past, I could most willingly give my consent, and I know within one month they would be as weary as they are now ambitious of it. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, whom I never wronged, is wrought against me by them, and it is a chief end of his coming. Notwithstanding, I know it is in your Honour’s power, which I beseech you once again to afford me at this time, that no more disgraces may be heaped on me.”—Dublin, 1600, June 7. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 12th. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

June 7.
Dublin.

87. Sir Henry Davers to Sir Robert Cecil. “I hear my Lord Deputy hath received some tax for men that have companies both of horse and foot, amongst which Captains I am, and doubt to be held in the number of those that my Lord is reprov’d for, because I see no other but may allege as much reason as myself, and the service hath not been so great in Ireland, that any can plead extraordinary desert. I have lost the entertainment both of Colonel and Lieutenant of the Horse, yet is not my condition in companies increased, neither are they of that value that should either have drawn me hither, or could retain me here, were it not with my Lord Mountjoy, and encouraged by your honourable promise to second whatsoever he should hold me worthy of. I will confidently

1600.

affirm to have deserved well of you, and if your Honour conceive the contrary, let me not be condemned without answer, which shall always approve my honest profession; and infinitely glad I shall be to increase my desire to serve you, by the increase of your favour."

Will never be ungrateful for the benefits he has received from Sir Robert.—Dublin, June 7. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

June 8.
Dublin
Castle.

88. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Amongst those he recommends as worthy to take charge of the forces to be sent to Ireland, he desires most to make choice of such as have formerly had command there, or, having attended as voluntaries, are well able, out of their own experience, to yield a more strict account than others that have not endured the misery and hazard of this war. The bearer, Captain Edward Fisher, is well deserving of their Lordships' favour.—Dublin Castle, 1600, June 8. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 8.
Dublin.

89. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I remember that by one of your letters, which I have received not long since, I was advised to bethink me of some course fittest to be held in the transferring of the government of Connaught upon some other from the Lord of Dunkellin. And now I received a letter from my Lords, signifying Her Majesty's pleasure to place Sir Arthur Savage in that province, as a provisional Governor, the which I will presently perform, and had before placed him in Athlone, with commission to command there absolutely. What will be the effect of this alteration I know not, but in Connaught we can promise you nothing but Athlone, out of our providence, and Galway, out of their own disposition. And now, Sir, if you will think it possible that, speaking for so dear a friend, I should speak with a public end, I will truly inform you what I think best for the Queen's service in this point. I think it necessary that province be reduced to the form of the wonted government, that the Governor be of some greatness and reputation, and such as my Lord of Dunkellin shall have least reason to leave it unto with repining, and unto whom the people have no cause in spleen or otherwise to take exceptions; and by this course, with some little force more than now the Queen payeth there, it is likely the province would be reduced, which, as I have heard, hath heretofore yielded Her Majesty a good commodity; whereas now she hath no use of all her charge there, but to keep only Athlone. If there were such a Governor, he might boldly either remove the Irish companies, where they might be of good use, or cast them, and place others; whereas now the Queen doth absolutely lose the whole pay of the Irish. My Lord of Thomond's company might be employed, which now is of no use, and the Queen's service much helped by his dependency. Out of my affection I can name no man that I love better than the Earl of Southampton, neither out of my judgment any one whom I think the Queen should bestow the government thereof to more purpose

1600.

for the service. Except it were by taking all occasions to serve her, to redeem her favour, I know it is a place he would not seek, neither that he will desire longer to retain than the Queen, and not he, may reap the fruit of his service therein. Sir, besides the love Her Majesty knoweth I bear him, I think myself bound in duty to her, and honesty to myself, to do all here, and especially so noble a gentleman, right unto her; whom I have found so forward to answer all occasions of service in his own person, as I could not challenge more from the privatest Captain here, and yet with as great judgment as I could expect from the best commander. In the Moyerie, I protest he saved our honour; for, suddenly apprehending that some of our troops began to brandle, that being in the rear were left somewhat naked, he charged Tyrone himself, being in the head of six score horse, with some seven in his company, and by that assured our men, and beat Tyrone back to musket shot. I know these sacrifices may expiate great sins, and I shall be proud and happy that his Lordship may receive any fruit of my intercession; and, howsoever Her Majesty be determined of the place, yet I humbly desire her to take gracious notice of his desire to do her service, and, if it please her, to encourage him by some token of her favour. I shall take great joy in the assistance and company of so dear a friend and noble a gentleman. And so, Sir, desiring you to do me this special favour, as to present my humble suit herein to Her Majesty, I wish you all happiness."—Dublin, 1600, June 8. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Lord Deputy. Earl of Southampton." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

June 8.
Dublin.

90. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have not many matters to trouble your Honour with at this time; for how the affairs of this wretched kingdom proceed, your Honour shall fully understand by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, whom my Lord Deputy and the State here (greatly against his will) have addressed unto your Honour, and the rest of the Lords of the Council, touching those things that chiefly concern this distressed kingdom. His service at this time could evil have been spared, and therefore do humbly beseech your Honour to hasten his speedy dispatch and undelayed return, as also to do him that honourable favour, to recommend unto Her Majesty his many years' painful and diligent service, without any recompense hitherto. It will be an exceeding great comfort unto him in his old years to taste of Her Majesty's gracious favour, and a very great encouragement to others to tread the like path."

If the forces in Ireland are to be increased, and a greater sum allowed for extraordinary charges, prays that he may have sufficient warrant for the same.—"From my house by Dublin," 1600, June 8. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 8.
Dublin.

91. Sir Richard Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. Although by a general letter from the Lord Deputy and Council (whereof he is now a member) Sir Robert shall be at large advertised of the present state of Ireland, yet thought it his duty to advertise him thus far in private, touching the Lord Deputy's journey into the north.

1600.

His Lordship's advance northwards, and diverting of Tyrone's forces from Lough Foyle. Success of the landing there. The troops fortified in several parts. Incursions of the Leinster rebels into the Pale during Lord Mountjoy's absence. Spoils committed by them not so great as reported. Importance of a fortified post at Armagh. No place in that part is so likely to annoy Tyrone, or to hold him in more.—Dublin, 1600, June 8. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

June 8.
Carlingford.

92. Henry Bird to Sir Robert Cecil. In his last letters he made known such occurrences as had happened until the Lord Deputy's going into camp. Sends now more certain particulars of the journey.

After the skirmish at the Moyerie, upon the convoying of the Earl of Southampton to the Newry, the Lord Deputy remained there some five or six days, making provision for carriages; but, the country thereabouts not being able to yield a sufficient store, he did not camp above two miles from the Newry, whither provision was daily brought. His Lordship sent forth his horsemen to descry where Tyrone with his forces lay. This was in the trenches which O'Hanlon made for the defence of his country, "the woods lying on the left hand of his army, and a great bog on the other hand, the horsemen of either side keeping watch upon the hills near adjoining each camp." Thus Tyrone was forced to draw together all the strength he could make, his cows feeding in the woods near. He expected every hour that the Lord Deputy would set forward towards Armagh. Tyrone was compelled, through want of feeding for his cows and of provision for his people, to keep within a strait compass; and, after four days being in camp, he made show of removing towards the English camp, and so of going to the Moyerie. He marched in 33 battalions, within three miles of the camp. The Lord Deputy left the third part of his army to keep the camp and baggage, and marched with the two other parts, driving the enemy most shamefully to retire from hill to hill, until they came within their trenches, without daring to change bullet with the English soldiers, who were very eager and desirous to fight. But the Lord Deputy, very providentially foreseeing the desire the enemy had to draw his men within the compass of their "grounds of advantages," caused a stand to be made, expecting whether the enemy would proffer any fight. But, seeing them refuse it, his Lordship returned to his camp, and stayed there quietly all the next day. Then, having had certain notice given that the forces of Lough Foyle were well landed and sufficiently fortified, for which purpose his Lordship specially made that journey, and understanding that Tyrone had sent Captain Tyrrell with a great power to make spoil of the English Pale, and that many towns had been burnt, and their goods carried away, to the terror of the inhabitants of those parts, who began to abandon their dwellings, his Lordship broke up his camp, and, retiring by Carlingford, where he lodged one night, departed the next day to Dundalk, and so to Dublin, where he now remains. The strength of his camp, which in list should have been 3,500 and upwards, was not by poll above 2,000.

1600.

The better strength of the army was the garrison of Newry and Carlingford, besides the number left to guard the towns and other wards. To look into the fault thereof is not within the writer's commission.

Within three days after the Lord Deputy's departure, on Saturday, the 31st of May, the town of Newry was in great part burnt, by mischance, as it is said, of a woman who was brewing *aqua vite*. The fire took hold of her house, and, by reason of a great wind, burnt many houses thereabouts, to the impoverishing of the poor inhabitants. Tyrone, it is said, went away the night before the Lord Deputy removed, and made all the haste he could towards Lough Foyle. There is no certain knowledge of him since.

Sends a certificate [*wanting*] of the profit he has made for Her Majesty in checks and defalcations out of the companies. The office is painful, the place very chargeable, and the garrisons he is tied to visit often, subject to much peril and extraordinary cost. Can hardly live on a fee of 3s. 4d. *per diem*. Prays for Sir Robert's favourable consideration.—Carlingford, 1600, June 8. *Holograph*. pp. 2½.

June 9.
Dublin.

93. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "I had no sooner undergone the burthen of this kingdom, which it pleased Her Majesty to impose upon me, but I discovered a general defection in the people of this country; not only in such as had already entered into personal rebellion, but even in most of their hearts that remained as esteemed subjects, and that they did then only attend the issue of the Rebel's journey into Munster to declare themselves of his party, if it had succeeded, or otherwise to retain themselves, but yet no longer than the first disaster that should happen to our army.

"Upon Tyrone's return, being little better than a rout, and so esteemed by them, this people in general began to despair in his fortune, and to lean towards the government of the State, and from most of them I received overtures to that effect; when, in the mean time, there arrived in the north two ships out of Spain, which certainly brought some munition, and either assurance of great and present succour to the Traitor, or at the least such tokens thereof, as Tyrone hath so well used to his purpose, as all Ireland doth confidently believe it. And, besides many priests, there arrived in those ships a Spaniard, naming himself Legate from the Pope, 'lidger' for the King of Spain, and Archbishop of Dublin, who hath made this protestation, that he is content to suffer death if he do not preach in the chief city of his province before Michaelmas, and hath already so well assured the rebels as they do now avow themselves sworn subjects to the King of Spain. Notwithstanding, the expectation of the garrison of Lough Foyle, so likely to break the pillar of this rebellion, and the uncertainty of the Spanish hopes, hath kept the Pale from the boldness to discover themselves, who, if that force had miscarried, would undoubtedly have presently, and almost generally, revolted. This disposition of theirs, together with the weight of the consequence of that plantation, and the hazard the army might run coming weak from sea, and composed of

1600.

most new soldiers, being to land and settle in the head of the full force of the North, gave me reason to think it of no small consequence to divert the Traitor, both in person and in the greatest part of his power. To which purpose after I had with good success victualled the ports of Offaly and Leix (services done heretofore with great force and hazard), and that I heard the men and shipping were gone from Chester, and the men, munition, and shipping gone from hence, I propounded my journey into the north to the Council here. Who, after the uttermost computation of what loss might happen to the Pale in mine absence, did concur with me in the importance of that journey. Whereupon I desired them to demand such authority from me, as in their own experience in like cases might best enable them to do all things fit in mine absence for the service, and caused a commission under the Great Seal to be granted according to their own desire, leaving Sir Henry Power to execute their commandments in martial matters.

“On Monday, the 5 of May, I departed from Dublin to Drogheda, by the intelligence of my drawing towards the north the sooner to amuse Tyrone, and to draw him to look towards me. But, because the proportion of victuals appointed to be sent to the Newry for the army was not as then ready to be dispatched (and detained with other impediments), I removed no farther till the next Saturday. Upon which day I went to Dundalk, dispatching the Serjeant-Major back to bring on the forces, which newly came from the victualling of the forts, and leaving order with the Marshal to bring after me the garrisons of Kells and Ardee. That night, being assured that by reason of Tyrone’s absence I could encounter no strong opposition, and having received letters from Sir Arthur O’Neill, declaring his desire to have me advance that way, and some offers from others of service upon Tyrone’s own person, when I should lie near him, I sent for the garrison of the Newry, and the next day, being Whitsunday, with that and the garrison of Dundalk and mine own company, I passed the pass of the Moyerie unto the Newry. Upon my arrival thither I gave order for victuals to be brought from Carlingford, and a proportion for some few days with munition to be fitted apt for carriage, if I should see occasion to advance farther forward, and dispatched letters to Sir Henry Dockwra by the way of Knockfergus, and others to Lough Foyle, signifying my arrival. Tyrone receiving advertisements of my coming to the Newry, being then at Newton, near unto Lough Foyle, the Tuesday after, being the 13 of May, in great haste came to Dungannon, and the next day razed the fort of Blackwater, burned Armagh, and came that night to Maherlough, about six miles from the Newry. The same day I drew forth to meet the Marshal, to assure his passage through the Moyerie; who came unto me with some 400 foot and 60 horse. And within two days after, I drew out all the forces towards the strength where Tyrone lay, to make him the more speedily draw up his forces to those parts. Where, perceiving by one of the scouts of the Traitor’s army, who asked one of ours, when the Earl of Southampton and the Serjeant-Major would come, that they had some design upon the passage, I presently sent to Dundalk (whither I understood they were come), that they should not stir from thence, till they farther heard from me; and the next morning sent Captain

1600.

Blaney with 500 foot and 50 horse to convoy them, with assurance that, by two of the clock that day, I would meet them beyond the causey, from the which the whole pass of the Moyerie hath his name. The issue whereof, because it was the first time that Tyrone in his own person hath been fought with a long time, where he hath not prevailed, and being in one of the greatest strengths he hath in this kingdom, I have presumed to send your Lordships in a more particular sort. But this I can assure your Lordships, that he was well beaten, although it be impossible with any great slaughter to pursue any victory on him in such places as he will ever choose to fight. The rest of the time I encamped by him, where he lay in the greatest fastness he hath of wood and bog, and exceeding strongly entrenched towards the plain, on the which he never drew any of his forces, but they were presently beaten in. But being certainly assured of the landing and fortifying of our forces at Lough Foyle, which was my chief end, and continually solicited by the fears of the Pale, but especially having found impossibility to march farther into the country for want of means for carriage, the way by the Moyerie being, by reason of much wet that fell, and the rebels' breaking of the causey, very hard to be passed, I returned the 28 of May to Carlingford. The day before I rose Tyrone had retired some two miles farther into his fastness, and, as I was since assured, did rise the same morning I did, without any notice before of my departure. Upon my return into the Pale, I found there had been some spoils done by the rebels, and all things in as much disorder as so little a time could make; but, having particularly by the Sheriffs examined the truth, I dare assure your Lordships that the hurt done in their chief incursion was no more worth in burnings than many a private man in England doth often sustain by accident in the burning of one great barn full of corn, nor in cattle than commonly every year some one in England doth lose by a rot. But howsoever, I dare affirm to your Lordships that, whatsoever was done, was rather for, than against, our great end, which is, to make a final end of these wars. At the same time, James Fitz Piers did great service upon the rebels, took their prey, and killed many of them. The Earl of Kildare's lieutenant did the like. The forts of Leix and Offally did good service; and one Brian Shagh McMahownd, whom in this journey I took in, burnt and spoiled the rebel up to Monaghan, and burnt that town, being one of the greatest the rebels have.

"The traitors, when they came into the Pale, found no manner of resistance, killed none, and whom they took prisoners they released; yet had I left, besides the whole force of the country, 2,000 foot and almost 200 horse in Leinster behind me; and carried with me, to front the Traitor in his greatest power, an army that could not be much above 2,000 men, though every company had been full to a man; whereof to make your Lordships a perfect demonstration, I have sent the list and manner of their disposition. Wherein, if your Lordships shall understand that the forces of Leinster were in great part drowned in petty wards and in the guards of towns, and shall therein conceive I have erred from my directions, I beseech

1600.

your Lordships to understand withal that, at my first coming over, I called away most of these wards, and presently found this effect, that the houses were lost; and since, finding many of them to be of importance, some upon straits, and all of them in such countries where we have no footing else, and the Council here in general against my purpose to quit them, I yielded to guard such houses, till I may know your Lordships' pleasure whether I shall leave them to their own fortune.

"And now, my Lords, that I am become an eyewitness to many things which heretofore I conceived but by relation, and having some reason to guess at the nature of this people and of this war, I dare boldly affirm it, and think it my duty to do so, that the only sure and frugal way to end this war is in all parts, as near as may be, to make a prosecution this next harvest, [and] to settle a strong garrison at Armagh and in other places, with good provisions for this winter. Which done, I see no human reason, except it be otherwise determined in God's secret will, but that Her Majesty ever after with small numbers may give her own laws to this vile people. In this case I do not write to your Lordships in particular, because, induced by the opportunity we conceive the Queen may take to make an honourable and speedy end of these wars, we have presumed to dispatch into England Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who by reason of his long experience in Her Majesty's service here, joined with his own sufficiency, can best inform your Lordships of the present estate of this kingdom, and of our humble desires.

"Sir Arthur O'Neill is now at Lough Foyle, whose demands heretofore I sent your Lordships, as I received them by interpretation from the mouth of a barbarous messenger. But the course he hath taken from the beginning in quitting the Traitor before he received any particular hope from me, and his own protestation now is, to stand upon no conditions with the Queen; but, as he hath abandoned all his goods, which I assure your Lordships were great, out of his love and loyalty to Her Majesty, so he doth now humbly submit himself to her mercy, and to be disposed of as it shall best please her. But his prosecution since he declared himself hath been so famous in this country by reason of the many dangers he hath escaped, and his constancy such in refusing the great offers made to him by the traitors, that whatsoever grace Her Majesty doth him will be a great encouragement to others to follow his example; and I assure your Lordship I do conceive him to be the fittest instrument that could be found to ruin Tyrone and his combination.

"I humbly beseech your Lordships to pardon me for omitting many particularities, it may be of greater consequence than these, wherewith I have too long troubled your Lordships; the which your Lordships may receive from Sir Geoffrey Fenton, whom I am likewise bold to recommend unto your Lordships' favour, as a long-experienced servant of Her Majesty in this kingdom, and from whom I receive my greatest light in the government thereof; humbly desiring your Lordships, since in Her Majesty's service his estate is impaired, or at the least himself no ways enabled, that it may please your

1600.

Lordships to be a mean to Her Majesty in his behalf."—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Endorsed*:—Received the 17. *Signed*. pp. 3½.

Encloses:—

93. i. "*The list of the forces as they are now dispersed in Leinster, upon the frontier towns towards the north; viz^o Junii, 1600.*" Total: 5,050. *Signed by the Marshal, Sir Richard Wingfield.* pp. 2.

June 9.
Dublin.

94. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. In favour of the bearer, Captain Morris. He has long followed the Lord Deputy. He commanded 150 foot in Ireland before, and was wounded in the time of Lord Burgh's government.—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Signed*. p. ½.

June 9.
Dublin.

95. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Lord Keeper of England [Thomas Egerton]. Was desirous to have "pleasured" the bearer, Captain Marbury, according to his Lordship's recommendation, but not long before Marbury's coming to Ireland, had, because of Captain Keamish's absence without hope of return, and because of the necessity of the service at Lough Foyle, to which place Keamish was appointed, bestowed his company on another. Being now in hope that the Queen will increase the forces in Ireland, has delivered Sir Geoffrey Fenton a list of such Captains as are meet to be employed, among whom is Marbury.—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Signed*. p. ½.

June 9.
Dublin.

96. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Captain Grise, who is in the list of Captains delivered to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Signed*. p. ½.

June 9.
Dublin
Castle.

97. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Mr. Alexander Crofts, having seen the late service at Lough Foyle, and been specially recommended to Lord Mountjoy by Sir Henry Dockwra, has desired to spend more time in these Irish services. Recommends Crofts, knowing him to have followed the wars for almost ten years.—Dublin Castle, 1600, June 9. *Signed*. p. 1.

June 9.
Dublin.

98. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. In the list of Captains recommended by him for preferment, there is one Crofts. Finds since that there are two, for whom he has been solicited; the one Alexander, the other Henry Crofts. What means they have in England, besides his letter, to work their desire, he cannot tell; but of the two the man whom he especially desires to speed is Henry Crofts.—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Signed*. p. ½.

June 9.
Dublin.

99. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Captain Boys, who is in the private list of Captains recommended. He has served heretofore in France and Ireland in better place

1600.

than that to which he is now nominated. He has followed Lord Mountjoy from London. Is assured he will not show himself unworthy of Sir Robert's favour.—Dublin, 1600, June 9. *Signed.* p. ½.

June 9.
Limerick.

100. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord Barry, having formerly by his letter acquainted your Honour with his determination to repair thither, as well to manifest his duty and obedience to Her Majesty and your Lordships, as the sooner to obtain answer and satisfaction to his suits there, in my former letter to your Honour mentioned, is now (by reason of the multitude of troubles in this province, which employeth all men desirous to do Her High[ness] service), willing to forbear his own repair thither to some more seasonable time. Wherein, as I make no doubt but your Honour will be pleased to think him more worthy to be favoured, in regard of his good endeavours to be used here, which will much advance Her Majesty's service, so do I become an humble suitor in his favour and respect of true desert, that, for the consideration of his own attendance upon these services, his suits may by his agent receive a favourable proceeding, and by your honourable means Her Majesty's gracious bounty and favour the more amply to be manifested towards him, whose estate being here very much weakened will greatly encourage him to be raised up from his distress, by her high princely regard thereof. And, as I well hope his good desire to manifest his true and loyal affection will by like endeavours approve the same worthily bestowed, so do I humbly leave his good deserts, formerly divulged, to your honourable censure."—Limerick, 1600, June 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 9.
Dublin.

101. The Earl of Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil. "My Lord Deputy having at this time written unto you to move the Queen in my behalf concerning the government of Connaught, I must of necessity be so far troublesome unto you as to let you know how I affect it, and then to leave it to your discretion whether you think fit to farther it or no. It is a place, I protest unto you, I am nothing greedy of, neither would I at all desire it, but in hope by that means to effect somewhat whereby to recover Her Majesty's good conceit, which is my only end and all the happiness I aspire unto. If she hold me fit to do her service in it, I shall gladly employ my time, and hazard my life, to perform what can be in reason expected; if not, I shall without grudging receive her denial. My only suit to you is, to procure an answer with as much expedition as may be; and, howsoever it prove, I assure you I shall account myself exceedingly bound unto you."—Dublin, 9 June. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Holograph. Seals.* p. 1.

June 10.
Dublin
Castle.

102. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "The bearer hereof, Mr. Darcy, as he is reputed the chiefest gentleman of English descent that is now left in the Pale, so doth he daily give very good testimony of his honesty and sufficiency. For, besides

1600.

the reports I have heard of his endeavours in time past, since my coming hither (with some others of his people and friends, by a draft drawn upon Coll McCollo, the greatest disturber of those parts), he with his own hands cut off that arch-rebel, and thereby freed that country from much spoil and incursions of the traitors. He is a gentleman of good estate and living, though at this time, the whole country being much wasted, he tasteth of the general malady." Recommends him for a company, if their Lordships shall be pleased to send any forces to Ireland.—Dublin Castle, 1600, June 10. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 11.
Dublin.

103. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. Done, for a company of 150 men, to be raised out of Cheshire, where he will be able to draw men of good quality to the service.—Dublin, 1600, June 11. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 11.

104. "Remembrances for the service of Ireland, taken at Mr. Secretary's house, the 11 of June" [1600].

(a.) "To the letter of the Lord President of Munster of the 19 of May."

"The Lord President to go on with the fortifying of the castle of Limerick. Two months' victual to be provided for 3,250 men, and to be divided by equal portions for Cork and Limerick, to be there by the last of July. Five last of powder to be provided and sent, with a proportion of lead and match agreeable; 400 pikes; 400 culivers; swords and girdles, 400; shovels and spades, 1,000; felling axes, 63; melting ladles, 4 dozen; scythes, 6 dozen; reap hooks, 500; corslets, 300. *Memorandum* :—

"That there must needs be some good remainder of lead unspent both in Munster and at Dublin, so as there may be some abatement in the proportion of lead.

"Five hundred men to be levied so as they may be in Ireland by the last of July; and to be remembered that order be taken about ten days hence for the dispatch of that levy.

"A letter to be written to the Mayor of Cork taking knowledge of his forwardness in Her Majesty's service."

Money to be sent for three months' pay. The full proportion of oats that John Wood was to provide dispatched away. No more oatmeal to be provided, but instead thereof butter and cheese. The Earl of Thomond's company may be paid in Munster, the money for the same to be defalked of the treasure to be sent to Dublin, and sent to Munster. Direction to be given how to proceed with Florence McCarthy. Instructions concerning the rumour of Spanish invasion.

(b.) For Dublin.

Munition to be sent; 12 last of powder, 10 tons of lead, &c. Victuals to be sent for two months for 8,000. Money for three months. Defalcation to be made for the powder spent, "unless it be in a day's service." The Lord Deputy assented unto this in his Instructions, "therefore it is to be signified to his Lordship by the letter that, if it be not observed, the charge thereof must be defalked out of his Lordship's entertainment."

1600.

Another abuse increasing Her Majesty's charge in the lead. "The soldier was wont heretofore to cast his bullets himself, and now of late there is a charge grown to the Queen, in a manner as much as the lead itself, by casting of the bullets. Besides, the cask that is provided to carry the bullets in, doth much increase Her Majesty's charge. Order to be given by the letter for reformation of this abuse."

Unjust exactions by the Commissaries of victuals for the bags in which the meal is carried. This to be reformed, and the Commissaries blamed. The bags are to be restored; or if not, the Captain is to pay 12*d.* for every bag detained. The Queen is to bear the charge of the bags.

"When the Earl of Essex came from Dublin, there were left five or six and twenty lasts of powder; and, as Sir John Davies saith, five or six and thirty."

(c.) For Lough Foyle.

"Three thousand pounds to be sent for Lough Foyle. The same to be carried to Dublin, and thence to be conveyed to Lough Foyle. Straight charge to be given to the Treasurer not to meddle therewith, but to suffer it to pass entire for the service of Lough Foyle." Order to be taken for supplying the two crompters. The companies for Lough Foyle landed on the sixth of May at Carrickfergus, till which time they did not spend of their victuals. Some shipwrights to be taken up and sent for the making of boats. Captain Hart to be spoken withal. Certain other artificers to be taken up and sent, according to the demand that is made. Five hundred men to be sent, because the 500 before mentioned were intended for Munster. A new provision of meal and butter only, before their present victual be wasted.

(d.) Private letters:—To Lord Barry, thanking him for his good service; to Sir Nicholas Walsh, thanking him for assistance to the Lord President in the absence of [Chief] Justice Saxey; to the Earl of Thomond, for his further encouragement to assist the Lord President; and to Lord Dunboyne and to O'Dwyne, Sheriff of Tipperary, on their defeat of John McThomas.

Lord Barry to have a company of 200, and the lands and castle of James McThomas at Conhye. Charles McCarthy to have a company. Captain King to be punished for his misbehaviour in carrying over the 500 men into Munster, and withdrawing himself thence to Dublin.—[1600,] June 11. *Unsigned. pp. 3½.*

June 12.
Cannon Row.

105. Sir John Harrington to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have sought among all my writings I had here for the little discourse and names your Honour spoke of, but it is in the country, and till Wednesday next I do not expect it; but I have sent into the country for it, and by that time I make full account to receive it.

"By examining of a brief journal I kept in Ireland, I have only collected this for the present in mine own notes, that there was knighted in April one Mr. Mostian; the 12th of May, Mr. Tasborow. What time my Lord Lieutenant began his journey to Munster, and Sir Griffin Markham, with his troop of horse, and I [?] were sent to Roscommon in Connaught, but (*sic*) we heard the same month of

1600.

the knighting of a Captain called Mr. Rush; in the beginning of June, Mr. Francis Barkley of Askeaton. In the return toward Dublin in divers places there were knighted before the twelfth of July, Mr. Constable, Mr. Pooley, with about ten more. The twelfth of July at Sir W[illiam] Warren's, there were eleven knights made, of which I remember chiefly Mr. Varney, Mr. Cary, and there were nine more. About the 15th of the same, in the Castle of Dublin, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Godolphin, Mr. Lacon. The 22nd of July, Mr. Hewet Osborn, at Maynooth. The 27th, McCoghlan, Dillon, McSwyne Ne Doe; the 30th of July, nine knights, Mr. Percy, Thomas Burke, Mr. Linley, Mr. Fynsh, Mr. Gasken, Captain William Warren, John Harrington, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Vaughan—all these in the journey of Offally in the camp. And I remember there were reckoned to have been made in all about forty and one. After this came the journey of the Curlews, and from that to the journey of the north, viz., till I met my Lord at Ardraccan, I heard of none; and that was 29 of August. About the 9th of September, Mr. Fulke Conway, Mr. Lovelace the pensioner, Mr. Heydon, and four more. Between this and the 24[th], divers were made, among which were most of those that had been Low Country Captains, but I find not their names. [On the] 24 of September, at my Lord's parting, five: Mr. Ratclyffe, Mr. Baynam, Mr. Osborn, Mr. Loftus, Mr. Loftus (*sic, twice*). The number after the Offally journey was reckoned forty; in all 81. This is all I can certify your Honour of this matter for the present."—Cannon Row, 1600, June 12. [*Sir Robert Cecil has added two names, James Knowdt [? Knott], Davy O'Dempsey.*] *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 13.
London.

106. Edmond Tyrry to Sir Robert Cecil. As agent for the city of Cork, beseeches his Honour in behalf of the said Corporation. "The said city is one of the ancientest cities within Her Highness[']s realm of Ireland, and hath been ever since the conquest most faithful and true to Her Majesty and [her] most noble progenitors, and never since attainted of any rebellion or other disloyalty whatsoever, which they and their posterity shall continue, according their bounden duty, during their natural lives." Now, by means of the late rebellion "of the traitor Tyrone, the said citizens are brought to extreme poverty, having lost all their cattle, rents, debts, and profits of their lands in the country, which was their relief and maintenance, and now driven to live hard upon what they have within circuit of the walls of that city and their poor trade, bearing other great charges for advancement of Her Majesty's service." Begs Sir Robert's furtherance of the requests hereunto annexed, which will be accounted a full satisfaction for all the city's losses and trouble, and be in no way prejudicial to Her Majesty's service.—London, 1600, June 13. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Encloses :—

106. i. "*The humble requests of the Mayor and Corporation of Cork in Ireland.*"

That the said city may be incorporated by the name of Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons, and a County, as the city of Waterford

1600.

and the town of Drogheda are. And, as for the exception taken, that Her Majesty could not be served at Sessions time with sufficient jurators of that city, undertakes in the behalf of that Corporation, to produce at least forty good and sufficient freeholders from the citizens, who are always summoned at all Sessions, and will continue so to be. "And for no good the said citizens would not be exempted from juries, for that they know it would be their utter undoing, for divers considerations." That their liberties or franchises may be enlarged three or four miles. They have at present only one mile compass and all the rest of the corporate cities and towns in Ireland, especially Kinsale near Cork, have three or four. The lands within the three or four mile compass belong to the citizens of Cork.

"Touching their wardships, they humbly pray that, in respect they have by charter granted by Her Majesty and [her] most noble progenitors, these words, *Et quod possint maritare se et filios et filias suas et viduas suas sine licencia nostra vel dominorum suorum, &c.*, that the same may be more expressly amplified touching the wardship of our bodies, and that such lands as are within the city and franchises may not be in wardship, in respect we hold the same by burgage tenure, but that the profit thereof may be to the use of the young orphans, the same being but of very little value, towards their maintenance; the said wardship being but lately brought up by (sic) Sir John Perrot's time, being Lord Deputy, who would not permit any learned counsel to plead our charter, but bestowed the same upon his men."

To have one "measse" herring, once a year upon every boat that shall fish herring in that haven, in respect the citizens have builded a tower called Blackrock, two miles distant from the city, where all ships and barks laden do ride at anchor, whereas, before the building thereof, ships and barks laden were carried away from the road; and for other great considerations and charges the citizens are at for keeping good rule and order in that haven from time to time, as the city of Waterford hath for keeping of the town called the Passage of Waterford.

"That the arrearages of wax, due upon the said Corporation, may be remitted by charter, since the 18th of Her Majesty's reign, according to your Honour's letters directed to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to be allowed by concordatum, and that we pay the 20*l.* wax yearly, at Easter and Michaelmas hereafter." Endorsed:—1600. In Tyrry's handwriting. p. 1.

June 15.
Dublin.

107. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Recommending the bearer, Captain William Yelverton, who has served in Ireland this dozen years and upwards. He was in Connaught under Sir Richard Bingham. Yelverton is very desirous now of employment, both to do Her Majesty some acceptable service, and to revenge his own particular harms, and loss of two of his brethren, lately slain by the rebels. Holds him very fit to have the leading of 100 men.—Dublin, 1600, June 15. Signed. p. 1.

1600.
June 15.

108. P[atrick Plunket], Lord of Dunsany, to Sir Robert Cecil. "There be now gone to you certain agents for the country, being but three in number, contrary to their first purpose, which was three out of every shire, which was by persuasion reduced into these few, to avoid the public note that such a multitude would procure. The chief of them, my Lord of Howth, is a man stout, wealthy, and well affected to his country. The other, Sir Patrick Barnewall, is very wise, honest, and most reposed upon. The third, Rocheford, is a diligent observer of the government, popular in the highest degree, and a piece of a lawyer. Their purpose is to disclose their long grievances, procured by bad governors, who still labour to lay the blame thereof upon them, the better to hide or excuse their own ignorance, corruption, or malice, which toucheth them nearer at the heart than the loss of their goods, the ruin of their houses, and spoil of their lands occasioned thereby; and therefore do hope to have favourable hearing, or otherwise, of my knowledge, do intend to repose their safety in desperation.

"And albeit this matter breaks out now in this the government of my Lord Mountjoy, yet hath it been long abreeding, but still deferred in hope of amendment, which they never finding (notwithstanding infinite promises here upon their many complaints), do now resort to the fountain head, from whence they hope to draw home contentment to the poor subject, by bringing means that they may enjoy every man his own without oppression, according as the law of God, of nations, and of Her Majesty's realms, doth allow them. These being their own words, I thought good to acquaint you with them, that your resolution of their dispatch may be according your foreknowledge of their intent. Of these three, Sir Patrick Barnewall is best worthy your conference, as a man endowed with parts that may challenge the trust of the best."
—1600, June 15. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the first of July. *Holograph.* p. 1.

[June 15.] **109.** "A declaration of the present state of the English Pale of Ireland, and of many the causes which have brought the same to misery and extreme distress."

Extent of the Pale. The spoils committed there. This waste and destruction has grown in three ways; by the incursions of the traitors and rebels; by the daily great insolencies, extreme outrages, and disorders of soldiers; and by the manifold burdens laid on the subjects by Her Majesty's Governors, Council, and Commanders. Details under these three heads. To prevent these spoilings and burdens, the Pale offered to have in readiness 500 horsemen, to serve at Her Majesty's pay, but the offer was not accepted, through suspicion of lack of due affection of the inhabitants towards Her Majesty's service; "of which imagination we see no cause or colour, except it be for the general opinion of difference in matters of religion and conscience conceived of this country people, which seemeth a very fallible argument of disloyalty, and a frivolous suggestion, as the manner of your Highness[s] subjects' carriage here doth sufficiently declare.

1600.

“By our loyal bearing of the before-mentioned burthens and calamities, and many other things of like sort, for brevity's sake omitted; by the deaths of sundry gentlemen of the English race of the Pale, that have spent their blood and lost their lives in these late tumults, in resisting the rebels and enemies; by that also, that most of the notablest rebels that have borne arms here against your Majesty, since the beginning of your Highness[’s] reign, have been slain and overthrown by your subjects of this country birth, as the Earl of Desmond, James FitzMaurice, Callough O’Connor, Rory Oge, Con McCollo, and divers others; it may plainly appear (as we confidently hope your Majesty will conceive) what faithful and hearty affection we carry towards your Majesty, upon whose gracious care and regard of us our whole hope doth altogether depend.”

[1600, June 15.] *Signed by eighteen noblemen and gentlemen of the English Pale.* pp. 13.

June 16.
Kilkenny.

110. The Earl of Ormonde to Queen Elizabeth. “Most gracious and dread Sovereign, it may please your sacred Majesty to be advertised that it pleased God of His goodness to deliver me (though weak and sick) from the most malicious, arrogant, and vile traitor of the world, Onie McRory, forced to put into his hands certain hostages for payment of 3,000*l.*, if at any time hereafter I shall seek revenge against him or his, which manner of agreement (although it be very hard) could not be obtained before he saw me in that extremity and weakness as I was like (very shortly) to have ended my life in his hands; the matter also being much furthered by an universal report, procured by myself, my wife, and other my friends, of your Highness[’s] resolution without delay to send into this province of Leinster exceeding great forces of English, as well to cities and borough towns, as to everywhere else; which wrought such alteration (to my benefit) in the Irishry of Leinster, as some of them offered, rather than I should still remain prisoner to draw such mischief upon them, to deliver some hostages from themselves to that insolent base traitor, or, it being denied, to become his utter enemies.

“Among other my miseries (most gracious Sovereign), I was often and earnestly moved by those damned wretches, through persuasion of their priests and others, to join with the Archtraitor in his most unnatural treasons, and for assurance thereof to deliver my daughter into their hands, whereunto I would never consent, though I died a thousand deaths, albeit they have often with great vehemency sworn (if I had not so done), they would violently end my life, or presently send me prisoner into Spain. But for any motion of marriage of my daughter to any of that base traitor Tyrone’s brood (upon my duty of allegiance to your Highness), I never thought of any like matter, neither was it demanded of me.

“During my remain among the traitors, I found a mean to come by a letter sent by a friar in Ulster, lately come out of Spain with the supposed Archbishop of Dublin arrived in Ulster, which being (in my opinion) a letter of great consequence, importing an intent of Spanish forces to be sent this next August to this realm, and other

1600.

matters of moment, I do send herewith [*wanting, but see No. 111. i.*] to your most excellent Majesty, together with the copy of a paper brought unto me the very instant I was to depart from the traitors, to take an oath according the contents thereof, and after to subscribe the same; otherwise myself and my hostages to be stayed. All which, by God's providence, I avoided, the traitors' purpose being (if I had signed the same) to show it to such as they thought would be the sooner drawn to join with them in their traitorous actions. The want of a secretary of their own, and the absence of Archer the Jesuit, and such others of them as understood the English tongue, enforced the traitors to commit the writing of that bill to one that wished better unto me than unto them, as by the style thereof may appear.

"Now I may not forget upon the knees of my heart to yield unto your most excellent Majesty all humble thanks for your Highness['s] most gracious and comfortable letters sent to my wife in the time of my miserable captivity, and also on my behalf to your Majesty's Lord Deputy here; for which, and all other your Highness['s] rare and princely favours, I can yield no more than that your Majesty hath ever possessed, being your old servant Lucas his faithful heart and true service, which shall continue until the last hour of his life, praying Almighty God to bless your Majesty with a long and most prosperous reign, to the comfort of me and all other your faithful subjects, and to the overthrow of all your foreign enemies and unnatural traitors."—Kilkenny, 1600, June 16. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 3.

Encloses :—

110. i. "*Be it known to all men, by these presents, that I, Thomas Earl of Ormonde, being captive in the hands of Onie McRory, and being not to be redeemed otherwise, am compelled to be sworn to take part with the said Onie in his rebellious actions. Morgan McBrian and Redmond McFeagh, to win my liberty, hath (sic) promised to join with me to do the same. Witness our hands the 12th of June, 1600.*" Copy, unsigned. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

June 16.
Kilkenny.

111. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. His deliverance from the hands of Onie McRory.

"During my abode among those traitors, I came by a letter sent to the traitor Richard Butler, son-in-law to Tyrone, importing some matters of weight, the copy whereof I do send herewith to your good Lordships, together with two letters from Tyrone, the one to myself, and the other to my wife, and in both mention made of a marriage, which (I vow to God) I never heard nor thought of before.

"I doubt not but your Lordships are advertised of the dangerous state of this province of Leinster, a great part of the English Pale, and the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford being lately burned and spoiled by the traitors Richard Butler and Edward Butler, sons to my Lord of Mountgarrett, Onie McRory, Donnell Spainagh, the Moores, Connors, Kavanaghs, and divers others, which put the traitors in such insolvency and pride, knowing the weakness of Her Majesty's forces here, and their own companies daily increasing,

1600.

and much the more enriched and furnished by these late spoils, as (in my opinion, under your Lordships' reformation) it is most necessary to send some forces presently to suppress them.

"I understood (during my imprisonment), and likewise received the same in great secrecy from Archer the Jesuit, that Spanish forces are expected to arrive here in Ireland this next August, and that Limerick and other Corporations in those parts are assured unto them. How true this is I cannot say, yet have I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordships therewith. Being in point of my delivery from the traitor Onie, and ready to take horse the 12th of this month, a paper was brought unto me from him, to take an oath according the contents thereof, and after to subscribe to the same, otherwise I and my hostages to be stayed. All which (through God's providence) I avoided; the copy of which paper I do send your Lordships herewith" [*wanting, but see enclosure to last*].—Kilkenny, 1600, June 16. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 30th. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

Encloses:—

111. i. *Friar Nicholas Marob to Richard Butler. Their long acquaintance in Kilkenny, being schoolfellows together with Mr. Michael Sheeth. A little after Butler departed his study, Marob went to Spain, and continued there, until he accompanied the Archbishop of Dublin, a friar of the Franciscan order, on this journey to Ireland. Is also a friar of the same order. "The King of Spain sent in our company two ships of munitions to my Lords O'Neill and O'Donnell, in the which ships came a thousand guns with their flasks and 'moules,' a thousand quintals of lead, and a thousand quintals of match, with so much more of powder. This was sent as a furtherance to these Catholic princes, and about August next, the King of Spain gave his word to send hither an army of eight thousand men, with a great store of money and provision. In the mean let your Honour be of good comfort, and fight for the Catholic faith manfully, as you have done hitherto. The King of Spain sent also to my Lord O'Neill a chain of gold with his own arms, and a flag. The General of Spain sent him a morion and a target. The King also sent to my Lord O'Donnell a chain of gold, and unto both these Princes sent letters of commendations. If I can possibly, I will see your own person shortly. I am a priest all this year. Mrs. Mary O'Neill hath her commendations to your Honour, and to my Lady Margaret her sister, your Honour's bedfellow, and so have I thousand commendations to your Honour, whom God increase and prosper in His holy service. Your Honour shall do me a great pleasure in advertising me of your Honour's good health by the next messenger. To Father Archer my commendations."*—Dungannon, 1600, May 28. *Addressed*: "To my very good Lord, Mr. Richard Butler, son-in-law to the Prince of Ulster, my Lord O'Neill, this give with trust wheresoever he be." *Copy*. p. 1.

111. ii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone ("O'Neill") to the Countess of Ormonde. "Madam, I have written to your Ladyship before (for want of opportunity) in mine own natural language, which I think you did not so well understand as you might conceive*

1600.

my full meaning. Therefore I thought necessary by this letter to give you to understand that I am not unmindful of such good turns as I received at my Lord's hands; especially his Honour being in extremity, I cannot, for avoiding ingratitude, but requite his honourable courtesies showed me long heretofore, albeit his severity against such as held with me was so extraordinary, as it was sufficient to blot the memory of any favours whatsoever heretofore done. I have written to Onie McRory requesting him to take sufficient pledges for my Lord, and then to enlarge his Honour, conditionally that he henceforward, upon his book oath, and upon pain of executing his pledges and all to him belonging, shall abstain to do me, or any one that is or shall be in this action, any hindrance or hurt; and albeit it is commonly reported that my Lord his only pledge is my lady mistress, yet in regard that men would think that I should seek her, under colour of a pledge, for my son, I will in no sort demand her, chiefly being a thing which might tend to my Lord's great prejudice; and, howsoever the world will be, I hope to get such a match for my son as shall seem to his state convenient, and assuredly I had rather to match him with one far inferior to him, than to desire any match that might be to my Lord or to your Ladyship hurtful; so I have written that in no sort the young lady should be demanded, leaving in their own election to choose other good pledges for my Lord's enlargement. I end, assuring you that I am ready to take the best course I can for his honourable liberty. Near the Newry, the 5th of June, 1600, requesting your Ladyship to do my hearty commendations to my Lady mistress."

[Postscript.] "I received by sundry letters from Onie and others that my Lord was, without any kind of treachery or word given, taken; and, if the contrary happened, your Ladyship may be assured that I will never favour Onie, unless, without any kind of thing, he will immediately enlarge his Honour; and, although by his release all Ireland were destroyed, yet if treacherously he was taken, I will procure his enlargement according the uttermost of my power, for, while ever I live, I will never maintain an act so dishonourable." Copy. p. 1.

111. iii. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone ("O'Neill") to the Earl of Ormonde. "Pax Christi. My Lord, no alteration of your estate shall be sufficient to alter my goodwill towards you, neither extremity whatsoever shall cause me forget what favourable turns you showed me long heretofore, albeit your extraordinary severity used against such as held with me might be sufficient to discharge me from requiting your courtesies. And though that course you held in the discharge of your duty (as you term it) and of the trust reposed in you, yet such excess hath been in execution used and rigour showed, as by duty no man thereunto was bound." His letter to Onie to take pledges from Ormonde, "only my lady mistress excepted," in case men said Tyrone demanded her for his son.—Camp near the Newry, 1600, June 6.

[Postscript.] "I request your Honour in any case to procure the liberty of a boy, who is prisoner in Knockfergus. He is but

1600.

young, and no great pledge, for he is son to Shane McBrian. This is all the ransom that I seek for your Honour's liberty."
Copy. p. ½.

June 16.
Kilkenny.

112. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "I doubt not but you have been made acquainted long sithence with my unfortunate chance in lighting into the hands of the base and barbarous traitor, Onie McRory, from whom I never thought to have escaped alive, every day threatened to be murdered or sent prisoner into Spain, by the procurement of the most wicked villain and unnatural traitor, James Archer, the Jesuit. The manner whereof I have more at large written to Her Majesty and the Lords of the Council, and appointed my letters to be first delivered unto you, who I know will be made acquainted with the contents of them. Among other matters I have written of the great strength and pride of the rebels of Leinster, praying you, when the same shall come in question, to be mean for the speedy sending of forces convenient to suppress them, otherwise it must go very hard with the subjects of this province. I find many ways your honourable and kind care of me, when any causes that concern me come in question; for which you shall be requited with my faithful love and unfeigned friendship, if there be any occasion for you to make trial of me."—Kilkenny, 1600, June 16. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 30th, by Mr. Sherwood. *Signed*. p. 1.

June 17.
Limerick.

113. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "After I had taken order with the chieftains of Barry's country, Muskerry, and Carberry, to contain those parts in some quietness till my return, I assembled together Her Majesty's whole forces in this province, and with them, the 21st of the last, began my journey towards Limerick, marching the same day near Moyallo, where I encamped, and the next day I lodged within five miles of Kilmallock, and the third day within a mile of that town, where the White Knight (according the last joint letter sent from hence) made his humble submission, and attended me from thence to Limerick. With whom having some care to deal effectually, for the assurance of his loyalty hereafter, I found him very reasonable to perform the same by any meet course, but by reason he had some pledges taken by Tyrone at his late being in Munster, and referred to the charge of Redmond Bourke, who still holdeth them, he humbly entreated respite to see if, in some short time, he could procure their safeties, and then to satisfy me on Her Majesty's behalf. Which if he find to be anything tedious or difficult, conditioned with me not to defer time therein, but to leave them to God, and for the performance thereof took a corporal oath upon a *Pius Quintus*. In which respect having also since heard from him (being within the time respited), of the zeal he hath to become a new man, and to deserve Her Majesty's grace by his endeavours to advance her service, I have a good opinion of his true meaning, and do expect an end daily of his assurance, for that the time within fourteen days will be expired. In this

1600.

meanwhile he hath behaved himself exceeding dutifully, and is a good neighbour to Kilmallock, taking equal care with Her Majesty's garrison for the defence of the castle of that town.

"From Effin (the encamping place aforesaid near Kilmallock), I marched the 24th to the Bruff, a castle which was sometimes Sir George Thornton's, but since the war held by the traitor Piers Lacy, to annoy the passage between Kilmallock and Limerick; which I finding to be of good strength, and well accommodated to disturb the traitors in the castle of Loughgirr, lying somewhat near unto it, I placed therein a ward, without charge to Her Majesty, and saw them furnished with all means to serve till I had taken the said castle of Loughgirr. Which, upon the view I took thereof in my passing by, saw (*sic*) that by the cannon I might (though with some difficulty in the approach) carry it, and so went directly to Limerick, encamping the army two miles distant from the town. The next day I busied myself in mounting the cannon, wherein I found many impediments, being enforced, out of many old and unserviceable mountures, to make one to serve my turn; and as for ginns and other habiliments, I was constrained to make all new, having none in the store; and that which troubled me most, was want of workmen and gunners, this town yielding none that were practised in that art, nor yet capable of directions when the same was given. But yet at last I performed the service. In the mean time the rebels having intelligence of my preparation to visit them, one Owen Grooma, a stranger of the north, to whose charge Desmond had referred the castle of Loughgirr, quitted the place, and delivered it, upon condition that I would grant unto him Her Majesty's gracious protection, until his pardon might be passed, into the hands of one Ulick Browne, a freeholder in this county, of whom I have as good assurance for the safe keeping of it for Her Majesty, as may be required, and without charge unto her. This castle of Loughgirr, and the castle of the Bruff are of very great import for the service, for that they give the better liberty to the cattle of Kilmallock (which is the greatest prey appertaining unto any town in Ireland) to graze abroad, and have so cleared the passage between Limerick and that town, which before no man could pass without a great convoy, as that two or three horsemen do daily pass that way, and the trade between this city and that town is now open, which before was shut. After I had some three days a little rested, and refreshed the army with drink and fresh victuals, and given in that time some directions for necessities to be prepared to answer other occasions, I dislodged, and with the army marched into Clanwilliam (a country of the Bourkes), where two of the best of them submitted themselves; one of them called John Bourke [*Sir Robert Cecil has written on the margin:—*'John Bourke, son-in-law to Sir G. Thornton, and half-brother by the mother to Piers Lacy'], being of good strength, both in castles and followers, and half-brother to the traitor Piers Lacy, and from both of whom I have since taken good assurances. Where I took a castle of one of the Bryans, called Ballytarsny, eight miles from Limerick a place of no less strength and worth than Loughgirr; for that on that side of the country it stopped the passage between Limerick and Cashel,

1600.

which now, by reason of the ward put therein, is well freed and made open, and yet the keeping thereof no charge to Her Majesty. For that I, upon good pledge and assurance, delivered it to the safe keeping of McBryan O'Gonough, agent of the country near unto it, and who, I make no doubt, will have due care thereof.

“The day following, I sent forth 500 foot, under the leading of such captains as by their knowledge were able to perform the service, into the O'Mulrians, a fast and strong country, and notorious traitors, being in the cantred of Owghny, to burn and spoil the same, which (with the killing of some of the traitors) they did in short time, and with good safety returned. By which course having well cleared that part of the country at my back, upon my return to Limerick again, I thought fit for a time to divide the army, as well to refresh the soldiers (who, by reason of foul weather, which never failed us in all this time, did begin to fail of health), as to provide all other necessities fit for the battering of certain castles upon this river, which of necessity must be taken in; and so laid garrisons, viz., at Lykeadowne, a place of good strength bordering upon Conolough, the traitors' chiefest fastness in Munster; at Kilmallock, and at Askeaton, which are the chiefest places to annoy them, being in the heart of their fastness. But in placing this garrison at Askeaton, I found myself encountered with many difficulties, wanting necessary means to supply them from time to time of boats and such like, which hath bred me very much trouble. But now these garrisons, being for a time placed in the borders of Conolough, will constrain the enemy (having there gathered together all the strength he can possibly make), to break and disperse, by reason they cannot have means to keep so many as they are, over and above their fighting men, long together. By which course they will be more subject to many ruins, and the way for my purpose to besiege Carrigfoyle and the castle of the Glan the better made open unto me [*Sir Robert Cecil has written on the margin:—‘Castle of Glann, the Knight of the Valley. Carrigfoyle belongs to John O'Connor Kerry’*], which, so soon as I have somewhat cleared Conolough, as I have done Clanwilliam and the other parts as I marched, I do purpose to undertake, which will be ere long (God assisting me).

“I do find from amongst the rebels that they begin very much to stagger, and are possessed with many wavering humours, rather seeming to fear all amongst themselves than to trust any; and would make little doubt but to satisfy your Lordships in short time with a very good account and reckoning of these wars, were it not for the assistance of Dermott O'Connor, Captain of their bonnaughts, or hired men, who hath under his own command 1,400, besides others with less numbers under him, which are the greatest strength the rebels have; and will prolong the same very much, for that he himself, being a poor man in the beginning of this war, of no better credit than a kern, and not owner of two ploughlands in Connaught, knoweth not better how to spend his time, than to be resident and employed where he gaineth so much, and commandeth so absolutely, and thereby is grown to such a reputation amongst his countrymen, as he is able to bring unto them above 2,000 men more, were they as able to give them content and satisfaction. This will be the greatest means of the

1600.

continuance of this rebellion, for of the natives of Munster I make no reckoning, having means sufficient, by such instruments as I have found, to set division amongst them; wherein I have already sowed such distrust in their wavering humours, as it appears unto me they have no great opinion of any good success.

“I have been of late importuned by the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of the Valley, and John O’Connor, men of this province of best means and quality amongst them, to be received into grace and favour; and whom (*sic*) I doubt not will perform their offers, if they be not changed by observing Florence McCarthy’s neutral humour, which now I find to be doubtful, and more bent (as by his actions appeareth) to combine again with the traitors than to manifest any desire to become honest. These rebels have so rateably laid down and proportioned their number of bonnaughts, as that the burden of them doth not so much pinch them as is supposed, and now in the summer season they have no feeling of any charge, living upon the milk and butter of their kine grazing on the mountains and in fastness, which holds this rebellion on foot longer than otherwise it would. But of their harvest, wherein their chief hope remaineth to live in winter, I purpose, God willing, to frustrate their expectations in burning and consuming the same; and in the mean time will not be idle in winning of castles, and attending such other services as occasion shall offer. I wish they had more strangers amongst them, to make them weary, and yet, as in our former joint letters, there is no less than 4,000. So soon as I have reduced Conolough into some better terms by taking the two castles of Carriggofoyle and the Glan aforesaid, I do intend (by God’s furtherance) to descend into Kerry, to see into what state and conditions I may bring that country; from which I purpose to return to attend the harvest causes. For now the whole burden of the service lying in these parts, maketh me hopeful after some lingering time, in that they hold altogether their fastness. At my coming into this province, they lay in great strength about Lismore and Youghal, and up and down between that and Waterford, and likewise in the county of Cork, which so offended those passages daily as the townsmen of Waterford could not with any safety pass any way a mile from the town, nor any way at all between Cork and Youghal, or Cork and Moyallo, or Kilmallock, lying purposely in those parts to intercept passengers, and to stop the intercourse, which now is so well cleared and freed, as that from Cork to Waterford that way, and from Cork to Limerick, and from Limerick to Waterford the passage is daily more and more used, and so little danger therein to annoy them, as six horsemen may safely travel; only the ways are troubled with straggling base rogues, none of them able to keep, or make to follow him, twenty men. And I may assure your Lordships that were it not for the certain intelligencies I daily receive, as well of the traitors being and moving from place to place, as of their strength and number, I should hardly be persuaded here were any at all in Munster; for that since my setting forth at Cork (notwithstanding their great brags, uttered in their pride, that, before I came to Moyallo, they would give me a welcome, and that I should make my passage over their bellies, which was spoken by James FitzThomas), they have

1600.

not hitherto shewed themselves in any part of the country, where I might but see them, but have hidden them in their fastness, where they mean to live till some greater famine and scarcity pinch them, which I will endeavour and hope daily more and more to bring upon them.

“Here arrived before my coming the proportion of victual for 1,600 men for three months, sent by Captain John Wood, which I gave direction upon my repair hither to have viewed touching the condition thereof (as in our late joint letter I advertised), which proportion being short to answer the occasion now here, in respect the service requireth my attendance most in these parts with the army, and that my stay will be longer hereabouts than before I could set down, I am constrained to send from hence one of the crompters to Cork, to bring hither unto me a further quantity thereof, together with the three lasts of powder landed there since my coming thence. And therefore (notwithstanding that, in my former letters, I did humbly entreat your Lordships that such proportions of victuals and munition as you should be pleased to direct for the service of this province might come equally divided, the one half to Cork, and the other to Limerick), I do now most humbly crave that you will be hereafter pleased to direct to Limerick two parts both of victual and munition, and the third to Cork, where is and will be least use of it; and that your Lordships will also vouchsafe in due time to see the army relieved and supplied, as well with some good quantities thereof as to your wisdoms shall seem convenient, as also with a new sum of treasure, for that (as in our said late despatch to your Lordships we advertised), the last was to expire by the Paymaster’s certificate sent therewith about the 14th of this month, which urgeth me carefully to solicit, yet leave the same to your Lordships’ honourable considerations. And because for sundry respects for the advancement of Her Majesty’s service, I find very great assistance in the employment of these crompters, being now occasioned to send one of them to Cork both for victual and munition, and to retain the other here to aid me in the besieging of the castles aforesaid; and have been formerly constrained to waft a bark of victual from Cork to Galway in one of them, and in the other sent both money and munition hither, at my coming from Cork, which accordingly met me here, and without which the service in these parts could not have proceeded; as also their being here hath [besides] freed these coasts of Irish pirates, and cleared the river of Shannon from the exercise of the traitors’ galleys, wherewith they begin to abound, being now grown perfect seamen, and practise the same with greater numbers than ever they did before that they had blocked up the river from trade, and thereby restrained the merchants of this town from their ordinary traffic until their coming, since when not one of the said galleys is to be seen, nor any piracy along these coasts used; for which respects, and that also I shall be very often occasioned to employ her, as well in the like service of wafting and carrying provisions along this coast from place to place, as to be ready to answer all other needful services, and to prevent this use of galleys, who (*sic*) heretofore have done very great spoils and outrages upon such as they were able to overcome, I do most humbly

1600.

beseech your Lordships that it may please you to license me to continue one of them in wages, until the services in these parts be somewhat eased; and, so soon as the employment of the other now in hand is performed, I will return her thither. In the meantime, till I may receive your Lordships' pleasure herein, I will humbly presume upon your honourable favours to continue her, and employ her as here shall be cause.

"According your Lordships' late direction to have Her Majesty's castle in Limerick repaired, as well for the storing up therein Her Highness's munition and victuals, and keeping of prisoners, as to be a very good bridle over this insolent town, I have appointed Justice Goold and Joshua Aylmer to view and survey the same, and with the advice of workmen to lay down an estimate as near the charge thereof, as by a consideration of the particulars of the work to be done, in their best judgments they may; which so soon as they have performed shall be accordingly returned to your Lordships.

"And where your Lordships have been pleased to assign for extraordinary disbursements belonging to the service in this province the sum of 1,000*l.* per annum, I do most humbly beseech your honourable regard and consideration, that by reason (the whole weight and burden of the service lying in these parts), I shall be occasioned, through the exceeding lack of garrans and carriage horses here to perform these needful services by land, to use very much water carriage to answer my turn, and the same also so scant and unnecessary, as will both defer much time, and drive me to a larger expense than I would be willing, for that here is not so much as one boat belonging to this town, other than small cotts used only by fishermen, which will contain very little, and thereby (the service being now great, and the prosecution more hot than at any time before), I shall be constrained the oftener to employ them to and from, to supply the army with all kinds of means, which will be the cause of a far greater expense and more toil, and seeing I have no other means here how to advance the service than by these small cotts (whose employment during my abode in these parts must be daily), I do humbly beseech that your Lordships will be pleased (if by these enforced occasions I shall hereafter find the same proportion of 1,000*l.* to grow scant or short to answer the extraordinary services of these kinds), to augment and enlarge the same to such a further sum as in your grave wisdoms shall then seem meet."—Limerick, 1600, June 17. [*Postscript.*] "Since the perclosing hereof Justice Goold returned unto me the certificate of the charge of Her Majesty's castle of Limerick in the reparation, which I send to your Lordships herewith" [*wanting*]. *Endorsed* :—Received at London the 25th. *Signed.* pp. 7.

June 17.
Limerick.

114. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Five days past I received letters from you without date, but yet by them it appears unto me that you have received my packet sent by Captain Brown, but [?not] my later packet from Cork the day I left that town, sent by one Smith, whom your Honour did recommend unto me by

1600.

your letters, in a cause depending between Sir Warham Sentleger and him about his house, whereof he was dispossessed by Sir Warham. The journal of my proceedings in this service, since I rose from Cork with the army, I have with these sent unto the Lords, and therefore all those particulars I will forbear to trouble you withal in this private letter. The cause that I have not written unto you since my being in the field until this present, hath been the fear of intercepting of letters, which hath often happened unto me since my coming into this province, as also letters that have been sent unto me, and divers messengers killed and hanged. In all this time of my government hitherto, nothing hath proceeded ill with me but the loss of Cahir, wherein if I may be justly censured, no imputation of blame can fall upon me. For when I intended this prosecution, in the which I am now in (*sic*), I could do no less than draw all Her Majesty's forces to a head, being all little enough to encounter so strong [an] enemy as James McThomas and his buonies, whose forces are no less than in my former letters have been advertised. That no error might arise, I directed my warrant to Sir John Dowdall, willing him to bring off Captain Blunt's company, and to leave a sufficient guard in the castle, which, to any man's judgment, might be safely held with fifteen men. Yet, to assure the place the better, he left in it by poll, as his own letters unto me extant do avouch, thirty-three men and one officer, with two months' lendings aforehand in money, 90 lbs. of powder with a greater quantity of match and lead, which number so well provided might have kept it for ever against all Ireland. But, fearing that they might be blocked up, and so make no use of their lendings (albeit I had no need to make any such doubt), I took order with my Lord of Dunboyne, Sir Walter Butler, the Sheriff of the county, the Seneschal of the same, and the Sovereign of Clonmell, to aid them, if they should have need of relief, which they undertook. But these wardens, whether out of negligence or treachery (for of the last I have a vehement suspicion) before I came to Limerick, were surprised by James Galde, the Lord of Cahir's brother, gaining the walls by scale, and was with his men in the hall, as I am informed, before the sentinel took any knowledge of an enemy. All the force that James Galde had was under sixty men. After a little fight, and in the fray a few being slain and the Constable wounded, they rendered themselves without any composition to James, who did them no more harm, but sent them safe to Clonmell, where I have caused them all to be laid up in prison until my return, to abide their trial. Since the taking of this castle, James Galde did write an humble submissive letter unto me, colouring his traitorous act with many idle excuses, protesting himself to be a subject, and promising hereafter to do good service, so as he may be entertained by Her Majesty, and that the ordnance in the castle shall be safely kept and undefaced to Her Majesty's use, and stands not upon obstinate terms to surrender the castle into my hands. Of regaining the castle and ordnance I have no doubt, for, when the service will give me leave to attend that business, I make no doubt of it, but my hopes are that by the next you shall hear it to be (*sic*) delivered unto me. The loss that the Queen shall sustain by losing of it is nothing, for now that the White Knight and Patrick

1600.

Condor are subjects, there is no use of it. The scandal to lose it, being of such strength as that castle is of, is all the harm that is received; for, if it had not been surprised, to ease the Queen of so great a charge to no purpose, I did intend, upon 3,000*l.* bond of good men menable to law, to have surrendered it to the Lord of Cahir, being warranted so to do by the Lord Deputy and Council.

"Florence McCarthy, once since I came from Cork, wrote unto me a letter of good intelligence, and sent me also a letter of James McThomas written unto him, to pray his assistance against Her Majesty's army, which Florence directly refused to do. But now, since my coming into these parts, he hath been with James and Dermond O'Connor in Conologhe, not twelve miles from Limerick, and within two miles of Her Majesty's garrison at Askeaton. He brought with him O'Sullivan More, and left him prisoner with Dermond O'Connor (against O'Sullivan's will) as a pledge for the bonnaughts which he is to receive in Desmond, and is now departed home again, with intent to return within fourteen days with all his force, as it is reported; but, to say truly, I do not believe that he will enter into rebellion before he hears from you in answer of his demands; but, upon denial of them, then I fear I shall have cause to change my opinion. The greatest suspicion that I hold of him is, that at his being here so near as he was, that (*sic*) I received no letters from him, nor yet do I hear anything of his son, whom he promised to send unto me. James McThomas[s] direction of his letter is, 'To the Right Honourable his very good cousin the Lord MacCarty More,' which title, before he leave it, will cost the Queen more crowns than Desmond is worth, and therefore it is worthy of consideration.

"*Sir George Carew** found out one called Nugent, who promised him to do Her Majesty service upon the person of John McThomas. He was imprested by *Sir George Carew* with a horse, a pistol, some other munition, and 10*l.* in money. Nugent with a resolved intent did purpose to kill him with his pistol, and the same day that I had viewed Loughgirr, Nugent and John McThomas came thither. There was also one Copinger, sometimes a footman to Sir Walter Raleigh, unto whom Nugent did reveal his purpose, and promised him faithfully to assist him in the enterprise. Not long after, John McThomas departing thence towards Arlow woods, having but only these two abovenamed on horseback and two footmen with him, Nugent took his pistol in his hand, telling Copinger that now he would kill him, and, as he was ready to smite, Copinger snatched the pistol out of his hand, and cried 'Treason.' Nugent spurring his horse to have escaped, by misfortune his horse stumbled, and so he was taken, and within two days (after he had by Copinger's accusations been enforced to confess that he did acquaint *Sir George Carew* with this enterprise), he was fairly hanged; of whose death there is no great loss, for he was but a protected traitor, and I do think he would upon the least occasion have relapsed. *Sir George Carew* denies his knowledge of the pretence, and, for my own part, I was ignorant of it. *Derby O'Connor* hath sworn to perform the service,

* The italicised words are in cipher deciphered.

1600.

[the] *Archbishop of Cashel* doth follow it vehemently, *Sir George Carew* would willingly impart the circumstances unto you, but I do forbid him, for fear of intercepting of his letters. For, albeit the passage between Limerick and Cork is open, and free from any great force, yet the country swarms with straggling rebels and neural companions, that rob all the messengers they meet withal, to get intelligences. Ere it be long you shall hear more, for within a few days the event will appear, being now brought to a period, and I do really think that it will be effected.

“ In the letter which I have written to the Lords, I do more than doubtfully speak of Florence, and in this almost directly, that I think he purposes to be a rebel. But now I do in some sort recall that censure, by the receipt of these enclosed letters [*wanting*] which I received as I was writing of these; and, for your better understanding, I must paraphrase upon his own letter unto me. The first place underlined by me is Captain Gawen Harvey, who serves in one of the crompters, and brought money and munition to this town from Cork. When he came to Baltimore Florence would have had him to come on shore unto him, which he refused; and to go aboard Florence refused, and so they never spake. For refusing to come unto him, Florence calls him fool. The second underlined, he means Sir Fynnin O’Driscoll; the third place, Baltimore; the fourth, the Earl of Thomond; the fifth, the rebels; the sixth, O’Sullivan More; the seventh, Oviedo, the Spanish priest that came lately to Tyrone; the eighth, the Queen; the ninth, James McMorris the famous rebel; the tenth, the buonies. The long Spanish letter, your Honour can better judge of that than I; and for O’Neill’s, to ease you from translating of Irish, I do send you the original, and the copy unto you Englished. What to judge of Florence, I protest I know not, for as he deals plainly with me, so on the other side I know that he doth not forbear to do anything, or to swear a million of oaths to secure them of him. If his son were in my possession, I should be confident of him, but until then I hold him doubtful. Of the invasion looked for out of Spain, I must refer that unto your wisdoms, that one of the Council to [?] do consider of it, being better known unto you there, than we can by any means judge of the same here. Only this far I do humbly entreat, that, if any such thing is like to happen, that (*sic*) you would providently provide for it, and send directions unto me of your pleasures, which by God’s grace shall be performed, or I will die for it. If Her Majesty would have been pleased to have sent *James of Desmond* into Ireland with *Sir George Carew*, I do assure your Honour, upon my knowledge, that the wars in Munster had been by this time finished; and, since it is so expedient to send *James of Desmond* into Ireland, I do beseech your Honour to procure the same as soon as you may. For, if *Derby O’Connor* keep his oath, then *James of Desmond* must make one in the business; and, if promise be not kept, yet it is no less needful. My duty binds me to advise that which is best for the *Queen’s service*, else I would not importune it so much. The gracious favour, which you procured Her Majesty to do my Lord of Thomond, in writing unto him, doth much comfort him. I do assure you he is a faithful subject unto her, painful in her service, and of great

1600.

use in this kingdom, and your favours done unto him are not sowed in an unthankful soil.

"Towards the effecting of that you expect, *Derby O'Connor* hath already *Captain William Power* and his brother, and the two sons of [the] *Archbishop of Cashel*, as pledges for the observing of the conditions, which are in some things a little altered, and not to the disadvantage, as *Sir George Carew* thinks, for (sic) *Her Majesty*; otherwise there could be no agreement every hour brings hope of concluding. To ease your pain, let some else decipher it for you, which I wish were *Levinus* or *Heriot*.

"Your Honour will not believe how obstinately the traitors in this realm are led by the persuasion of the priests against *Her Majesty* and her government; insomuch as many of them, which are weary of rebellion and fain would be subjects, yet dare not, for fear of a bull of excommunication lately brought into this land from Rome, which threatens damnation to all those that do even submit themselves unto *Her Majesty*; and they are excluded from all the sacraments of their church. I have dealt with some who were contented and desirous to be subjects, and would put in any security that I could demand for their loyalties; but that which did most trouble them was to make their submissions, or bend their knees, to *Her Majesty*, which out of want of duty they did not make any scruple to do, but only because they were bound by the censure of the Church to refuse it. But I never received any, but upon humble submission in public; and have enforced the proudest that have come in unto me to humble himself according his duty; but, if this yoke upon their consciences were not, the war in Munster were at an end, being the poison of this rebellion. It is said that as yet the priests do bear with the towns, because in policy the time fits not for them to declare themselves; but surely I think it will not long be kept out of them. For it is in the wills of these priests to lay the censure of the Bull upon them; which when he shall roar in their streets, farewell their obedience.

"I have written unto your Honour in the commendation of the Mayor of this city and his brethren, but you know my opinion of them; and, to say truly, they are the worst people in Ireland. But yet I have good entertainment, and have commanded more absolutely in this city than any President before my time. The grievances between them and the Earl of Thomond, I have had no time to enter into them. I never saw more unreverent men to a noble man, without whose help they cannot live; for from his land they have all their wood and fuel, and pasture for their kine, with many other benefits; and yet they are not only unthankful, but give him all the occasions of spleen they can devise; and he, to win advantage, bears like a pack-horse, with the extremest patience that ever I saw in man. By this time I doubt not but you are tired, and therefore abruptly I cease to trouble you further."—*Limerick*, 1600, June 17.

Endorsed:—Received the 25 June. *Holograph. Seals. pp. 7.*

June 18.
Limerick.

115. *Sir George Carew* to *Sir Robert Cecil*. "Before I could dispatch this packet, intelligence was brought me that *Dermond O'Connor* hath taken *Desmond*, and divers others

1600.

of the principal rebels of Munster. I doubt not but to be possessed of him very shortly. Farther as yet I cannot write; but that he is in hand, it is most certain. This accident will break the heart of the war in this province, and, by that time that harvest is spent, the Queen's charges in these parts will be mightily eased. For I am in good hope ere Michaelmas to settle this province, [so] that a far less garrison shall command it absolutely. When I know more, and have dealt in this business as is meet, [the] *Archbishop of Cashel* shall be dispatched unto you. I humbly beseech you that 1080^s may be sent unto me, otherwise there will arise new cause of a farther charge than is needful. John of Desmond is not taken, but he is of no reputation amongst the rebels; and this benefit will fall out, that Connaught men will hereafter never more be trusted in Munster. They were the only maintainers of this rebellion; as for the provincials, I make no account of them. My Lord of Ormonde is enlarged; in what manner you may have better intelligence than by me, and therefore so I leave it."—Limerick, 1600, June 18.

[*Postscript.*] "The difficulties that *Sir George Carew* had to cause *Derby O'Connor* to follow his advice is incredible, for he is exceeding mistrustful.

"I humbly beseech you to procure money for Munster presently, for the present cause of disbursements will draw my small remainder to the bottom. I beseech your Honour to move the sending of it away, or else our work will stand still, which were great pity; for now, if the time be well taken, there is no doubt of event to our own desires." *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

June 18.
Barry Court.

116. David [Barry, Viscount] Buttevant, [Lord Barry,] to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since the writing of my last letters to your Honour, the Lord President of this province hath arrived at Dublin, which procured me to stay till his coming up hither. And being come about a month past, he hath, for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, persuaded me to desist from my pretended journey into England, wherein I yielded to his Lordship's advice and request, as being most unwilling to be missing where my service may any way stand Her Majesty in stead. His Lordship hath promised me that my suits shall receive as good success as if I had been there myself to follow the same, which by your Honour's means I only hope to obtain. My said former letters to your Honour do contain the purport of my requests standing in two points; that it may please Her Highness to grant unto me the castle of Conyhye and the lands thereto adjoining, called Kynaltalown, lately belonging to James FitzThomas the traitor, which lands contain thirty ploughlands. I have a good ancient title to the same, and what tenure, rent, or service that your Honour shall think fit to be reserved for those lands, I submit myself to the imposition thereof. If it shall please Her Majesty to grant the same, I will fortify the said castle, and put in a good garrison, that will offend such rebels as shall haunt Drumfennin woods. My other suit is, that it may

1600.

please Her Majesty, considering my great losses sustained by Tyrone and the rest of the traitors, and my sundry services done, that I may have entertainment for such competent companies as Her Majesty shall think fit for me, assuring your Honour that, with God's help, what furtherance I shall receive therein shall be faithfully employed to the great profit of Her Majesty and furtherance of her service. I have appointed this bearer, my servant, to prefer those suits, and also for the remittal of my old fine, according to such direction as your Honour shall please to give him, humbly praying you to prescribe him the course he shall follow.

"I have also sent my eldest son to your Honour, praying you to accept of him with that affection that I send him, and craving to retain him and me in your honourable favour, to be wholly disposed at your command. The youth was never from home, which your Honour considering, I doubt not will bear with his rudeness."—Barry Court, 1600, June 18. [*Postscript.*] "Your Honour shall receive of this bearer a cast of hawks, whereof I have written in my former letters." *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 18.
Cork.

117. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, and Allen Apsley, to the Privy Council. Reporting on the condition of certain victual sent by Mr. Wood, and stating the arrival of further victual from him.—Cork, 1600, June 18. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7 July. *Signed. p. 1.*

June 19.
Dublin.

118. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "If by my dispatches from hence, I do not give you so particular an account, and so full a satisfaction of my proceedings, as you expect, let my overburden excuse me, and my excuse be believed, that in this kingdom and this army I am driven to sustain a great part of the care and charge, from a clerk to a judge in civil matters, and from a serjeant to a general in the wars, and am as much troubled to govern our friends as to suppress our enemies; and to unite the one to concur with me in a simple resolution to effect the service and end propounded unto me, as to break and ruin the combination of the others. And in this great work, if you did as well know as I feel how weak assistance I have, you would think I have done much that all things are no worse. And yet because my confidence that my own clear ways should shew and approve themselves may fail in a world wherein the corruption thereof doth send forth so many mists, and that I am looked upon with so many sore eyes, that, the more bright my proceedings are, will be the more offended therewith, I pray give me leave to speak this much for myself; that, finding this army a mere chaos, I have given it a good form; that, finding it without spirit, I have given it life; that, whatsoever I have attempted with it, I have done, and preserved the whole body of it sound, every part from any blow, restored reputation to it, and possessed it with a disposition to undertake, and likelihood to effect, whatsoever now occasion shall call it unto. That nothing hath been omitted, which, with this army, in this estate, during this time, might be performed, I can very well justify. And now that, with being a

1600.

nurse to this army as well as a general, I have given it more health and strength, you must hereafter look to hear of deeper blows that we shall either give or receive, and to pay for the milk we have received from the estate with the blood of our enemies or our own. And for the future I do conceive with great confidence assured possibility to end these wars, if for a time they be royally followed, or that otherwise the Queen's charge and the rebels' strength will continually grow upon her. To follow it royally, I mean so many men as may defend all places at one time, and prosecute Tyrone till he be beaten out of his country; such provisions of munitions and allowance of extraordinaries, as may not for the want thereof make many times both our endeavours and the whole army unprofitable, and drive us to omit many things, which we see of great importance, and let slip many occasions that cannot be redeemed. If I should set down any certain or particular project, many things might fall out before you read it, to give me reason to alter it; and therefore from you we must receive the matter, and here, according to the present estate of things and occasion, we must give the form. And yet, if I had but known that little which now I do of this country, when I was first nominated to this government, I do presume to have made it plain how by this time, or by little after this time, the heart of this rebellion might have been broken for ever. That which now doth make I hope but the last blaze of this rebellion, is the assurance these people have received from Spain of present succour, and a continual protection hereafter.

"I have sent you the pilot that came out of Spain with the last munition sent to Tyrone, and some head of such things as he delivered to me; upon the which I think you may do very well to examine him farther. If the King of Spain send such an army and a fleet, as it seems he was determined to send last year into Ireland, it is the next way he hath to put for the conquest of England. If he send so many, and to that place which is supposed he will do (*sic*), this year, he will hazard the garrison of Lough Foyle at the first, if before we do not clear the way betwixt the Newry and Lough Foyle, by Knockfergus and Coleraine, which may be easily done. And therefore, if you be not very certain that Spain will not stir, you cannot do better than presently to make us strong here. If they come, necessity requireth it; if they come not, with that force you are sure to make an end of the wars here. But certain it is that, whether your peace go forwards or no, the rebels shall very shortly receive, either openly or underhand, some great supply, if not of men, yet of munition and money, and all the encouragement that can be given to this rebellion. Which you may easily prevent, if you will send but some few ships, yet somewhat strong, to lie upon the western coast of Ireland, and somewhat to the north. This will prevent that which I dare undertake will otherwise happen, and give good countenance to our proceedings here. Some little boats, made a purpose both to row and to sail, will serve to keep away the supplies of Scotland, especially if there were some place holden about Strangford. Within the land I will take such order that from henceforward they shall receive small supply of munition.

1600.

"I made no great haste to write unto you about the Earl of Ormonde's enlargement, because, with the first letters I received thereof, I understand they had the first night of his coming to Kilkenny dispatched letters into England. He is weak, but desirous to speak with me, and I much more with him; at the first to sound the bottom of the conditions of his delivery, and set some present course to unentangle him, if it may be. I am therefore this day going towards him as far as Carlow, where I look to meet him; and after I will send you a shrewd guess of what you may look for from him. Upon my return, I will write unto you of all things I think fit you should understand from hence; and, being now ready to take horse towards the Earl of Ormonde, I desire your pardon, and wish you all happiness."—Dublin, 1600, June 19. *Endorsed*:—Received the 28. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

Encloses:—

118. i. "*Certain heads of the report of Richard Brady, master of the Prosper of Dredah, newly come out of Spain; 18 Junii, 1600.*"

"*In April was twelvemonth, he went to St. Sebastian's, with hides and other merchandize; where he was presently pressed back again for Ireland, with an ambassador sent from the King of Spain to Tyrone, and with certain munition, which landed in Calebeg [Killibeggs] in June following.*

"*He was used as an interpreter between the ambassador and Tyrone, O'Donnell, and the rest; whereby he understood their plot, which was, that the King of Spain should send his army then being at the Groyne into Ireland, to land in the haven of Cork, which being once possessed and fortified, he should have drawn his galleys hitherwards into the Channel, by them, and by the forces of the rebels to be shipped over in them, to invade England.*

"*He carried back the ambassador with this resolution; which was broken by the Hollanders' fleet bound for the islands.*

"*After many fortunes which befel him in Spain and in those parts, he was again pressed in April last to bring over another ambassador from the King of Spain into Ireland, and certain munition, which landed in the same port of Calebeg the 25 of April stilo novo.*

"*Tyrone and O'Donnell met this ambassador (made Archbishop of Dublin by the Pope) at Donegal. Their conclusion was that, in August next, the King should send five or six thousand men into the port of Calebeg with great store of treasure; in consideration whereof Tyrone sent into Spain his second son.*

"*He saith there are thirty flyboats making ready for Ireland in the Groyne, and 2,000 old soldiers and 2,000 new, of whom John d'Agula shall be general. Being once landed and fortified, they mean to draw hither their whole army, and so to follow their plot of the first year.*

"*They have sent into Spain a list of such men as they are able to make, and of such as shall serve the King for pay.*

"*Being unwilling to return into Spain, as he was pressed to have done with Tyrone's son, he escaped away by loosening a plank*

1600.

in his cabin, and slipping down thereout into the sea, first he recovered the mountains in the Bishop of Boyle's country, and there was succoured by his fosterbrother. Afterwards by the Countess of Tyrone's means he got a protection from Tyrone, and taking his opportunity escaped away.

"He saith that he understood Tyrone was in great fear lest the Lord Deputy should have drawn to Armagh, and exceedingly perplexed for the plantation at Lough Foyle and Sir Arthur O'Neill's coming in.

"He saith that he had private conference with O'Connor Sligo, who discovered his discontentment unto him, and his unwillingness to continue in rebellion, if he knew any measures to defend himself against them." pp. 2.

June 20.
Dublin.

119. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Of all Her Majesty's servants in this kingdom, howsoever my own particular affection may otherwise carry me, there is none that I dare so confidently recommend unto Her Majesty's favour, as Sir Arthur Chichester; as a gentleman that I do assuredly conceive of all others most justly to deserve it; being the most industrious and sufficient for her service of any that I know, the freest from his own private ends, and exceeding studious to carry on the wars most for Her Majesty's profit and honour. There is no favour or grace that she can do him but I dare undertake he will deserve it; nor no place in the wars but I think him the best able to discharge it. The hardness of this country service, and some other fortunes elsewhere, had almost won him from us, and I think his only stay is, to merit of the estate, and not to better his own. If you will hear him, of this country no man will, nor is better able to, make you a more true and sufficient relation. His coming over at this time is about some business that he hath long deferred, and must not by him be omitted. Wherefore, I pray, Sir, therein let him be pardoned. It was his own desire to return to Knockfergus, and if to his contentment I could have done it, I should not have desired any man's assistance about me so much as his. If, at my humble suit, it would please Her Majesty to make him a Councillor of this estate, I do think it very fit for her service, which she may well advance by strengthening this Board with more of his profession and worth. My work is great, and I have desire and need of much assistance, especially of such as I presume will sincerely jump with me on that end which I have constantly propounded to myself, to make a speedy and safe end of these wars. He hath some private suit for something due unto him. If in that, or anything else, you do him any favour, I will acknowledge it done to myself."—Dublin, 1600, June 20. *Endorsed* :—By Sir Arthur Chichester. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 20.
Dublin.

120. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. In behalf of Master Nott, who was formerly recommended to the Privy Council for his good services, and who now desires to repair to England. He hopes to be furthered in his suits by Sir Robert.

On the 13th of June, the Earl of Ormonde was set at liberty, and came to Kilkenny. Twelve pledges were left with Onie McRory for

1600.

the performance of all covenants between him and the Earl. Since his liberty, the Earl has written to the Lord Deputy, "and, being by his imprisonment weak and not able to ride, is very desirous upon secret occasions to confer with my Lord." The Lord Deputy purposes to satisfy his desire, and to journey towards him the 18th (*sic*) of June. Judges that the place of meeting will be at "Caterlogha" or "Loughelaw."

"Not long sithence, Tyrone and O'Donnell, with all the force they were able to make, drew near unto the garrison of Lough Foyle, placing divers ambushes, and, by shewing of some kine, thought to entice some of the forces to fetch them, and so to fall upon our soldiers. But my Lord Deputy having employed a messenger unto Sir Henry Dockwra by land, he chanced then to be in the camp with Tyrone, and in the night stole unto the garrison, and delivered his letters, and discovered Tyrone's intention. Whereupon they were upon their guard, and did not sally out; so Tyrone's journey and purpose took no effect."—Dublin, 1600, June 20. *Signed. Seals.* pp. 2.

June 20.
Cork.

121. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends by the bearer a packet received from the President of Munster, and addressed to his Honour. Is driven to great trouble in taking up rooms convenient for the victual and munition that come to Cork. Prays that the reserved rents may be paid. Also, that the causes preferred by the agents of the city of Cork may have some good dispatch.—Cork, 1600, June 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 20.
Bally-
mackeady.

122. John Cantwell to the Earl of Ormonde. "All thanks and praise be to the Omnipotent God for the safe delivery of your Honour from the hands of your enemies. Your Honour shall be advertised that upon Wednesday last in the afternoon, Derby O'Connor have (*sic*) in Connolough apprehended James Fitz-Thomas (which named himself Earl of Desmond), Morrogh Grany McRory McShihie, and his brother Moriertagh, and three more (whose names I could not certainly learn). I would myself, according my bounden duty, be the messenger of these news, but that two of Thomas FitzPiers Purcell's sons are in this country, accompanied with divers others of these parts of Agherlo, seeking means to have me, or my son Thomas, or our prey, this sevensnight past; and as yet the President is at Limerick, and sent a thousand soldiers by water to Askeaton, and was determined to follow them to batter Carriggofoyle with great ordnance."—Ballymackeady, 1600, June 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 20.

123. "An estimate of such principal natures of munition as were sent from the Newry and Carlingford unto Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, together with a note of the remain left at the Newry, the 16th of April, 1600." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"20 of June, 1600. A Note of the powder sent from the Newry, delivered by Ersfield." *Unsigned.* p. 1.

1600.
June 20.

124. "Transportation of munition into Ireland."—1600,
June 20. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

June 21.
Limerick.

125. Justice James Goold to Sir Robert Cecil. "The duty that I owed to your most honourable father pricks me forward to offer the same unto your Honour. All that he required was the service of Her Majesty; all that I endeavoured was ever to perform the same to mine uttermost. And therefore I most humbly offer my poor service to be at your Honour's command; and if I may but understand from any of your men, that you will vouchsafe to accept of my poor endeavours, I vow unto your Honour faith and true advertisement in every passage and by every messenger that shall depart hence. In the meantime, please it your Honour to be advertised that my Lord President is at Cork, settling that part of the province, and I do expect him here within these six days. A number of the rebels are suitors to be protected; whether it be for policy, or sorrow for their villainy, I cannot advertise. They are strong, and when they gather they make up in this province above 5,000 strong; so as my Lord President shall not be able to place garrisons and keep the field with his number; which will draw an infinite charge to Her Majesty, by reason the wars will last long. Neither do I think that the rebels will be much the weaker for all that will come from them upon protection. For he that commands 500 in the field, will leave his force abroad, and make resemblance of sorrow and submission to get protection for himself and some few more. What show soever they make of subjection, I do assure your Honour it is but dissimulation. They have conceived a general malicious hatred against the government of England, and their creeping now is neither for duty nor love, but to shun the charge they be at in maintaining the Connaught and Leinster traitors. When my Lord President cometh, I will acquaint him with the condition of every of them, and with all those that were the first plotters of this revolt.

"The seminaries have crept into the hearts of all the people, as well without as within the corporations, and they hold their souls in such bondage, as, whatsoever they command, it is performed. Of late there was a bull published abroad in the country, excommunicating any churchman that would minister the sacrament to any, until first he should swear to take part with the traitor Tyrone against Her Majesty, wherein the Corporation were excepted. So as now there lacks no more, but another like bull for them; and then God knows what effects it will breed. I have conferred with many of these citizens, feeling them if such a bull had come, and they vowed severally, if the Pope himself had in person brought it, they would never have obeyed it. But some be not the greatest number; the consideration whereof I humbly leave to your Honour."—Limerick, 1600, May* 21.

[*Postscript.*] "Here are arrived two ships with victual sent by Captain Woods. Also this day here arrived a ship of this city, that was in Spain. The news there are, a great plague all over the sea

* Error for June

1600.

coasts. The King of Spain's six greatest armadoes are gone into the Indies. A report there is, that he will make up a great army this summer. A Spanish bishop sent from him to the traitor Tyrone, with munition, money, and instructions. I forgot to write that there is no munition here in Her Majesty's store, neither is there any one piece of ordnance mounted or serviceable, nor yet do I see how they can be mounted, except your Honours send carriages, or seasoned timber, out of England to mount them; for here is none to be had for any money, to serve the present turn." *Endorsed* :—1600, June 21. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

June 23.

126. Captain Ralph Bentley to Sir Robert Cecil. About half a year past he shewed to Her Majesty and the Council, how for seventeen years he had been employed in her martial services, and had therein received many sore hurts, especially in Ireland. As he returned from victualling a castle there, both he and his wife were "very dangerously wounded and maimed for ever" by the rebels. They took possession of his lands, worth about 400*l.* yearly. These Sir Robert's father had procured in fee farm for "one Morris, my wife's former husband, and to her heirs for ever, paying but 1*d.* an acre, in respect her grandmother was a Cecil, and so his Honour vouchsafed to account of her as his poor kinswoman." Is desirous to spend the rest of his days in the service, and begs the command of some company that is now to be employed for Ireland. Has waited half a year. *Endorsed* :—1600, June 23. *Holograph. p. 1.*

June 25.
Oriel College.

127. Richard Cluat to Henry Cuff. Has lived at Oriel for upwards of five years, altogether at his friends' charge. The time has now come when he must procure himself some place of maintenance. "The only means for your pleasuring me is (as I am so persuaded) in your own College." Begs Cuff to nominate him to Mr. Warden, as a poor scholar desirous of his favour, and that he may be allowed to proffer himself for examination at the next election. Will be ever grateful. Prays to be commended to Mr. Maisters, and other Seniors in the house. Would most willingly show himself to them. Begs Cuff to consider his poor kinsman's suit with compassion. Asks him to write but two or three words to Mr. Wharton.—Oriel College, 1600, June 25. *Holograph. p. 1.*

June 26.
Galway.

128. A. Blackcaddell to Captain Thomas Lee. "McWilliam being one of the chiefest in the action of the rebellion of Ireland, hath sent word, about the time of your departure here hence, if that there were due consideration taken of him, he will undertake to bring O'Donnell, O'Rourke, with half a dozen of the chiefest of that country, into England, either alive or dead; and, besides, will make his faction good in Tyreconnell against O'Neill and his partakers. His plot for the executing of the same deed, as also his demand, is as followeth." Thought good to make it known, being of McWilliam's own seeking, "to the intent that you should know if there be any good to be done in this cause, and that out of hand, you knowing it to be the only way to overthrow the faction of this realm, so it were once but brought to that effect.

1600.

“First, he saith that at any time, with three or four hundred men, he is very welcome into Tyrconnell, from time to time, which is apparently known to be true.

“Secondly, he saith that McSwyne Fanat, which dwelleth at Killibeggs, is married to his sister, who hath the possession of the castle and haven of Killibeggs, it being the only haven in all O'Donnell's country, whereinto cometh daily Spain's pinnaces and Frenchmen, with all manner of relief, unto the comfort of the rebels.

“Thirdly, he saith he will deal in sort with his brother-in-law for to get the said castle into his own hands, as a place of retreat and of safety for his moveable goods, and for his wife there to dwell, by reason of troubles now and then in Connaught.

“Fourthly, he saith that O'Donnell most commonly, for his recreation, and for the debating matters of importance, do[th] resort into the abbey of Donegal, with a few of the very chiefest of all his faction, as also for to converse with the Spaniard or French, the said abbey being the only place appointed for that purpose apparently known.

“Fifthly, he saith that he being in the said country with four hundred men, and having the said castle of Killibeggs as aforesaid for his retreat, it being but twelve miles from the aforesaid abbey of Donegal, where O'Donnell and all the chiefest of that country do assemble together as aforesaid, and McWilliam in like sort being one of the chiefest in their assembly, maketh no doubt, with God's help, but will with force of arms bring O'Donnell, O'Rourke, with all the rest, the chiefest of their assembly, into the aforesaid castle of Killibeggs, in the despite of all the country, in respect [of] his retreat being but twelve mile[s] off. For so he will watch his opportunity, as he trusted to go true, or 'lyse' himself and all his men, or that the country will be aware of him. For once recovering to Killibeggs, there is he as sure as if he were in England, for there he may be relieved with shipping out of hand.

“Hereafter followeth his demands:—

“First, that it would please Her Majesty, of her accustomed grace, to receive him into favour, and to restore him his blood, and that the rather, he being lineally descended from England since the last conquest, and hath nothing to do with the Irishry, but in respect of some former wrongs done unto him, thinking by their assistance to be helped, and not for any love he protested he bare them, which he will make known apparently at this present, if it will stand with Her Majesty's good liking.

“Secondly, the county of Mayo being as great a[n] Earldom as any is within the province of Connaught, and that all his predecessors, since the last conquest, were chief Lords of that county, and called by the name of McWilliam, that Her Highness would please to reduce it into an Earldom, and he to be called by the name of a[n] Earl, to him and to his heirs for ever, he paying such composition as shall be put upon him by Her Majesty.

“Thirdly, he craveth a hundred and fifty foot in pay, and fifty horse.

“Fourthly, he desires but a letter of assurance from Her Highness to be put into my hands, so he might but see it, for assurance of accomplishing this his demand, upon condition if (*sic*) he executed

1600.

his former promise. He requested me to make this much known unto you, and that you should make it known unto Her Majesty and to Sir Robert Cecil, of whom he hath great hope, although unknown. I beseech you to let me hear from you with speed, and what you will have me do in this cause. It were pity that so good a vocation should be neglected, it being the only way to overthrow all the faction of this realm. Of all hands it must be kept very secretly, else it will be never brought to pass.

“He requested that it would please Her Majesty to let him presently have a thousand pound[s] sterling for the furtherance of the said service, for he must give unto his brother-in-law, McSwyne, the sum of eight or nine hundred pound[s], for the which he shall have the castle and lands of Killibeggs in mortgage for the said money, which is the only way to discover his enterprise. But I, answering to this, told him that there was no reason why Her Majesty should be at that charge, yet I know he is not able to disburse the money. But this he says, if we do doubt of him, he will put the best manner [of] house he hath within the county of Mayo into my hands for Her Majesty’s use, if he do not accomplish [that] which will be sufficient to overthrow him, if he will not behave himself honestly; as also that there should be some ship in a readiness with munition and men, the ship for bringing away of him and the prisoners, and our men for to remain as ward of Killibeggs (would to God it came to this effect). In like sort, Her Majesty will please to send you for that place, with a thousand foot, which he wished much, he will undertake with that force and his own forces to overrun Tyreconnell, Breny Roick, and Connaught, and to bring them in a very short time to good quietness, for Her Majesty’s use. If it will please the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil to employ me in this matter, if he think to do any good in it, I will do my endeavour, and will follow any direction he will send. If McWilliam were once recovered, he can tell as much as O’Neill himself of all which passed since these last wars. I am deceived, or he is very desirous to do himself good.”—Galway, 1600, June 26.

On the dorse Blackcaddell has written:—“Thus much I thought good to write unto you in haste, because the messenger was of great trust, and not possibly to stay my leisure, because of danger of the way from Galway to Dublin. But if need were that I should come thither, and overtake you there, so there were some likelihood of some goodness, I would come thither, where we should at leisure communicate together of those affairs. O’Donnell hath overrun all the country of Connaught and Thomond. No other news.”—Galway, 1600, June 26.

Addressed to Captain Thomas Lee in London. Holograph. Mutilated. pp. 3.

June 27.
Kilmallock.

129. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “In my last letters to your Honour, which bare date from Limerick the 19 of this present, I had good hope that the war of Munster had been brought to a fair way to have ended the same within a few months. But now, by a mischance, which my Lord Archbishop of Cashel can

1600.

more at large repeat unto you, there is a great impediment given unto the same, but not without hope both of a short and a good end, so as Her Majesty will be pleased to extend her favour unto James FitzGerald in the Tower, and give comfort unto Dermond O'Connor, who must be the chiefest instrument to perform the service.

“That your Honour may particularly understand what hath happened since my last letters above-mentioned, I will briefly relate the same unto you. The 18 of this month, Dermond O'Connor, in a parley, being stronger than James McThomas, according to his promise did apprehend him, but did not acquaint any man with the cause of his apprehension, until he came to his house called Castlelishen, eight miles from this town, seated in a great fastness, where, to give his men satisfaction, he produced a letter of mine (which formerly I did send unto him to be intercepted) directed to James McThomas, wherein was declared that I did daily expect to have Dermond O'Connor to be delivered by him unto me, alive or dead, and that the buonies by him should be banished; upon doing whereof he should be received into Her Majesty's mercy and be pardoned for his former treasons. This letter at the first did satisfy his men, whereupon Dermond sent John Poore (who was one of the four pledges which lay for the performance of the covenants between him and me), in all haste unto me to Limerick, who came unto me the 19 day, about ten of the clock at night, praying me in Dermond's name to make haste to Kilmallock, and to bring the money with me according to the covenants, upon the receipt whereof the prisoner should be presently delivered unto me. The sum by the first contract was but 500*l.*, but I adventured to make the same 1,000*l.*, in consideration whereof the pension during his life, and the company of 100 which for the same time he should have had, was to be remitted, which I took to be a better bargain for the Queen than the other. The day following, which was the 20 of this month, I went to Kilmallock, expecting to have met the Lady Margaret, Dermond's wife, and had the money ready to be paid as was agreed. But not finding her there, I sent John Poore to Castlelishen the same night with a letter unto her. But Dermond and she were gone to a castle of Rory McShee's, which Dermond the same day had taken, and the way unto it so dangerous, as that he durst go no farther, for between these two castles the whole force of the rebels did lie. But notwithstanding he sent my letter unto her. The next day, being the 21, I expected her coming, but I heard not from her. The 22, I wrote again, and so every day until the 26, in the morning; and in all this time, neither did any man come from them, nor yet my own messengers were permitted to return. The 26 in the morning aforesaid the Lady Margaret came unto me to receive the money, and to deliver me the prisoner within four hours after her coming. The enemy having lodged about the castle the night before, by composition had the prisoner delivered unto them, contrary to Dermond's mind, who was by his own people betrayed, for the castle was exceeding strong; and the next morning our forces had marched thither to have received the prisoner. The loss of this counterfeit Earl was Dermond's own fault, who being afraid that covenants

1600.

should not be observed, had left commandment with his men that, if the English should come to the castle, that (*sic*) he should be set at liberty;—and, as the Bishop can tell your Honour, I was desired by him in no sort to draw my forces to a head, or to move out of their garrisons until he should send me word. All which was to no other end than to satisfy his fears and jealousies that promises might be kept. Yet notwithstanding, in my own discretion, fearing that he might be impeached in the delivery of the prisoner, I did send to Askeaton, where my greatest garrison remained, and to all other places where the forces were dispersed, and had gotten them all together, ready to have marched upon an hour's warning, but as it fell out to no purpose, for the treasons of Dermond's men could not be prevented. The cause that bred the corruption in Dermond's people that warded the castle, which was guarded by his foster-brothers and the trustiest buonies that he had, was the persuasions of a priest of Dermond's, who was in the castle, which was easy for him to do, for Dermond did never acquaint them with any other intent that he had than to deliver him to Tyrone; but, to deliver him to the English, there was not one of his men that would assent unto it upon any condition, for then the general cause must have perished in Munster. When Dermond took James, he was 1,400 men of his own, and, so long as they thought that he meant to deliver him to Tyrone, they held with him; but, after perceiving his purpose, they did all forsake him but 400, and joined with the other rebels to recover James McThomas, which with great ease they performed. Since the loss of the prisoner, who was delivered upon four pledges, which are, Garrett FitzJames, Desmond's base son, Garrett FitzNicholas, Desmond's receiver, John McThomas, Desmond's brother, and one Wall, who are to be put into Florence McCarthy's hands, to abide the award of Tyrone between James and Dermond O'Connor, I received two letters from Dermond; the first, to give me notice of the loss of James; and the other, in answer of a letter of mine written unto him before I had heard from him. By both those letters it doth appear unto me that he was innocent of the escape, and that he is willing to persevere in Her Majesty's service. To comfort him to persevere in the same, at his request I have granted unto him and his followers Her Majesty's protection, and have assigned a castle unto him, which is now in the enemy's possession, called Rathmore in Connello, for his wife to live safe, and ground to pasture his cattle; all which he shall keep until the war be finished. Also, I have granted him the same bonnaughts for his men as Tyrone did formerly give him, all which is no charge to the Queen; and lastly, I have promised him at the end of the war that Her Majesty shall give him a competent portion of traitors' lands to him and his heirs for ever, if his service in the mean shall merit the same. I hope that these conditions will give contentment, and I will be bold, if he do require it from me, to confirm them under my hand, rather than to let him return to the enemy. He will be able to serve the Queen with 1,000 men, which will do more service upon the rebels than 4,000 of our nation. The loss of James I do not care for, so as I may keep Dermond sure to the State, for by his help I will either cut the throats of the rebels, or drive them

1600.

into the sea. When I shall speak with him, if his demands be farther, and not exorbitant, I do humbly beseech you to be a means that he may be satisfied, for the speedy ending of this war doth chiefly rest in his service.

“Another of Dermond’s errors I cannot omit to deliver unto you, which was his overmuch secrecy; for, if he would have practised with his wife’s friends after James was taken, and have told them the truth of this plot, which was to have James in the Tower to be delivered at liberty (*sic*), and to return into this country, all the followers that James McThomas hath, that are of any strength, would have joined with Dermond. This I know to be true by the general opinion of those which are subjects, and by some of themselves that are in action, who now being satisfied of the good intended for James in the Tower, do repent the good which they have done unto James McThomas, and [are] sorry for his escape.

“The speediest way to end this rebellion is to send James FitzGerald unto me, although he remains a prisoner in my custody, so as it may be known that, upon the extinguishing of this war, that (*sic*) he shall be restored to honour and blood, without the which I see no possibility to determine this defection in Munster in any short time. For, although James FitzThomas were executed, yet such is their desire to have an Earl of Desmond, as that they will evermore find a Geraldine to make their Robin Hood rather than to want a head to lead them. And therefore I do most humbly beseech you to ‘intercesse’ Her Majesty for her own benefit’s sake to be gracious unto that gentleman, and forthwith to send him unto me. Which if she will be pleased to do (although it be with all the limitations that may be most for her security), yet I doubt not but in a short time after his landing to finish this rebellion, which is as firmly rooted as any combination ever was against their natural prince. Moreover, Dermond O’Connor will never serve us truly, but in hope of his brother-in-law’s enlargement; for all other offers which are made unto him are short of those conditions which he hath from O’Neill. For besides 1,500 men which he may have of him in bonnaught either in Ulster or in Munster, he may have as much land from him as himself will require. The chiefest motive that draws him to serve the Queen is the persuasion of his wife, who works him to no other end than to enlarge her brother, whereof if she be once desperate, then there is no farther hope of Dermond; for he is ignorant and senseless either of duty or affection, which a subject ought to bear unto his sovereign. Sir, I protest unto you, if James were here (whereby I might be assured of Dermond), I do make no more account of Munster war than of a most easy task; but to miss of James, and so consequently of Dermond (until Tyrone be suppressed), I shall be hopeless of Munster. For the best subjects are but beholders how the game will be played, wishing better to the rebel than [to] Her Majesty; and, if between both they may save their goods, their ends are satisfied.

“It were very expedient that James in the Tower should presently write unto Dermond O’Connor and his sister, and likewise to his other friends in Munster, which are either subjects or rebels, to persuade and entreat them to join in the prosecution of this

1600.

counterfeit Earl, being the only means to purchase his liberty and restitution, which will work more, being under his own hand, and sent by this bearer, than the reputation or credit of any President can work. And yet I would not have you to think that this will be sufficient, for this incredulous and false nation are so mistrustful (which by nature is incident unto them, being nourished in deceit and falsehood), as nothing but his presence can confirm them in assurance of any good intended unto him, which this bearer can out of his own knowledge make known unto you. For, notwithstanding all the assurances which the Bishop brought with him, yet without my oath nothing would be believed, and that so coldly, as still Dermond and his wife were in doubt to be deceived, such is the distrust of these people, who judge all men to be like themselves.

“I cannot omit to commend unto you the extraordinary care of my Lord Archbishop of Cashel, who all this time of his last coming into Ireland hath attended nothing else but the following of this business, to his great charge and travail, never seeing his own home or attending his private affairs, and hath not spared the adventure of the loss of his two sons, who are not yet delivered from Dermond O'Connor; but I hope he will be so honest as to deliver them. Yet his adventure is great to leave them in the hands of such a companion, who neither hath the feeling of honour, honesty, or conscience. For there is none of his quality that do anything for any other respect than to serve their own turns. Captain William Poore and his brother have been also industrious labourers in this business, not without great hazard of their lives, and do still persevere to bring the business to a good end. I do assure your Honour they do merit very much, for from the beginning hitherto they have attended nothing but the performing of this enterprise. The loss of this prisoner I hold to be a great misfortune; but yet I am glad that the business hath been handled in such sort as it hath been, for between the Munster men and the bonnaughts there will from henceforth be a perpetual distrust, insomuch as neither of them will trust one another, and the gentlemen of the country of Munster are afraid within themselves what courses to take, since they have apprehended that, upon James M'Thomas' taking, James in England should be delivered. In the minds of men there was never a greater distraction, and if I may assure Dermond O'Connor unto me (which must be done by the means above-mentioned, which is reward and his brother-in-law's liberty), I do not care for the loss of James, for, if the buonies be for the Queen, he is instantly ruined.

“From this town I do purpose, with the whole forces which I have, to go unto Askeaton, and from thence do mean to march to the Knight of the Valley's castle, called the Glin, and to beat it with the cannon. I have a son of his pledge for his duty. I am unwilling to be cruel to infants, but, where fathers be unnatural, I know no reason why other men should use pity towards them. I will bring the boy before the castle, of whom if the parents will not take compassion, I am afraid that I shall be enforced, for terror's sake, to use severity. But if some sharp courses be not taken with pledges, it is to no purpose to receive them. There is not a rebel of any

1600.

quality in Munster now in action, but hath his pledge in the Queen's hands. An example upon one, I think, will do good among the rest.

"The copies of Dermond O'Connor's letters sent unto me since the loss of the prisoner, I do send your Honour with these [*wanting*], by the which you may perceive of his purposes, appearing unto me that he will serve Her Majesty truly. Of the taking of James McThomas again alive, I am hopeless, but by Dermond's means to have him slain I am in a lively hope, and that very shortly. I will not leave working upon the old ground, until those brothers be confounded.

"This day from Kilkenny I received a letter from the Lord Deputy, which is all that I have had from him since I saw him in Dublin, yet he says he hath written often unto me, which he thinks are miscarried. He writes unto me of our good successes at Lough Foyle, whereat I do not a little marvel; for, if they did prosper so well as he doth write, I cannot see how that O'Donnell could have the leisure to range out of his country so far as he hath done of late. For the 21 of this month he was in Thomond with an exceeding great force of horse and foot, and pierced that country as far as the river of the Shannon, over against Carrigfoyle in Munster, with a purpose, as is supposed and reported, to come into these parts, as Tyrone did in the county of Cork. But, hearing of this surprise of James McThomas, and the destruction [*sic?* dissension] between the Munster men and Dermond O'Connor, together with the head which the Earl of Thomond made against him, whom I did assist with 800 foot and 60 horse, he returned back on Midsummer day into Clanrickarde. The Earl did skirmish many times with him, and did kill many of his people, and divers of his principal commanders, [and] recovered his prey, so as he carried but a few heads of cattle with him; on our side not above four or five slain, and not many hurt. As O'Donnell passed through Clanrickarde, he did neither do or receive any harm. Sure there is some mystery in it. The Earl of Clanrickarde and his son did know of his coming, for they sent notice of it unto my Lord of Thomond, and they had gathered all their forces together. Whether O'Donnell hath done or received harm in his retreat through Clanrickarde, I know not. The attempt was proud, to go so far from his own country, which never any O'Donnell before him performed, and especially leaving so powerful an enemy as the garrison at Lough Foyle to destroy his country in his absence. Which considered, I am afraid that our forces in those parts are not so fearful unto him as I do wish. In my last despatch from Limerick unto the Lords, dated the 19 of this present, I did relate at large the journal of my proceedings since I left Cork, as also all other material points which doth concern the army; the which I hope is come to your hands, wherefore I do omit to speak of these here, humbly beseeching you to give me your best furtherance in them."—Kilmallock, 1600, June 27.

[*Postscript.*] "There is in this country an honest well-affected gentleman to the Crown of England, called Maurice Hurlie, who hath been a principal instrument in this action, and by the help of his sister, who is a foster-sister to Dermond's wife, did persuade her to incite her husband to attempt this enterprise. I may not forget to make his name known unto you, and humbly to beseech

1600.

you, as occasion may hereafter serve, to afford him your favourable help. This country yields very few so well-affected to Her Majesty, and so industrious to do service, as he is." *Endorsed* :—Received the 9th at London. *Holograph.* pp. 7.

June 27.
Derry.

130. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 3rd of June, Tyrone with his forces, and Maguire came to Strabane. There O'Donnell met him with O'Rourke and O'Connor Sligo, leaving their forces in camp on this side the Lough.—The 4th, nothing.—The 5th, some 60 horses, with 300 foot, came down in the morning, thinking to cut off our scouts, and take some horses. They were discovered, and the Governor put out, and took with him half our horses and 1,000 foot, and put their horse and foot to O'Donnell's camp. We went to view Dunalong directly on this side, and saw O'Donnell's camp two miles from us; and after [having] taken view of Dunalong, we returned to our camp again without any skirmish.—The 6th, nothing.—The 7th, the enemy had divided their forces, upon advice between them held before, that O'Donnell, O'Rourke, with O'Connor Sligo and all their forces, should lie in a valley half a mile from our camp, and Tyrone with his forces, Maguire, O'Cahan, and Cormack Barron, should likewise lie a mile distant in a valley from our camp (*sic*), and O'Donnell to send out some twenty horses to draw part of our horses out some mile, and so to fall on us two ways with all their forces. Which being done, the skirmish began, [and] out went the Governor, with Sir Arthur O'Neill and myself, some twelve horses, and some shot of Sir Arthur's. None of our forces stirred, but were in arms in their quarters. Sir Arthur's horsemen and they met together and shot, wherein Sir Arthur's foster-brother was slain, and by us brought off, five of the enemy's horses hurt, and one of their horsemen slain. They retired to their forces lame, and we came off. Within one hour after, their forces rose, horse and foot, and marched away.—The 8th, towards the evening, some of O'Donnell's horses came suddenly down and fetched some of our horses. There two of his horsemen were slain; one brought off shot, and presently hanged in the camp.—The 9th, O'Rourke, O'Donnell, and O'Connor Sligo, with certain horses, drew into Connaught, for the ending of some controversies which happened between some of the Bourkes in the county of Mayo, and for other matters, which I shall at his return have more at large to advertise your Honour. The same day Maguire with his forces drew back into Fermanagh to hold the country against Connor Roe Maguire, who is called by the upper part of that country Maguire, so as the country is divided between them in arms, and not able to assist Tyrone as yet.—The 10th, 500 of our men cut timber wood and small wood all the day in O'Cahan's side without disturbance.—The 11th, the Governor with Sir Arthur O'Neill went up with 300 foot by water to Dunalong, and there landed and took view of the place, and went up a mile by land near the shore's side. We came back the same night, and presently sent forth 300 foot with 20 horses, being guided by three of Sir Arthur O'Neill's men, into O'Dogherty's country, where they found sheep, swine, some twelve cows, certain garrans, with other spoils, and killed twelve of the enemy, and so returned to the garrison.—The 12th, nothing.—

1600.

The 13th, the Governor, with 50 horses and 600 foot, went to the Castle Ellaugh, and from thence, by the Sowley [Swilly] side in O'Dogherty's country, three miles, and returned at night without sight of any [of] the enemy.—The 14th, 15th, and 16th, nothing.—The 17th, the Governor, with Sir Arthur O'Neill and 50 horse, went down ten miles in O'Dogherty's country by the Lough's side, and saw none of the enemy. The horses overtook some few garrans, and so we returned to the Derry that night.—The 18th, nothing.—The 19th, in the morning, 24 of Neill Garrough O'Donnell's horse came by way of stealth upon our scouts of horse, and killed one of them, hurt another, and took five horses with them.—The 20th, nothing.—The 21st, Sir John Chamberlain, with 900 foot, and Sir Arthur O'Neill's men, were sent to land in O'Cahan's country at night, eight miles on this side Coleraine, and so to drive the country by the Bann's side, and to bring what preys and cattle they could get back to the place where shipping did stay for them. They took 800 cows at the Bann's side in O'Cahan's country, and brought them to their shipping, and there did slaughter them, and with the noise of the soldiers' pieces, and their great disorder in killing of the cows, 400 broke from them, the enemy's horses near attending recovered them; so as the rest were slaughtered, and brought off in shipping to the Derry, besides great spoil of swine and sheep. We lost not one man, neither did see above 40 of the enemy, whereof one horseman was slain. After noon the same day, Sir Arthur O'Neill went over into O'Cahan's country with 600 foot and 40 horse, and advanced three miles, where 200 foot and 20 horse of Tyrone's kept a guard, made them quit their guard, set free their lodgings, and so returned to the Derry.—The 22nd, Maguire drew his forces upon Connor Roe Maguire, and burnt all his country, being the upper part of Fermanagh, and killed some of his men, so that they are both in arms one against the other.

"I have very great hope your Honour shall hear of very good services done by Sir Arthur O'Neill. There is now a private speech with Tyrone and his partakers of the coming of Spaniards very shortly. They say, if they be not relieved from thence with men, they are not able to hold out this winter against Her Majesty. There went but three boys and one man with Tyrone's second son into Spain, with three horses and five greyhounds. There hath come to Tyrone, since his coming to Strabane, letters and messengers from some men of the English Pale, which are near the State. I have laid out to have the certainty of it. I have a desire to follow your Honour in all duty and service during my life, and will continually acquaint your Honour with such accidents as here are; as also, for the most part, what shall be plotted in private or public by the enemy hereabouts."—Derry, 1600, June 27. *Endorsed*:—Received the 7 July at Greenwich. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 3.

June 27.

131. "Notes out of the Privy Seal for Ireland."

"To make payment of 4,000 foot, increased above the establishment of 12,000, and for the apparelling of them or so many of them as the Lords shall think fit, under the hands of six of them.

1600.

"Item, for coat, conduct, &c., of any numbers to be levied to reinforce the same 16,000 foot, upon any decays thereof.

"That all such Captains as were unpaid, or unanswered apparel, during the time of the Earl of Essex's government, be paid such sums of money as shall appear to be justly due to them for the same, by warrant of six of the Council.

"To make payment of the entertainment of 100 horse sent for an increase at 12*d.* per diem, with allowance for transportation as well of these 100 as any others likewise sent, to be put into bands to complete the same.

"To give rewards for services in Ireland, as Her Majesty shall signify the same to the Lord Treasurer, or Principal Secretary, not exceeding to any one the sum of 100*l.*; and so to any Irish suitor for debt due to him, not exceeding the said sum of 100*l.*"—1600, June 27. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

June 28.
Kilmallock.

132. The Archbishop of Cashel to Sir Robert Cecil. Knowing that the President of Munster had written a full discourse upon the present state of the province, he thought it needless to repeat the same, "having nothing else to write, by which your Honour may understand that I thought to be the carrier myself. Which I have omitted, in hope to know the full resolution of 129 [Derby O'Connor], after the discovery of his intent touching that service,* and in hope to see my sons at liberty before my going. And withal, in hope I may stir some others to effect that which is now unhappily deferred; a thing hard for me to compass the 607,† being the only weapon and keys for such, and not at my command. The lack thereof was the only cause why this service had not been effected long since. Yet *quod defertur non afertur*, although in the mean time *spiritus tristis exicat* (sic) *ossa*." Will have more to speak when he comes to Sir Robert than it becomes him now to write.—Kilmallock, 1600, June 28. [*Postscript in the Archbishop's hand*], "What this letter and the other discourse do lack, the bearer may supply." *Signed*, "1070." *Endorsed*:—The B. of Cashel to my master. p. 1.

June 30.
Derry.

133. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "On the 23rd of this month I received your Lordships' letter dated the third of the same, and therewithal a full and perfect understanding of Her Majesty's pleasure for stay of the Ballyshannon journey, and the forces intended for that service. To which effect (so far as concerned the staying of the journey only) I had received like directions long before from my Lord Deputy and thereupon discharged the shipping, save such as I was necessarily enforced to reserve for the reportation of those thousand men (for how they were to be disposed of I had no knowledge, till about the same time your Lordships' letters arrived). Which being now informed of at full, I do accordingly proceed to dispatch away the rest, only, seeing the wind contrary to carry them out of the river, and fit to go up to Dunalong (where I had long intended the

* The delivery of James FitzThomas. † Cipher not deciphered.

1600.

plantation of another garrison), I thought good to make stay of so many as might yield me commodity for doing of that business, which shall not hinder their journey for going away (though the winds were fit) above three days at the most.

“Touching two other points of the same letter, which your Lordships require a present answer of, the state of the victual, and whether I need the 500 men I wrote for before, or no; because both they, and many other matters needful to be spoken of, will rather require relation and discourse by word of mouth than by writing, I have thought good to reserve my full and perfect answer till Sir John Bolles’s dispatch, whom (the garrison at Dunalong being set down) I am resolved immediately to send away to your Lordships. In the mean time, I must only touch that point concerning the victual, which I humbly beseech your Lordships may be sent away (of what quality soever) with all speed possible; for the state we now stand in is such as though I have long since foreseen and forewarned a want, as well to your Lordships as to my Lord Deputy, and therefore laid all the means I could possibly to prevent it, by drawing traffic and access of merchants to this place, yet have we not to this day scarcely received any manner help or relief to speak of from any place, so that the provisions first made by Her Majesty for three months (what by waste, what by the garrison of Knockfergus, which hath fed all this while upon our store, and what by the sailors, whom we could not feed but out of the same) are now within fourteen days wholly issued. And though I know my Lord Deputy hath a good while since given order for a new supply for us from Galway, and that there is also another month’s victual arrived at Knockfergus, yet I know the scarcity of shipping to be such in the one place, and have seen the winds so contrary and thwart in the other, as that I hold it a mere casualty to hear from either in less than five or six weeks in the summer, and in the winter hardly at all, by reason of the tempestuousness of the seas, which I find already these coasts are subject unto, more than any other wherever I have been.

“About two days since I was advertised of some troops of the rebels, which were got into the Island, O’Dogherty’s country, upon the passages whereof I thought I had lodged so good a garrison, as no man could have entered. Notwithstanding they had got in in the night, and upon their return again, being of necessity to observe the tide, which fell out in the day time, they were discovered and set upon by our men. The alarm coming to the camp, I made haste forth with some thirty horse, such as I could first get in readiness, and made to them, found them in fight, and charged them, wherein it was our fortune to lose Sir John Chamberlain, and some two more, whereof one a gentleman, and another a private soldier; mine own horse killed under me, and about four more. They were about sixty horse and 150 foot, and by the swiftness of their heels, and experience of the ways, escaped us, with the loss of not above two men. We pursued them all night, but the country being large, and they once got out of our sight, could by no means set any of them more. Divers other encounters we have had with them since our first coming, wherein we have always had the better by far, as your Lordships shall understand at large by Sir John Bolles,

1600.

whose business to plant at Dunalong I hasten to dispatch, that his departure may be the speedier, and the ships the sooner released.”
—Derry, 1600, June 30. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

June 30.
Derry.

134. John Traves, Commissary for Ulster, to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. The state of the victualling at Derry. Need of three months' store to be laid up at that place, and other provisions at Carrickfergus. Lack of store room at Derry. “The want of beer is a great hurt unto the soldier. Some small quantity is brought hither, but at unreasonable rates, at 6*l.* and 8*l.* the best for a tun; which neither the soldier nor Captain can endure to continue to buy, by reason of the dearness.” The enemy's drift is to keep all victual from them.

“Sir Henry Dockwra, on Saturday last, with Sir John Chamberlain and Sir John Bolles, rode forth with some horse and 700 foot or thereabouts, to pursue some Irish rebels, horse and foot, in the mountains in O'Dogherty's country. The rebels still fled before them; our horse followed. Sir John Chamberlain's horse, being not so far spent as the rest were, pursued to the top of the mountain, and three other with him, where there was ambuscade laid of many shot and sixty horse; and being engaged, his horse was slain under him; himself, entangled in his stirrup, was likewise presently slain, and a corporal of Captain White's horse. Sir Henry Dockwra, to relieve Sir John Chamberlain, had his horse shot twice and slain under him; who quit his horse, and made a stand, till six other came to his rescue, who then with those few put the whole troop of enemies to flight, slew three of them, and hurt divers, our foot as then not being come in. Sir John Chamberlain was buried at the Derry this present afternoon, being Monday.” [*A marginal note states, with respect to Sir Henry Dockwra's stand:—“All men that saw him in that danger, and his valour in the quitting himself, do highly commend him.”*]

The best sort of victual for the soldier. Prays his Lordship's furtherance for the obtaining 500*l.* disbursed by the writer, to the great hurt of his wife and children, and to the impeachment of his credit. His honest endeavours in Her Majesty's service. His toilsome and thankless travel.—Derry, 1600, June 30. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

June 30.

135. Captain Henry Clare to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays for a company of 100 horse, or that his foot company of 150 may be made up to 200. Also, that he may be Governor of Limerick and Constable of the castle there, with the pay and fee belonging to the same. “All which shall nothing increase Her Majesty's charge, being bestowed upon one man; and I hope there is no exception against me, having bestowed my time there, but want of knighthood; and that nothing, because favour and not desert has made the difference. I shall blush, and be discouraged to return to the

1600.

service, if now no way raised, being present at this new employment, and known to be Her Majesty's long sworn servant." *Endorsed* :—1600, June 30. *Holograph*. p. 1.

June 30.
Dublin.

136. Robert Newcomen, Commissary for Leinster, to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. Receipt of victuals from Mr. Darrell, Mr. Jolles, and Mr. William Cocken, as per declaration enclosed herewith. All are, "in a manner," wholly issued, there remaining but twelve days' bread for 2,500 men, and six days' other victuals. All the rest of the provisions in the Dublin magazine have been spent in victualling Philipstown and Maryborough, and especially Carlingford and Carrickfergus, for the relief of the forces at Lough Foyle and Newry. Further supplies sent to Lough Foyle. A commission given to the Mayor of Chester and himself to send from Chester to Lough Foyle fourteen days' victuals for the army serving there. This cannot be done but at very high prices, owing to the scarcity of provisions at Chester. Begg that direction be sent to the Mayor not to proceed therein, if his Lordship find fitter and nearer means to supply Lough Foyle. It would cost $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a man *per diem* to send the provisions from Chester.—Dublin, 1600, June 30. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

Annexed is, "A particular declaration of the proportions of victuals contracted for to be sent to Dublin for the victualling of Her Majesty's forces in Leinster, from the first time of the Lord Mountjoy's government to this last of June, 1600." *Unsigned*. p. 1.

June 30.

137. Memoranda concerning the victualling in Ireland, extracted from Nos. 133, 134, and 136.—1600, June 30. p. 1.

June.

138. Captain John Baynard to Sir Robert Cecil. His employment has ever been in the wars, wherein he has passed all degrees, from the private soldier, in many kingdoms. Came out of Brittany with a company. Continued three years in the rebellion in the north of Ireland, until Sir John Norreys sent him to Lord Burghley upon special occasions. Afterwards was sent with a company to relieve Calais, and thence went the Cadiz action into Spain. In process of time was commanded to go with his company of Wiltshire men in the "Island voyage" of the Earl of Essex, which cost the writer 100*l.* Has always endeavoured to do his Prince and country any service and good, "chiefly for Ireland." Went last year into that distressed kingdom at his own charges. Set down what forces were requisite, and how they should be bestowed, for the true suppression of the rebellion.* Presented one copy to the Queen, and another to the Privy Council, at Christmas last. Was thanked, and promised that he should be employed, but nothing ensued. Begg to have the command of a company, or else means to carry himself into Ireland, where he

* See last volume of this Calendar, pp. 347-352.

1600.

hopes by his experience to deserve well. If he misses this, he knows not what he shall do. *Endorsed* :—1600, June. *Holograph*. p. 1.

June.

139. "Certain instructions conceived by the Queen's Majesty to be imparted to her Deputy and Council in Ireland, dated at Greenwich,—Junii, 1600."

"Although Her Majesty, for some respects, is pleased for a time to pass over many gross and absurd enormities in that realm, by which the main body of the government is not a little corrupted, and thinketh it good to defer the enquiry and reformation thereof, till with more conveniency those matters may be proceeded in; yet, to give some stop to that stream, Her Majesty hath thought good to prescribe in the meanwhile these few rules and directions following, which she chargeth you, her Deputy and Council, to see precisely executed, without respect of persons, and not to suffer them to be shut up in silence and obscurity, as, in some other times before, they have been.

"First, where Her Majesty doth find by experience that, through the looseness of her Captains and other officers, having charge of her men of war, and living absent from their companies, the common soldiers take liberty to abandon their garrisons, and some to run upon the country [and] to extort the subject, which worketh no small alienation of mind from her government; and some, finding the Captain not to take care to keep the soldiers in rule and discipline, become insolent and licentious, and so, contemning the profession, do quit their colours, and run away into England, or betake themselves to some other trade of life in Ireland, whereby Her Majesty's service is greatly hindered, Her Majesty's express pleasure is, that from henceforth any Captain whatsoever, that shall not reside in his garrison, and live with his company, and not to (*sic*) depart from there other than for cause of sickness, or by special license in writing from the Lord Deputy, shall be immediately discharged of his place, and another preferred to it.

"The like direction and penalty is to all Colonels of regiments, and to all others commanding in chief within places of garrison, who, transgressing any point of the direction, are to suffer the same penalty.

"That the Lord Deputy suffer not any Captain that hath charge, or any other officer that hath command over soldiers, to repair into England by his license, but upon very urgent occasion.

"That no soldier in Her Majesty's pay shall have leave of his Captain to pass into England, but such as shall be licensed shall receive their pass from the Deputy, or other chief Commander of his garrison; and, if he be taken otherwise, the soldier so offending to be executed.

"Whereas there are many soldiers dismissed from their garrison place, having neither arms nor apparel upon them, [who] do in that poor show and nakedness pester Dublin and other maritime towns, where they think to find passage into England, all soldiers taken in that manner to be strictly examined how they were dismissed from their Captain, and finding them not sick, hurt, or

1600.

maimed, to be immediately returned to their colours, and the Captain charged to receive them, and to restore their arms to them; otherwise, the Captain to be displaced, and the soldier to be executed as a rogue, if he refuse to return to his colours in this manner.

“Forasmuch as Her Majesty is greatly pestered with suitors repairing hither, some with license and some without, Her Highness’s pleasure is, that the Deputy shall give license to no suitors, specially if they [are] in Her Majesty’s sold, until the troubles of the realm be somewhat better stayed; and yet Her Majesty’s meaning is not to stop the access of her loving subjects to her court, to shew their grievances, but only that they should forbear for a while, till in a more seasonable time they might be heard.

“Whereas the usage hath been in other times that the dividend of the treasure, sent for payment of the men of war in that realm, should be made at the Council table, by which course both the Captains and soldiers were better satisfied, and the Council being acquainted with the issuing of the money, the distribution might be both more orderly and satisfactory to all parties, Her Majesty’s pleasure is, that from henceforth the like course of dividence shall be used at the Council table as hath been before, and not to have the dividend of her treasure made privately, as now Her Majesty understandeth it is.

“Forasmuch as Her Majesty is credibly informed that the most part of churches within the two large dioceses of Dublin and Meath are utterly ruined, insomuch as, between Dublin and Athlone, which containeth sixty miles, and is the through tract of the English Pale, there are so few churches standing as they will scarcely make a plural number, and so few pastors to teach or preach the Word, as in the most of them there is not so much as a reading minister; that the Lord Deputy do call before him and some others of the best of the Council, the Lords Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Meath, to know of them the causes of these ruins of churches in their several dioceses, and to charge them, upon pain of Her Majesty’s uttermost displeasure, to assemble their clergy, and take order out of hand for repairing of their churches, and to see them furnished with pastors, at least with reading ministers to instruct the people upon the Sabbath days, who, not having churches nor ministers, do meet together on hills, in the open fields and woods, and there spend the time in wicked devices which should be spent in the service and worship of God.

“That the Lord Deputy let those two Bishops know how greatly Her Majesty is offended with them for their remiss and unchristian-like carriage in their spiritual callings, whereby idolatry is grown to that height as it is the very strength and heart of the rebellion, and Jesuits and other Rome-running priests do so swarm, both in cities and country, within the realm, who, for want of due looking to in time, have got such an awe over the people, that the poor subjects (who otherwise are sound in their loyalty), dare not but yield to these Romish priests in matters of conscience and faith.

“By which default, the whole realm is dangerously poisoned with the contrary religion, and the sedition of the realm mightily maintained and heartened, which otherwise might have been instructed

1600.

in the Word of God, which would have instructed them in their duty towards their Prince. Even in the city of Dublin, which is the Metropolitan city of the realm, and is to give example to all the other parts of the kingdom, there is apparent idolatry, and the Mass frequently used, and all suffered without punishment, whereby Her Majesty's best subjects of the realm are carried away from their duty to God and their Prince, and [are] in danger of a desperate defection, if the Lord Archbishop of Dublin (being the ordinary of the place) be not straitly commanded, upon pain of Her Majesty's high indignation, to see the same redressed.

"If hereby any person shall conceive that we are minded now to fall into any curious inquisition of men's consciences, or to use severity at this time, they do mistake our purpose; for, although in our own heart we are sorry to see that by the remissness hitherto this infection is so general, yet we hope you the Lord Deputy can use such a mean, although you rake not into their doings, yet not to suffer even under your nose in our principal seat notorious exercise of such idolatry, and to suffer friaries to stand, when we have an army of 17,000 men to fight withal.*

"Likewise, in the diocese of Meath, which is the heart of the English Pale, there is suffered to stand untouched a house of friars, called Multifarnham, the only place of assembly and conventicle of all the traitorous Jesuits of the realm, and where was the first conspiracy and plotting of this great rebellion.

"This of all the rest is most lamentable and worthy of reprehension in the Bishop, for that the friars, and all other popish adversaries to Her Majesty's government, have their recourse and passage to and fro thither, in as open and public manner as if their idolatrous profession were justified by the authority of the clergy.

"That the Lord Deputy charge the Bishop of Meath, in Her Majesty's name, to see how this house may be demolished, or at least the friars expelled, and the house converted to a place of garrison, or some other good use, and that the said Bishop be charged to give over his former profane manner of life, and to give himself more to preaching, and travailing in the ways of his calling, to reform his diocese, which is wholly fallen away from God for want of good instruction. And by these tolerances of idolatry, the wrath of God is kindled against the whole realm, and will more and more increase till Her Majesty shall draw her clergy to a more feeling of their duty to God and her, and to a more Christian-like care to lead her people in the ways of truth and loyalty.

"Forasmuch as the office of the Clerk of the Council there, as it is a place of great benefit to the officer, so it is to be attended and followed by him in his own person, and not put over to a deputy, as a farm to a farmer; and, for that the Clerk of the Council by his office ought to attend our Secretary of State there, and to receive of him directions in matters for our service, the Lord Deputy straitly to charge the said Clerk of the Council to attend our said Secretary as before, and to follow his office in person, and not by a deputy, which

* This paragraph is written in the margin by Sir Robert Cecil.

1600.

breedeth multiplicity of fees, unmeasurably extorted upon the suitors, to the great discontentment of the subject and dishonour of the Council table.

“And in this point of excessive fees, taken by the Clerks about the Council table, the Lord Deputy, calling to him the Secretary and some others of the Council, is to see the same reduced to more reasonable rates, whereby the suitor may not be deterred from following his cause at that table. And, as at the Council table, so the like moderation of fees may be established by the Lord Deputy and Council aforesaid for pardons, leases, and other writings to pass the Great Seal of that realm, with protections and concordatums, wherein unreasonable fees have been exacted, to the great offence of the subject. And these fees being rated and moderated by the Lord Deputy and Council as aforesaid, to stand firm, and not to be exceeded by any person whatsoever, upon pain to lose his place, and to have further corporal punishment at the discretion of the Lord Deputy and Council as aforesaid.

“Of this you know that the Captains and others did mightily complain before your going, but we see not any way taken to ease the Captains or any subject, by freeing them from charges that fall upon them by other means; but still they are addressed to us for all things of charge, and all other things which might gratify any person are converted to others’ private benefit, and others follow; wherein we will be no longer ill-used, though heretofore, when our expenses were not infinite, we were content to tolerate them.*

“Where there hath been in the years last past a great waste of powder and other munitions in that realm, such as could not be done but by some course of deceit and fraud to Her Majesty, the Lord Deputy to authorise discreet Commissioners to enter into the search and examination of this matter, prescribing their time, from the determination of the joint government of the Lord Chancellor and Sir Robert Gardener until the beginning of the Lord Mountjoy’s time; and Her Majesty’s express pleasure is, that from henceforth the Lord Deputy and Council be very wary in issuing the powder and other munitions, and specially that the same may be defalked upon the companies to whom it is issued, *saving in the days of service.* [*The words in italics have been added by Sir Robert Cecil.*]

“It appeareth by the books of certificate sent from thence that there are certain weekly allowances made to preachers, cannoneers, surgeons, and engineers, to the sum of 68*l.* sterling, and above, the week; which allowances as they are extraordinary and matters of innovation, so for the most part they are out of use, for that Her Majesty hath others within her fee by letters patents to serve those turns. It is Her Majesty’s pleasure that those allowances made to preachers shall cease to most of them, for that Her Majesty understandeth they are beneficed and provided for elsewhere. And for the residue, their stipends may be reduced to 20*s.* or 26*s.* 8*d.* sterling a week, according the quality of the party. Touching the cannonneers, for that there is seldom any use of such officers within that realm, Her Majesty’s pleasure is to dissolve those allowances, except it be in some times of necessity, to continue no longer than the

* This paragraph is written by Sir Robert Cecil in the margin.

1600.

occasion. And for the surgeons, forasmuch as heretofore every particular company had an allowance of a surgeon from Her Majesty, wherewith both the Captains and companies were well satisfied, Her Majesty's pleasure is, that that course shall be again renewed and the other forborne; and so likewise for the engineer, who hath Her Majesty's fee by letters patents.

"Lastly, forasmuch as these abuses, with sundry others which Her Majesty for respects passeth over at this time, have grown into that government, for the most part, before the now Lord Deputy's time, and therefore Her Majesty chargeth you of the Council with the same, by whose ministry they might have been prevented if you had done your duties, therefore Her Majesty commandeth you of the Council, and particularly you, the Secretary, being of the ancientest, and to whom, by reason of your place, it doth especially belong, to take care that these and other enormities may be better redressed hereafter, and that things do not run in the looseness they have done, whereby the government may still remain corrupted, lest Her Majesty lay the blame upon you, and give you a further sense and feeling of her high indignation than you willingly would.

"Forasmuch as by the misdemeanour of Sheriffs and the ill choice made of them heretofore, many enormities and foul abuses have passed without punishment in sundry counties of that realm, as well inhabited as Irish, whereby both the subjects have been overburdened, and the public service greatly hindered, through the corruptions of Sheriffs and their ministers and retinues; for reformation of these inconveniences Her Majesty's pleasure is, that the Lord Deputy from henceforth be more careful to make good choice of Sheriffs, and that the nomination of them pass according the manner and custom of England, and not (as in other times hath been used) to suffer those offices to be sold and bought for money, by which course they fall into the hands of unworthy men, who, as they pay for their places, so they usually sell justice to the subjects. And that every Sheriff do account at the year's end in the Exchequer, as they do in England, and not to receive pardon for himself, his ministers, or retinue, till he have passed his account.

"Whereas these late years past, Her Majesty hath been at excessive charges for provision of victuals of all kinds for that realm, and to her further charge hath constituted certain officers and commissaries to see the same husbanded and issued to Her Majesty's advantage, yet Her Majesty hath been at sundry times informed that small care hath been had of Her Majesty's profit, but loose and corrupt distributions used by the commissaries and their clerks, sometimes by selling the victual for their private gain, and sometimes by defrauding the proportions allotted to the garrisons, by issuing the same to the soldiers in far less quantity than Her Majesty doth allow, to the great robbing of the soldiers and deceiving of Her Majesty, besides sundry other falsities practised by the commissaries and their under-ministers. For reformation of these enormities, the Lord Deputy is to charge the Commissioners for those accounts of the victuals, to look precisely and exactly into the accounts of the commissaries and other officers of the victuals, and without respect of persons to search out their deceits as well to Her Majesty as the soldier, and to see the deceivers made examples of severe punishment,

1600.

wherein it were a good course that the Commissioners for those accounts should drive the commissaries to pass their reckonings by oath, and their underministers also, who have had charge of the victuals. The Commissioners to certify to the Lord Deputy under their hands all such frauds and deceits as they should discover, and his Lordship to advertise the same to the Lords of the Council, to the end to be imparted to Her Majesty.

“Her Majesty hath been informed sundry times that many unlettered ministers have been admitted to spiritual livings in Her Majesty’s gift, such as have not the faculty to teach and preach, and many not able to read the Word of God distinctly; some also being mere laymen, and all preferred by favour, without good examination made of their sufficiency. By which negligence the people remain untaught, and for want of teaching they run headlong to idolatry; insomuch as, amongst the Irish themselves, this base choice of ministers breedeth a contempt of religion, and a loathing to come to the church, whilst they see ignorant and profane men set over them, in whom is no ability to instruct either by their learning or their good example of life. That therefore the Lord Deputy be very circumspect to (*sic*) what manner of men he shall confer benefices and ecclesiastical livings in Her Majesty’s gift; and that, before he present them, they be examined by two sincere men of the Council (whereof one to be one of the clergy). And though it is not to be looked for that there will be found in Ireland men sufficient in literature to answer those places, yet the Commissioners may make choice of the best to be presented by the Lord Deputy, and above all things to foresee that no layman be admitted, for that it is not meet that any should live by the altar that cannot do the service of the altar.

“We are also advertised from Lough Foyle that there is great want of deal-board and other planks to perfect their buildings and places of stowage for their victuals and munitions. And, for that we understand by the Secretary of that realm now here that a large proportion of those natures was lately sent from Dublin to Lough Foyle, besides other quantities provided here for that purpose, insomuch as it is to be thought that that garrison of Lough Foyle is thoroughly furnished with those provisions, the rather for that from Dublin was sent as much as they demanded, we require your Lordship to give order that some further supply of such planks may be sent from thence to Lough Foyle. And also, that you will call before you the Master of the Ordnance (whom your Lordship did specially use in those provisions), to know what should be the cause of this want, and to try out by whose default it cometh, which must needs fall either upon some of his ministers, or else by abuse of some of the ships that were appointed to transport it.

“It is likewise advertised from Lough Foyle that they have great want of small boats to run into creeks, and serve other uses for transportation of men and necessities to and fro. Therefore it is requisite that your Lordship send thither Bell the shipwright, being Her Majesty’s feed man, who having conference with Captain Thornton, they may with the advice of the Governor there consider to make provision of some small boats upon [*sic*, ? like] the Irish

1600.

cotts, that are there up and down along the river, which, with the help of some planks and timber, Bell may make serviceable for the garrison.

“Forasmuch as there is no provision of beer made for that garrison of Lough Foyle, and that the soldiers there, by continual drinking of water, cannot but be made weak in their strength, which will hinder their service, the Lord Deputy to deal with the merchants of Dublin, Drogheda, and other ports, who have recourse by way of trade to Lough Foyle and Knockfergus, to carry beer thither to sell to the army, at such reasonable rates as the merchant may have competent gain, and yet the soldier not strained above his wages.

“Forasmuch as Her Majesty hath great cause to think that the Captains and Commanders of the several garrisons within that realm are over careless and negligent in their charge, for that she findeth no service done by them to answer the charge she is at, that the Lord Deputy do give strait order, by letters or otherwise, to all Governors of provinces, and all Captains and Commanders of garrisons, to send his Lordship under their hand-writing, every month or forty days, true reports and certificates of the several services that are done in that time within their several limits, and the same certificates to be sent hither by his Lordship, to the end we may acquaint Her Majesty therewith, that she may see what diligence is used by them in her service.” *Endorsed by Lord Buckhurst*:—“Memorials to be sent to the Lord Deputy in the next despatch.” *The last four paragraphs are probably the “additions,” alluded to by Lord Buckhurst in an endorsement on the previous paragraphs. pp. 7½.*

June. **140.** “Answer to the petition exhibited by the Earl of Thomond to the Lords in England, touching his demand of 1,180*l.*, as he pretendeth to be due unto him for the entertainment of himself, officers, and 200 footmen, for 151 days, ending 28 Februarii, 1598”[-9]. *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane and Ralph Birkinshawe.* [*The last date referred to in the document is June, 1600.*] *pp. 2.*

June. **141.** Michael Stanhope to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Henry Wood, for the command of one of the companies going into Ireland. He was Lieutenant to Sir John Brooke in Ireland, and served also in the Low Countries and in France. *Endorsed*:—“1600, June.” *Holograph. p. 1.*

[June.] **142.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain Hansard, for the command of a company of 150 men.—[1600, June.] *Signed. p. 1.*

[June.] **143.** List of Captains recommended by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.

These are:—Sir Edward Herbert (150); Sir William Courtney (150) and Captain Francis Courtney (150)—“these two brethren are my kinsmen; they have both served in the wars, and are both well

1600.

able to live—"; Captain Rush (100)—"an ancient and very good Captain—"; Captain Morris (100); Captain Boys (150); Captain Hansard (150)—"a very sufficient man—"; Captain Freckleton (50)—"he hath 100 already, but is a very gallant sober Captain—"; Captain Trever (100); Captain Blage (150)—"a young gentleman, but a Captain, and well to live, brought up in the wars from his youth—"; Mr. Done (150)—"a gentleman in Cheshire, who desires a charge, if any men be levied there, and not otherwise—"; Captain Dale (100)—"an old Captain—"; Captain Constable (100)—"an ancient Captain—"; Captain Linley (100)—"a Captain in these countries before—"; Captain Powell (100); Lieutenant Smith (100).

"The rest I desire may be left to me, to add fifties to some Captains here, that have long served, and have but one hundred."
[1600, June.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[June.] **144.** "A remembrance for the Lord Bourke," addressed to [Sir Robert Cecil.]

The Queen was pleased, by her letters directed to the Lord Deputy, to grant that the applicant should hold the title of Lord Bourke, until it was tried whether he, or the reputed son of his deceased brother Thomas, had the best right thereunto; also the wardship of the lands belonging to the said lordship during the minority of the aforesaid son, if he were found legitimate; and further, a pension of 100*l.* per annum, out of Her Majesty's Exchequer in Ireland.

The late Lord Bourke, applicant's brother, had 150 foot and 30 horse in Her Majesty's pay, and the command of all the country adjoining his barony. Eight hundred pounds were also due to him of his entertainment since Michaelmas last. The applicant will not be a troublesome suitor for this sum at this time, but prays for so much of it as the Queen thinks fit, to bear his charges, and to furnish himself and his men with armour and other necessities for the service. He also prays for the like employment and command as his brother had under the Lord President in Munster, where he will be best followed, and able to do Her Majesty service; otherwise he cannot retain his followers in their due obedience, as he is environed by rebels on all parts.—[1600, June.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[June.] **145.** "A note of Theobald, Lord Bourke, his demands."

The title of Lord Bourke, by virtue of Her Majesty's letters patent to his grandfather, in the 22nd year of her reign. The wardship of his brother Thomas's reputed son, about six months old, born of the daughter of O'Mulrian, an arch-rebel. The annuity of 200*l.*, which his said brother had out of the Exchequer in England. The same command and employment as his said brother had in Munster.—[1600, June.] p. 1.

[June.] **146.** Memorandum concerning the plantation at Ballyshannon.
"The planting at Ballyshannon is that which O'Donnell knoweth will either imprison him within Tyrconnell, where he must stand

1600.

by his own strength only, or utterly banish him out of it without any hope of return. Into which extremity before he will be put, it is to be imagined he will try all his friends, and desperately jump his fortune upon the impeachment of that plantation, as he did when my Lord Burgh was at the Blackwater. Sir Conyers Clifford being then before it, with a culverin and a saker, 2,000 foot and three troops of horse, and having possession of the bawn and hall, he yet forced him to rise and march away with such speed as he quit both his ordnance, baggage, and hurt men. And yet O'Donnell's estate, if it had been then lost, was not so desperate as it is now, nor the loss of that kingdom as much hazarded by the overthrow of the then assailing forces, as it will be by the breaking of them which shall now attempt it, Her Majesty being at this time near the bottom of that treasure, which she is thought to value that realm at. This business, therefore, is not to be undertaken with few men or small means, neither the charge to be thought much at; since, if it succeed, it is the making up of the war of the north, and, if it quail, all that hath been yet done will avail little.

“Under the name of the plantation at Ballyshannon is included the reducing of all that country into obedience, which shall be assigned to that government, and the full separation of Ulster from Connaught, which cannot be done by the taking of Ballyshannon only. For if all the fords over the river of Erne, which are five or six, and all the cotts upon the Lough of Erne (which are esteemed 400 or 500), be not commanded by the forces of that garrison, they will pass over horse and foot, and with their cows, at pleasure. Again, if their harbours, which relieve them by sea, be not taken from them, and some reasonable conditions given (for the time) to the priests and friars (which make the people so desperately obstinate in this quarrel), it will be found a matter of great difficulty to finish the present war. Your Honours may therefore please to consider what is fit to be done with the clergy. For the havens, there must be in every of them a fort, with a ward, and ordnance, where need is to command it. The fords must be all fortified upon, and good wards left in them, unless there can be some fit place found to make a bridge in, that the water there may be so much raised as to take away all the fords above; the charge whereof, though it will be very great, would soon be equalled in maintaining four wards, which by that means might be spared. The lough can be no way commanded but by boats, which would not be fewer than seven or eight, and must be sent from hence. They would be such as could for a need carry a piece of small ordnance and thirty or forty men, some of them made high-sided and musket free, to which rowers must be appointed, and one to take the general care of them, and of those necessities appertaining to them, which must be kept in store. The fittest place for them to lie at is Belleek, or the island by it.

“Ballyshannon itself is a place which hath no wood near it by three miles, either to burn or build with. There must therefore (of necessity) be carried some coals for fire (beside those which are requisite for the smithies), stables for the horse, bedsteads and houses for all the soldiers (who must likewise have mantles and beds);

1600.

moreover, storehouses, and houses for guards, for an hospital, for a prison, and all these ready framed ; also, boards, timber, and planks, to make sentinel houses, ports, floats, blinds instead of gabions, and such like. Some of which, as they are merely Her Majesty's works, so I doubt not but she will bear the charge of them ; and for the rest, a way be found to do it, without any great cost to Her Highness more than transportation.

"The harbour of Ballyshannon is so ill, that upon the bar there is not above nine foot water at spring tides, and, if there blow any westerly winds, there goeth such a sea that a boat which draweth five foot water cannot pass over. It were therefore fit that some light hoy of good burthen and small draught, with some such small man of war as the same of Her Majesty's that can use oars, should be there perpetually, and three boats that will brook the sea, of eight or ten ton apiece. These may lighten the ships that shall unlade in the open road, or go with the hoy to any harbour near, where the shipping shall put in, and will serve to command the islands and galleys in those parts.

"It is next to be considered whether this journey be fitter to be undertaken by land or by sea. For my part, I am very confident in thinking the sea the only way, for so shall the enemy be held in suspense where the descent shall be, whether at Sligo, Donegal, or Ballyshannon itself. The difficulties of the way, wherein the enemy's chief advantage lieth, shall be avoided. The soldiers will arrive untired with marching, not galled with fighting, their provisions and they in no danger of separation. Those men which should be sent in aid of them, and would perhaps need their aid in return, may be employed to the diversion or distraction at least of the enemy. And lastly, if the attempt should quail, the shipping would bring off the men in safety, whereas no forces by land, if they failed in the enterprise, could escape cutting in pieces.

"The next consideration I take to be of the course which is to be held in the proceeding with this business, the which (under pardon) is not indeed fit to be prescribed by any to him that is to undertake the action, because the opportunities in war are to be apprehended in the instant they are offered, and unlooked for accidents enforce change of resolutions ; yet (things standing as they are now conceived), I am of opinion that Donegal is the fittest place to begin with, and there to fortify upon the haven, and to settle a storehouse if need be. The abbey and castle I doubt not but will be taken easily, and will lodge a great many men (but I would wish that neither the friars nor the abbey should be hurt). From hence Lough Esk, O'Donnell's chief magazine is but three miles, to which those boats that are made to be drawn to Belleek, and a float or two, which I would wish to be in a readiness, may be drawn, so that all this being done with expedition, and a small piece of ordnance or two taken with them, the island would be easily had, though it will be well fortified for the Irish fashion (if O'Donnell be not master of the field). If he be, there is no further proceeding, but resting at Donegal or Sligo till his forces break. Then they may proceed to Ballyshannon by land or sea, as they see cause ; the taking whereof must be the next care. During which siege the storehouses may be in setting up in the little island beneath the fall, where they will stand safe, and near the

1600.

water for the receiving in the victuals and other things. From Ballyshannon there must be no stirring till it be taken, and the fort with all the houses built and fortified. Then (if that place serve not to make a bridge, and to take away the fords above), they must proceed from ford to ford, fortifying them as they go, till they come to Belleek, or over against it. Then are the boats to be drawn overland thither, and Maguire only to be prosecuted, till all his islands (accounted 140) be spoiled, and cottages taken, or be forced to come in upon such terms as may be very profitable for Her Majesty. If O'Donnell be all this while at Tyrconnell, he cannot then get out; therefore the forces which are at Lough Foyle and these must both undertake him. If he be over the Erne then may they of Lough Foyle employ their service elsewhere, for the forces that are able to plant, will be able enough to bring in all the rest of that country; although in that case I would wish they should begin first to waste the county of Sligo, if it be annexed to that Government, as it were fit it should, for many reasons, which he that shall have the place will allege.

"To give countenance to the first descent at Ballyshannon, wherein all the danger lieth, there must be a correspondency held with all the parts of the army. The Lord Deputy to draw northward, and press hard upon Tyrone by the Blackwater, the Maguire which is with him to be countenanced with some English, and to invade the lower end of Fermanagh. Sir Henry Dockwra to draw with all his force of English and Irish to Ballikip (which it were very fit he should take as he hath promised). There let him take good heed that all the Irish that carry arms be kept with him, as well those of Innishowen as the rest. Then are the forces of Connaught to be drawn as near the Curlews as may be, or through the county of Mayo, which shall be thought fittest. These parts thus answering one another, the enterprise will be the more easy.

"Of the numbers of men to do all this, it is requisite he should make the demand, that must have his fortunes, honour, and life engaged in the business; yet to give some light to see whether his demands be proportioned to that he undertaketh or no, the strength of those he is to encounter is to be weighed; viz., O'Donnell, with 400 foot of his own, and 140 horse of Tyrconnell; Hugh McHugh Duff, with 80 foot; O'Gallcaire, with 200; McSwyne a Bawne, with 150 men; McSwyne a Doe, 80; Hugh Mostian, 60 (all these are of Tyrconnell except Mostian, who is now with him). Then will he have in Connaught: Maguire, 500 foot; O'Rourke, 500; O'Connor Sligo, 400; McWilliam, 300; these will bring at least 100 horse more. So that, if none of these be diverted, their whole number will amount to 240 horse and 2,480 foot. Therefore it befitteth him that goeth thither to be strong, that must deal with thus many, commanded by a man whose estate is desperate.

"The necessities which I take to be requisite to be sent along I have set down apart. All which if they be not ready by the 20th of July to put to sea, it will be too late before they can arrive to do much this year; because at Dublin there must be some stay, and again at Lough Foyle; and if they be not at Ballyshannon before

1600.

the 12th of August, all the corn will be got, and winter come far on, before the fort will be built, and they able to stir."—[1600, June.] *Unsigned. pp. 4.*

[June.]

147. Captain Lionel Ghest to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "I am very sorry and not a little ashamed that I have hitherto neglected that native duty, which in a manner I reckon myself born to. In my childhood I was often admitted to read to your honourable mother and sister of Oxford, and afterwards being her scholar in the college of Westminster, and elected from thence to Christ Church in Oxford, having spent too many years with too little profit, misled with the wandering error of youth, and a natural desire of novelties, I betook me to this thriftless occupation of the wars.

"When the Duke of Parma first drew his army into France, being then in Ostend, Lieutenant to the now Lord Deputy of Ireland, I dedicated my first services of worth (as I thought I was bound) to your father, from whom I received, both before and after the performance thereof, divers letters both of encouragement and thanks. But the services, being brought to happy end and his expectation, left me no other profit but the suspicion of an intelligencer to your house; which opinion being scattered in the world by the cunning of Sir John Conway, then Governor there, I could hardly to this day shake from my shoulders. Howbeit, it is a course so contrary to my nature, as, to avoid the slander thereof, I have oftentimes since neglected both my private good, and also the public profit, in honest and necessary advertisements. And this silence I confess unto your Honour I had determined perpetually to entertain, had I not by chance, in conference with so honourable a friend, been persuaded to discover unto your Honour a secret enemy of yours, whose ability, though it be powerless to do you hurt, yet I think fit his good will should be known, the rather lest he should any further with ungrateful scorn abuse your benefits. Virtue was never without malice, nor worthy persons without malignant detractors. Amongst the rest your Honour must be contented to have many; but, amongst many, hath not any, who, with more virulence of his tongue, hath uttered towards you the venom of his heart than Sir Oliver Lambert, now Governor of Connaught. It were folly, and could not but be offensive, to repeat his odious and disgraceful speeches; but, to conclude all in one, the only whetstones he hath ever used to sharpen his wits upon, have been your Honour and the Lord Admiral. For the Lord Admiral, I have no knowledge at all of him; but for yourself, as I thought I was bound for your mother's sake, whom I am bound to honour for ever, I often advised him, and, with as much force as I could, dissuaded him from that course. In the flood of Essex his fortunes, my labours therein were altogether folly; but his estate not only declining in the end, but being grown desperate, at the last no alteration of his mind, but of his hopes, nor any eloquence of mine, but his own fears, make him begin to hearken to my counsels. Nevertheless, as commonly all men do ill what they do unwillingly, though it be well known he can both speak and write enough for himself,

1600.

yet he could by no means frame himself to write to your Honour at all, as a thing unnatural and against his stomach, except I would draw his first letter; which I did, and have, as I assure myself, yet at Dublin the copy thereof. And that it is not false, it may please you to conjecture by the contents thereof, which as far as I can remember, were to this effect: to excuse himself for not writing before, for that he lived under the Lord Marshal, to whom he thought all martial matters properly to belong; and hereafter to offer you all his services, with continual intelligence of all occurrents there; including his own grief that he thought himself put by the Marshalship of Ireland by your means, the increase whereof was the greater, for that you had bestowed it on a person (which point he would needs insert), upon whose credit there was never State yet so desperate as to adventure an army.

“Your Honour’s answer was, that though his excuse were insufficient, yet in respect of the good parts you heard to be in him, and the rather for a friend’s sake of his who lived under you in office, you would be glad to do him good. For the Marshal, though you had some particular reasons to do for him, yet he was especially recommended to that place by the Lord Deputy; and for intelligence from hence, though you thought it a tribute of your place, yet you desired it not from him or any other here, in respect of the honourable opinion you held of the Lord Deputy, from whom only you were desirous to understand all things. And so having with my counsels invested him as I thought in your good favour, I was glad that any way I had been an instrument to procure unto a man whom then I reckoned of very good worth, so honourable a patronage. But his intolerably ungrateful respects of your favours since make me alter my course and undertake this office, which of all other is most unnatural to me, which yet I do the rather for that it somewhat toucheth me in conscience that I have any way been a mean, how good soever my meaning were, to prefer you one by whom you should be so much abused. For in truth, since he hath had the command of Connaught, he is become altogether intolerable and insupportable; and having attained that height of fortune whereat all his former hopes aimed, discovereth now carelessly those vices which he had so long and so carefully covered. The country he oppresseth with rapine, the soldier with injury, and all with discontent. Whosoever hath cows, either is, or is made, an enemy; for reducing them to peace is a contrariety to his religion, as one that hath set up his resolution to live eternally by the spoil. The preys taken from the enemy he divideth like Æsop his lion. The Queen’s protections he sells, christened with a new name of tolerations, inserting so many new clauses and provisoes, as they must be twice or thrice bought, before they can be safe for the miserable buyer; in brief, so carrying himself in all things, as though he had not only bought the command of the province, but the whole province itself. And indeed to his familiars, and even to my own face, to whom he knew it could not but be ungrateful, he sticketh not to say that he hath bought the place of your Honour, and that he hath tied you to him with a golden hook. And when I have often advised him to take heed of doing wrongs in the country, for fear of answering them hereafter, ‘Tush,’ quoth he, ‘I must make up

1600.

the money I give, and he must defend me that taketh it.' This scandalous report, that our State should make venal and set to sale places of so great command, in a time of so great danger, in my simple opinion I think unfit for the time. And as I faithfully believe he untruly layeth it upon your Honour, so I certainly know it is a most dishonest and ungrateful part of him to publish it, if it were true. Wherefore I have adventured to signify this much to your Honour, though with my own great danger. Not that I fear him, for (I thank God above all His other mortal benefits for it) I am a free man, born in a free commonwealth, wherein there is an ordinary course of appeal from all subordinate ministers even to the highest throne of Majesty; but for that I dread to offend my Lord Deputy, whom I have so long followed, and whom above all living creatures, next my Prince, I am bound to love and honour. God, we see, loveth men, being the work of His own hands, though they be all evil; and good men love their own benefits, though sometimes ill placed, nature desiring to make perfect whatsoever she beginneth. And his Honour, deceived as myself and divers others have been with an appearance of some virtues, and the cunning dissembling of his vices, having perhaps engaged himself and began to grace him, may peradventure take it ill that I should any way seek to overthrow what he ever intended to set up. But the irregular and exorbitant course he taketh in all things will, I hope, shortly discover him in his own colours to his honourable eyes who, I know, then will detest him above all men living. For myself, my plain dealing with him in these matters, and my reducing of Rory O'Donnell, O'Connor Sligo, and Teig O'Rourke, to submit themselves and all their forces to my Lord Deputy, being left at Sligo with a small garrison of three companies of foot and twenty horse, after they had repulsed him and his whole army at the Curlew, coming thitherward, being a course altogether contrary to him that cannot abide to hear of an end of the wars, have turned his long love and sixteen years' acquaintance, wherein the world knoweth I have lived with him more familiarly than any man, into a secret and inward hatred. And therefore I protest to your Honour, by the faith of a Christian soldier, that there is nothing on the earth I would more desire than to justify these matters before you face to face, and to make them good with the last drop of my blood, were it not for two causes; the one, for fear of offending my Lord, whose love I am bound to respect more than my life; the other for doubt of renewing the suspicion of an intelligencer, which I hate more than death. And so, hoping your Honour will take care that my goodwill do me no hurt, I humbly take my leave, and will ever be ready to strain the uttermost of my ability to do you service."—[1600, June.] *Holograph. pp. 3.*

[June.]

148. "The humble petition of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other the inhabitants of the English Pale," addressed to the Queen.

The composition with the Pale to be renewed, when these troubles are appeased. The troops of horse not to be quartered in the heart

1600.

of the Pale, but on its borders. The supply of hay and oats, and the rates for the same. The horse, in their passage through the Pale, to go sixteen miles a day, and the foot ten, paying ready money, or a ticket to the Treasurer, for their provisions. "This new-invented office of Quartermasters" to be abolished, and the soldiers to be placed by the Constables of towns, and such like. The clergy, who have yielded hitherto "no one penny" for these wars, to give a proportionable contribution, as they are bound. Some members of the Council [in Dublin] to be taken from those born in the Pale; this will breed a general great contentment. General pardon for those borderers of the Pale, who have inadvertently joined in the rebellion. Remission of rents, due by Her Majesty's tenants during these troubles. Repeal of the law, whereby the subjects in the Pale could not recover goods taken from them by the Irishry as prey, unless they recovered them in twenty-four hours.—[1600, June.] *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

[June.] 149. Copy of the preceding.—[1600, June.] pp. 3½.

VOLUME CCVII. PART 4. 1600. JULY—AUGUST.

1600.
July 1.
Athlone.

1. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. "At my last being there [England], I purposed to declare my knowledge of the state of this wicked country; but my fortune being hard, the time did not serve, though my travel was to my great charges, besides the great losses I sustained in mine absence by the rebels. In forty days before I arrived here, none could pass to nor come from Mullingar to Athlone without great danger; God knows in what want they were. Since which time, I thank God, both the town of Athlone and the inhabitants thereof are well, though many attempts given in taking their few cattle, sometimes to small loss of either side, saving, on twelve days ago, two of my kinsmen were slain, three of my horses killed, four of the rebels slain, and divers hurt, at the pass betwixt Ballymore and Athlone.

"The rebels thereunto adjoining, as the Omalaughlins, the McGeoghegans, the McGawlies, and others, are now grown so strong, and I so weak, as there is no passage to Athlone on any side, but from two of my castles by water. One company of foot which I raised myself, and after was entered in Her Majesty's pay, was sent into Connaught, which was by direction from thence, as is said, under the command of the Lord of Dunkellin. I would they, and all the companies elsewhere, were employed to good purpose. Our forces in the north cannot do much better than to

1600.

make the place, wherein they are, good; yet there can be no greater grief for Tyrone or O'Donnell, than their being amongst them. They must be seconded by the Blackwater, and by Sligo through Connaught (which shall grieve them more), and at the return of such as goeth by Sligo to fortify at Sligo, which is very easily done, for all means may come to them by sea from Galway and elsewhere, then 500 foot and 60 horse of the forces appointed for Connaught to garrison there, which shall command the most and best part of Maguire's country, all O'Rourke's country, Maglauchie's country, all the county of Sligo, the north part of McWilliam's country, and withal shall be able to answer the garrison of Ballyshannon upon any good occasion; and all the rest of Connaught shall be quiet, saving for stragglers or petty thieves, which may be banished in two months, with two companies that shall be stirring, being well commanded and directed.

"It would be wished, during these troubles, that there should be appointed for Connaught 1,068 foot and 147 horse, to be placed as followeth. At Sligo, 500 foot and 60 horse; with the Commander or Chief Commissioner, 200 foot and 50 horse, and the Provost-Marshal his twelve horse. One company of English, under the command of a careful honest man, at Galway, will be sufficient, having nothing to do but to keep the gates. Athlone, though it be on Connaught side, yet as fit a place for the service of Westmeath, the King's County, the county of Longford, McCoghlan's country, Ormonde, Omalaughlin's country, McGeoghegan's, and other places, as for Connaught; yea, far fitter, saving only for betwixt Roscommon and Ballinasloe, being but twelve miles distant. Athlone, I confess, is a key of Connaught in that side, and as it is to Connaught, so it is to all these places, and far nearer than to the counties of Galway, Sligo, Mayo, or Leitrim. I would wish that there should be appointed for Athlone 200 foot and 25 horse, under the command of some trusty stirring gentleman, that shall be desirous to do Her Majesty's service, to increase his credit, and that shall be ready upon any occasion to answer the service on each side. This number that I have wished for the province is 1,000 foot and 147 horse, besides twenty warders for the house of Athlone, twenty warders for the Boyle, sixteen foot and four horse for Roscommon, six for Tulsk, and six for the castle of Galye, that standeth upon the Shannon, within three miles of Roscommon, which receiveth all provisions by water for Roscommon and the rest, when the passes are kept by the rebels. So that the whole number for that province, warders and all, is 1,068 foot and 151 horse, which I protest is sufficient and enough, being placed as aforesaid.

"The Commander or Chief Commissioner of that province to dwell at the Boyle, Roscommon or Athleague, and to be enjoined not to dwell at Athlone, so far from the service, which if he do, it will be the overthrow of the province; for there is not in all Connaught so unfit a place for the Chief Commissioner to dwell in, as in Athlone or Galway, though I wish he should have the command thereof.

"I would the noblemen and men of worth in this country were put to their task for the defence of their own livings, with less

1600.

charge to Her Highness than hitherto it hath been; and such of them as will do some special service to be well rewarded. [God send them and us all willingness in the service of Her Majesty, to whom we are mightily beholden. Had your Honour known the juggling used amongst us (with some part whereof I have often acquainted the State here, but I think sometimes they conceived I did it for malice, sometimes they thought it was no policy to hear me), your Honour should see that some which deserve punishment goeth free. I have not seen to my remembrance that either by policy or otherwise, this wicked country, when it was at the best, was brought to defray the charges of itself, but continually Her Majesty was fain to spend of her treasure, and to no end, for anything I see, other than an occasion to draw Her Highness daily to an infinite increase of charge. Had the traitors and the rest of this country but understood that there is no treasure, in this land, but only what cometh from Her Highness, which hath filled every corner thereof with wealth, it were an occasion for them to be still praying for her preservation and victory. And now, seeing that she hath hitherto so royally shewed her bountiful and princely liberality in bestowing such large sums of treasure, great numbers of men, and all other means whatsoever, as well by sea as by land, though as yet to small purpose, I beseech your Honour to be a mean unto her most] ^{*} excellent Majesty, that it will please Her Highness to continue the same, and to cause these two armies to go to the north, seeing their corn is reaped, and to place the garrison aforesaid at Sligo in their return; and no doubt but they shall be overrun (always foreseen the northern garrisons be placed by good advice). In mine opinion, to omit fortifying at the Blackwater as yet is not amiss, until they grow weaker, which will be very shortly. And at the return of the army from the north, then to send a light army abroad, as Tyrone doth send Tyrrell and many others, under the command of such gentlemen as are trusty to Her Highness, careful of their honesty, and desirous to do Her Majesty service; which force after one week shall not need to seek for any victuals, but live in their travail upon the rebels, and to have their monthly lendings to encourage them. I would take upon me to take pains with them, not doubting but that I would clear all the corners of Ireland (saving the north) in three months, having but 2,000 foot and 100 horse, and no doubt but they might be all discharged at three months' end. If I should be employed herein, I would have one thousand of my own choosing. Then may your Honour be sure that I would do what I listed, and bring them to what conditions I would desire.

“Our garrisons in these days do not great good, when the rebels, how few they be, come within half a mile, yea and nearer to some of them, taking what they find. They will not stir, but do say they will make the place wherein they are good, though the place be not worth sixpence. This hath caused the rebels to take courage and grow bold, being assured they shall not be pursued. Indeed they should be sharply reprehended that do this. I beseech your Honour be a mean

* The words in this square bracket have been struck out, apparently by Sir Robert Cecil.

1600.

that our Commanders or Captains be not chosen for affection or favour, and specially that they be no drunkards or great takers of tobacco. I think the Lord of Dunkellin will be in some discontent for leaving of his charge, though he be the cause thereof himself.

“O'Donnell, McWilliam, O'Connor Roe, McDermott, O'Connor Sligo, the O'Kellys, with as many as they could find, went six days past, and brought great numbers of cattle out of Thomond, without any pursuit, and are gone back to their own countries.

“I doubt not but my Lord President of Munster may spare of his force; for, I thank God, he hath good success since his going to Munster. Our forces must be directed to be stirring, or else there will be no good done in a long time.

“Your Honour knows when I went thither last, I protest for no cause but only to see Her Majesty, which was to me the greatest comfort that ever I saw or shall see, though at the first Her Highness (thinking that I had a charge here) was offended with me, God knoweth, to my great grief, until her princely pleasure was to talk with me, to my great and full satisfaction for my losses here and my travel thither. It pleased Her Majesty then to signify by her gracious letter hither, that I should be employed and countenanced, as one of whom she had good opinion of (*sic*). My Lord Deputy could do me no good, in respect that he was tied to a list there, in which I was forgotten. His Lordship did cast the 25 horse which remained of the 50 I raised myself, and lost of them in one journey 27 horses, my brother-in-law, and divers of my kinsmen; after which my horse company were reduced to 25, until my Lord Deputy that now is discharged them, having instructions from thence to cast all companies of horse under fifty. Nevertheless I told his Lordship I would keep so many, whilst I were able, for the service of Her Majesty, and so I will. His Lordship promised to have great care my charge should be increased as soon as possibly he might, but, when any fall, I am absent and others be present, so as his Lordship cannot do that for me that he would. Sir William Russell and others of the Council here do know that I have gone to journeys with thirty horse and a hundred foot, without charge to Her Majesty. My land then was all inhabited and had ability; now, so God help me, I have not 60*l.* rent a year of all my land, out of which before these troubles I paid yearly to Her Majesty 80*l.* composition, and worth to me one way or another a 1,000*l.* a year. May it please your Honour, seeing that Her Majesty is resolved to prosecute these traitors, to be a mean that such may be employed as are most fit. For my part, I have lost a 1,000*l.* a year, besides the razing of my houses, the killing of threescore and seven of my kinsmen and followers, and the several burning and preying of myself, my kinsmen, and tenants. All which losses I am sure never to recover before Her Majesty's laws take place. For which respect, besides my natural love to Her Highness, I have great reason to be desirous the service should go forward in good sort to the confusion of these traitors and disturbers.

“I do anger some of the greatest for charging them with unwillingness in the service, which I know they do not forget. But I am at a point as long as Her Majesty liveth, beseeching the

1600.

Almighty long to preserve her most royal person, with the victory of (*sic*) her enemies wheresoever, whereof I nothing doubt.

“The Council here doth know that Tyrone came in person as near my house as he durst, and sent me his letter and messages, making me great offers to join with him. I wrote to him answer with defiance. He then most furiously with his own hands fell to the burning of all the villages and corn that belonged to me and mine, and taking of our cattle, and gave commandment that none should be touched but such as belonged to me. He did swear, in his return from Munster, he would raze my house (he was often before forsworn). I sent his letter and my answer to the Council, who told me that they sent the same unto your Honours. If they did not, I marvel thereat. Since Tyrone left his house until his return he did not use the like, nor did any hurt from his house in all his travel until he came to mine. Since which time he hath devised many plots for my overthrow, well known to the State here, though not enabled to prevent the same. With your Honour’s favour I see no reason why I should not be both enabled and employed for the advancement of Her Majesty’s service as any man of my sort in all this land, considering the great losses I daily sustain, well known to all this kingdom, for no cause but only for my love to Her Highness, and my desire to further Her Majesty’s service according my bounden duty, for, if I had done as others do, I doubt not but I might be as free from loss as they are.

“If I do not see the service go forward, indeed I will withdraw myself into England, for here will be no dwelling for me. And if in the meantime by your good means I be made able to advance Her Highness’s service, I will lose my life, or else I will do that for Her Majesty which is most meet and fit for a loyal subject to do, and will ever rest most bounden unto your Honour as one by your honourable means enabled thereunto. And if the army which I say of 2,000 foot and 100 horse go not forward, as I desire, during three months (with whom I have a willing mind to travel), who I know will do more good than all the rest of the forces, that then it may please your Honour to be a mean (if I be not better employed) that I may have two companies in Athlone and 25 horse. If I do not more service with them from thence than any other whosoever with twice as many, I am content to lose Her Majesty’s favour and your Honour’s, which I wish your Honour may learn of those that knows (*sic*) me, and that it may be likewise referred to the Lord Deputy and Council here, to place me there, having the charge of the companies aforesaid, under the command of the Chief Commissioner or Commander of the forces (if his Lordship and the rest do think me most fit for the same). I do not seek to have to do with the town or castle, but with the companies for the service only. I take continual pains, having no charge, for the defence thereof, and in keeping the passages free, in respect that my dwelling is near it, and if it should miscarry, I should be the worse able to inhabit my land thereunto adjoining. I have no charge or employment, but one company of foot under the command of another. I desired my Lord Deputy to increase my charge, for that I could not do that service to Her Majesty which I desire, and that Her Highness may expect at my hands. If mine advice be followed, and

1600.

myself enabled, Her Majesty's service shall go forward, or else I am content to lose my life. I was earnest with my Lord Deputy for license to go to see Her Majesty. It were not amiss I should be suffered to go once a year, for I would declare the truth plainly, and deal truly, which my Lord your father did well know.

"These rebels do say that the cause of their rebellion is for religion, protesting unto your Honour they have no more religion than dogs (saving some one peremptory fellow or other, which desireth to be noted). I protest I would sooner trust Turks than them. I would the villains were of some religion, that they might not be so faithless and unjust. I have hope in your Honour's furtherance for the payment of the concordatum of 192*l.*, which the Lord Deputy and Council did signify unto your Honours to be due to me in the time of Sir Richard Bingham's government in Connaught, which I have appointed with other sums to be paid for my debt in London since my last being there."—Athlone, 1600, July 1. *Endorsed*:—Received the 13 at Greenwich. *Signed*. *Seal*. pp. 6.

July 3.
Dublin.

2. Sir Arthur Savage to Sir Robert Cecil. "You may please to understand that O'Donnell hath performed his journey to Clanrickarde and Thomond, which before he threatened; and in this manner he came up accompanied with O'Connor Sligo, O'Rourke, and John Burke's sons, to the number, we say here, of 1,300 horse and foot. He brought very few of his own country, fearing the garrison at his back. He marched through Clanrickarde, which possibly he could not scape, and offered nothing upon them, nor they on him, and so into Thomond, where he made havoc for six or eight days. The people of the country, having no encouragement given by the prosecution which they expected Clanrickarde should have made upon him, bore it with [such] patience as they might, and so he is returned with a great prey thence, and hath got loose out of such a toil, as we shall never catch him in the like, without any blow offered him either forward or backward. I beseech your Honour but (*sic*) that you will please to enquire what a way he passed, that you may the better suspend your opinion. It should seem that he made John Burke's sons yet believe that he would settle them in Clanrickarde, but they, finding him pass in this peaceable manner, grew presently jealous, and, having brought him homeward so far as the Lord Brimmingam's, they took their leave of him, as if they would have gone back to Munster, and came into Clanrickarde, where they have done great mischief. The Lord Baron of Dunkellin writes to my Lord Deputy to come to him, or else he shall never see him more, for that he and his father, with all the force they can make for their castles and otherwise, are not above 240 horse and foot. Your Honour knoweth that the father and the two sons have in Her Majesty's pay 100 horse and 350 foot. More, there lieth, and so hath done these seventeen months, a garrison of 300 foot, but for the most part 5[00] or 600, at Athenry, for his particular defence and safety. If all these should make but 240, Her Majesty may think herself very ill served; but with 240,

1600.

if they had been disposed to have impeached O'Donnell's return, considering the way he was to pass, and the number of cattle with him, they might very well have made him weary of his bargain. I am sure Her Majesty's army, if they be three thousand, and to pass such a pass, they shall be fought with, if there be but forty knaves before them. But in my poor opinion it is fallen out very well for Her Majesty, for this may satisfy her of that which haply before she was doubtful of. And besides, it is to very good purpose, for this will aggravate choler between Thomond and them, and make them and John Burke's sons irreconcilable, which is very natural. Your Honour may please to understand that O'Donnell made the like journey before Christmas last, and only for conference, as I assure me this was, John Burke's son being then mocked by him, as they were now returned from him in choler, and came to offer themselves to Her Majesty, but upon such conditions as were not fit to be yielded to. I then, in answer of their demand, although not directly from myself, was contented they should be told that O'Donnell had promised to deliver them into the Earl of Clanrickarde's hands. Ever sithence they have been so jealous of him, as that they will never trust him, but on the oath of all their clergy one to another. This I thought fit, fearing lest that Clanrickarde should have wrought him from O'Donnell, and then assuredly he would have joined.

"Your Honour may by this discourse understand the state of that province, which notwithstanding, if Her Majesty please, may be held in despite of them. For the present, because the year is so far spent, as that she can plant no garrison at Sligo or on those parts, she shall hold but 1,200 foot and 100 horse. These shall only give countenance to the place, for they shall be all English, and make good Galway and Athlone, and to war upon the neighbours that stop the passages to Athlone, as the Kellys and the Omalaughlins. At the spring or before, if she please, she may settle a garrison of 1,200 foot, they must be at the first, and 100 horse, at Sligo, and then may part of those other garrisons be removed. This will so divide them, as your Honour shall seldom any more hear of their conference. Sligo is within twenty miles of Tyrconnell, within less of O'Rourke or Maguire, near to McWilliam, and in the very bosom of O'Connor Sligo, who, I presume, will never oppose it. And by this means your Honour may well think that the garrisons in Tyrconnell shall have many times the better opportunities. But in the mean time he that shall command in Connaught must not be sent there provisionally, as I am, without either commission or means. For all this while they live in hope of it to return to themselves, and think the establishment is forborne in unwillingness to offend them; which they must be put (*sic*) both out of doubt and out of any such conceit, if you will have them subjects, as they ought to be. I speak not this regarding more mine own particular, being now appointed, than the service of Her Majesty, but I speak it, I protest to God and your Honour, as a thing most requisite to be thought on. As for the Government now as it is, there are but few willing to hearken after it, notwithstanding there hath been many of late ambitious of it; and yet, if Her Majesty will think me worthy, and with such terms as I may be

1600.

able to do her service, I will as willingly, yea and thankfully, yet receive it, as I would have done seven years past, and I doubt not but by God's permission to make her a good account of it. But whosoever hath it must not have it clipped, as it is intended here if I have it, but must have it royally from Her Majesty, as it hath gone before, without Clanrickarde or Thomond to be exempted, or Sligo, if it be planted. God grant Her Majesty to make choice of such a one as may be capable of it, and give her good success therein, as in all things else I beseech Him.

"Touching the present, your Honour may please to understand that I am now ready to take my journey towards Athlone, which is exceedingly distressed for want of all means necessary. The rebels, Tyrrell and the Omalaughlins, O'Molloys, McGeoghegans, and Magawles, to the number of 600, they (*sic*) have lain on Meath side near this month, within three miles of Athlone, and have stopped the passage; and as many of the Kellys, with Redmond Scope's sons, joined with them as near the town on the other side. I have not there above 100 able men. They have been so hurt at several times, and the extremity of all things such, as no men will stay there. Some run to the enemy that are mere Englishmen, for I neither have [n]or will have one Irishman in my company. The rest run by tens, and more at a time, into the Pale. There are not 80 cows about the town, which are little enough to find the poor families, for they have been twice preyed, and all their turf for winter burned on both sides. Those cows that are, by reason of the weakness of the garrison and want of horsemen, dare not be suffered above a musket shot from the town. I have importuned his Lordship any time this month, who knoweth all to be true that I have written, and do but intreat 200 English foot more and 25 horse, till resolution come from England. His answer is, that he can add nothing to me; the Lords' letters were to send me down provisionally, as I was before, who did well enough foresee, as he thought, what was fit. But he hath suffered me to have back Captain Thomas Burke's company, that was withdrawn from Connaught, to whose trust I must now commit both myself and charge, [there] being no other remedy; neither will his Lordship give me any convoy, and yet he knows how the enemy threatens me and attend me. Sir Tibbott Dillon, in this time of extremity at Athlone, is never heard of there, and yet in his letters hither to his private friends, he takes upon him as if the garrison lived by his only care. But if this were the worst in him, it were nothing, but I assure your Honour he is otherwise very bad, a great abettor and temporiser with the rebels, and yet he propoundeth now for a 100 foot and 25 horse more, and addresseth himself therein to your Honour. But his man's chief errand is to Sir Gelley Merick with an apology, somebody having accused him of ill offices towards my Lord of Essex. Francis Shane holds firm, and without any manner of this hedging, which they all use. It would be a good encouragement to him, if your Honour would please by some means to take notice of it. He was within these few years one of the ablest men for his estate in Ireland, and now is become the poorest, and all for his loyalty."—Dublin, 1600, July 3.

1600.

[*Postscript.*] "I beseech your Honour, have care that the contents of my letter be not returned hither, for I fear more ill measure by those whom (*sic*) are held subjects, than those whom (*sic*) are known traitors." *Endorsed*:—Received the 13 at Greenwich. *Holograph.* pp. 7.

July 3.

3. "Intelligences for Her Majesty's services in the province of Leinster in Ireland, as they proceeded from a discreet and well-experienced servitor at the wars in Ireland, an Irish native, well affected to religion, far differing from the disposition of that idolatrous and rebellious nation, drawn into these subsequent cautionary notes or articles by a public notary and servitor of Her Majesty's in the ministry of Justice under that State, for the better consideration of the Right Honourable the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, whiles the Baron of Upper Ossory and Patrick Crossan, *alias* Crosby, of that country birth, therein touched with many foul disloyalties, are attendant-suitors in Court, under pretence of service doing."

How the Baron of Upper Ossory fostered the rebellion of Onie McRory, whose daughter he had married. In Lord Burgh's time Patrick Crossan, *alias* Crosby, was an officer attendant on the State, "as a penne man." The Baron could never be brought to consent that his country should be made shire ground. He and Crossan were in all likelihood privy to the taking of the Earl of Ormonde, who challenges a superiority over the Baron's country. Advisability of the examination of the Baron and Crossan and their attendants in England, and of a search at their lodgings for writings, &c. Their oath should be taken on "an old portasse," or on the Bible of St. Jerome's translation. They did not come in on any safe-conduct or protection, but of their own accord. Their suits to be suspended, until the truth of their projects may be balanced by the Council of both realms. Thus Her Majesty's service will receive greater profit and strength, to the speedy ending of the rebellion, than in many years by the expense of hundreds of thousands of men and money.

How the Baron's sons may be induced to go to the Lord Deputy, whereupon the Baron's house, which stops the passage of the Moores, Connors, Dempsies, and their adherents, into Munster, may be delivered into the Queen's hands, or taken, as the castle of Sligo was by Sir Richard Bingham, though the latter was afterwards lost. The Baron's house should be put under the charge of a discreet commander (like Sir [Francis] Rush or Captain Charles Montague), who has "traced and followed those rebels into their fastness (as foxes into their dens)," and is "free from match with the Irishry, and other suspectful causes of corruption." Then would Upper Ossory, now a very receptacle of rebels and thieves, soon be made a scourge to the infected people adjoining. "Whereby also that country, without present contradiction might be made shire ground, to be governed with a Seneschal or a Sheriff, as Wexford and other counties were, at the conquering thereof by the Earl of Sussex and others." The danger of suffering the Baron of Upper Ossory and Patrick Crossan to frequent the highest places and personages in Court, "whereby (as spiders commonly make their webs faster

1600.

and safer over the chair of state than under), they return better enabled to lay a foundation of their rebellions in the Court itself, or before their home beings (*sic*), than ever before they could have been." All good turns done to the Irish "by the Prince and statesmen, are but strengthening of their malevolent minds to actions of rebellion, and conceived or taken by them as done for fear they should rebel, and for peace offerings, thereby taking occasion the more of rebelling." The desire to save the expenditure of treasure. "One Irishman will faithfully for his pay serve upon another, where blood hath not been formerly drawn in factions by one upon another." The giving of pay to Irish chieftains is most dangerous. The habit of Irish soldiers, trained by the English, afterwards to rebel. It is preferable to give the Irishry pay for horse rather than for foot. They should not be allowed to purchase powder and munitions in London or in the maritime towns of Chester and Bristol. Suggestions to prevent this.

The Romish Bishops and priests are the "principal purveyors and procurers of all needful things for the on-setting and upholding of rebellions in Ireland." Power of the priests. Need for their being brought to the law. "Of whom the number is now grown to be greater than there are able and willing preachers of the gospel of both nations in that realm, yea, and with too much grief to be spoken, of all sorts of that country birth, that, for displeasing of them, will or dare be called Protestants." The Mayors or Sovereigns of the towns will either walk all the sermon time with their fellowship or commonalty about the churchyard, or be at mass in greater assemblies. "Whereas in King Edward's days, and for many years of her Majesty's reign, there were not to be found six noted Papists in Dublin, there are not now to be found of Christ's Church in all that kingdom six score natives that will perform the duties of a religious subject to God and Her Majesty's laws." The Irish may sooner be reduced to their former course of obedience by sending over "such English bandogs, or rather able and worthy preachers of the gospel, for integrity in doctrine and life, as may be able to allure and recover the people from the poisonful charms used by the Romanists, and put those Romish wolves to flight." It is to be noted that "in Ireland there are not ten Bishops and twenty preachers worthy that function, as able Paulistines to comfort the consciences of the best affected English and Irish, albeit Her Highness giveth pay to sixteen. And in swarms of Irish bees, there are to be found far more Jesuits, sometimes in one of the cities disguisedly, whom the people honour for half-Gods, and like Saulistines do damage over the countries, guarded and followed with hundreds of shot and horse. And it is not to be denied that one of that sort can put forth more subjects into rebellion (as sheep to their destructions), than by the extension of Her Majesty's powerful sword, ecclesiastical and martial, may be recalled or suppressed in many years." Steps to be taken for the apprehension and suppression of such priests. "So will these Romish bees hasten as fast to their foreign hives as they came in swarms thence; or else be shortened by the sword or halter; the cutting off one of which sort may be held for better service than a thousand of the multitude

1600.

that would, and cannot for their allurements, live at rest by their ploughs and faculties."

Searching of ships for suspected persons and books. *Pœna unius metus erit multorum.*

"The Pope's uncontradicted course held by his legates in Ireland" of swearing natives to the general combination. It is not doubted that the Baron and Crossan have been received to the protection of the Church of Rome. Their dutifulness and integrity should be tested by administering to them "the oath of Her Majesty's supremacy and [of] association to Her Majesty for repressing this rebellion." Further, "observation may be had of all Irish hearers of sermons preached in Her Majesty's chapel and divine service, on such Sundays and holy days as they shall prefer their suits to be heard at the Council table, with notice given them that their dispatches shall be more or less favourable, to be accordingly notified to their countrymen." Some suitors "will rather leave behind them their suits granted, than with such conditions to accept them, or undertake the apprehension or discovery of any such Legates or Jesuits, albeit they be openly conversant with the heads of their Corporations, or will gainsay them in railing upon our gracious Sovereign, and government over them held; and, so long as they are so succoured, no probability may lie for the reformation or recovery of the desperate estate of Ireland."

The Baron and Crossan may, during their stay in England, use such means by their sons, kindred, and followers that Archer may be easily surprised and brought to the Lord Deputy, otherwise they cannot be held sound subjects of their Prince, from whom they desire good. The Baron's house has been a meeting place for Legates and traitorous priests. These now reconcile jars and controversies among the rebels, and do not suffer them to proceed to a settled faction, as in former times.

Need of a register to be kept of all warlike provision made in London and in maritime towns. If Archer were captured, the rebels would yield, for his deliverance, the Earl of Ormonde's ransom, or a greater one. Merchants have found a new traffic in transporting beer from Bristol and the maritime towns to Ireland. "Their casks are separated in the midst, the one end whereof containeth drink, the other powder, and somewhiles all powder and match. And to make the barrel the more to be thought to contain all beer, it shall have a bung on the top thereof." Special supervision to be taken of all casks in vessels.

Her Majesty's Ecclesiastical Commission to be set working again. "By no other means may these Rome-running fugitives, and intercourses between Rome, Spain, and Ireland be traced out, and discovered for their apprehensions and convictions in course of the laws. And by experience it is seen that, by example of one executed by the halter, more are deterred and wrought into conformableness, than by the loss of 1,000 with the sword or bullets in a skirmish." The word of life and the sword of death, with a concurring course of justice and mercy, should "have more equal and free coherency and passage without respect of persons throughout that land, than hath been used." An orderly course of preaching and celebration

1600.

of divine service to be established throughout all corporations and civil parts of Ireland, and the laical sort to be compelled to be hearers and participators thereof. Mistaken fear that this would lead to a further spread of the rebellion. *Primum querite regnum Dei, et omnia vobis adjicientur.*

Her Majesty may at her pleasure dissolve all the charters and liberties of the cities and corporations for aiding the rebels. Rather than suffer this, the cities will maintain certain number of men at their own charges. The noblemen also, and the stronger of the best sort, if they united their forces, might suppress their neighbouring rebels, when these begin to make head.

“Also, seeing the number of preachers in all Ireland cannot make of that country birth eight known able persons, and of the English not sixteen (being no proportionable number of workmen for the Lord’s vineyard in so great a harvest), and that country hath store of competent livings usurped either by known massing priests or by mere laical persons, and in England there are many as well of highest degree in the church as inferiors, which long have reaped ecclesiastical profits from thence, making no conscience how many livings they may also get in England, and here do remain without any purpose of returning thither, or to surrender to such as would willingly go from the universities and other places of England for want of maintenance (not able to make such use as they should and would of their learnings and gifts for the worship of God, and the good of their Prince, country, and themselves),” it might be ordered that all such persons as will not repair within some convenient time, to be prefixed, into Ireland for the discharge of their pastoral duties, shall be made to resign their livings, which shall be bestowed on such as are willing to go over to Ireland. Every corporation to be compelled to maintain one preacher “of their common contribution, as every garrison or regiment over a thousand may another, by a day’s pay of every one in the year (as in former times hath been done), which will arise to a competent stipend, and yet nothing hurt the common soldier, to be therein continued until peace may be settled in the country, and that livings may be otherwise provided for them, more certain and perpetual.” The good effects that will arise from the labours of such men, alike on the people and on the “Romish wolves.” Of the latter, “such as by the halter and sword shall not be cut off, will hasten as fast to their nurseries in Rome and Rheims as ever they flocked thither, to seek the subversion of that government, and to transfer it to others.

“It is also to be noted that if any of the Irishry shall be so conformable to what may be required of them in the Court of England for ecclesiastical or civil obedience to the laws, or for service doing, that, to strengthen themselves the more against their enviers at home for so doing, they will practise to allure and stir up others all they may for doing of the like. So as few beginners brought on in Court may be the drawers on of many in their countries; and, by denying such lawful and fit motions, they have the less cause to repine or grudge for being turned back empty handed and denied of their suits, seeing thereby their lives and whole estates are upon the pleasure of the Prince. For unto every such may it be properly

1600.

said, *sat habes quod vitam habes*. And by such honourable proceedings held by the State here, the Governors and Commissioners for civil and ecclesiastical governments in Ireland will be stirred up and encouraged to like imitation, upon whom abusively the figure, *translatio criminis*, hath been overlong and often used in their honourable wisdoms to be considered of."

Patrick Crossan *alias* Crosby is not to be credited for any service he may pretend, nor to be suffered to come within the Court gate. His licentious life. His having been conversant with Archer, the Pope's legate. His descent. His treasons with the Moores, and with chiefs in Munster. Complaints against him in England, where he loses his suits. Wearied out of his native country of Leix, he was driven into Munster, where he continued some months, without any hurt to himself or his brother, or their families, and without loss of goods.

During this time Crossan lived under the protection of the traitor, the Baron of Lixnaw, "and took his part of masses at his pleasure, although in religion he may be an atheist." The favour shewn him by Captain Tyrrell and other rebels. His "protection was commanded to be proclaimed throughout all the rebels of Ireland, by the chief commanders." When great matters were expected by the rebels in Munster, at the Earl of Essex's landing in Ireland, Crossan was used as a fit spy for them, to descry his Lordship's forces and intentions. Captain Tyrrell was by his means released from his prison in the castle of Dublin. Crossan also obtained the release of several others of the Moores and of Tyrrell's followers. His plots "were ever corrupt and foul, tending to the good of himself and the Irishry, and to the overthrow of the English, without conscience or shame at any dishonour or hurt that the State or his English best supporters might take by his wicked doings and odious course of life. And doubted he is not, during his being here, to have sent intelligences unto his friends in Ireland." His lodging, and that of the Baron of Lixnaw, should be searched for papers, and order be taken for the intercepting of their letters. Crossan's corrupt devices in the passing of several patents and leases of lands. His traitorous dealings in Leix and Munster.

Great suspicion conceived of Captain Thomas Lee's integrity to the State by his overmuch familiarity with the Baron [of Upper Ossory] and Crossan, who are thought to have been made privy beforehand to the taking of the Earl [of Ormonde]. They are all known enemies to the Earl, and wish to withdraw the Queen's inclination for his redemption. Captain Lee procured the release of Brian Moore, and favoured him. Brian raised up all the Moores to rebellion. Charges against Captain Lee in the prosecution of them. His friends in England protected him. His cruelty to an Irishman named O'Byrne. Rebellion of the Byrnes and Tooles. Captain Lee should be punished.

These dangerous misdemeanours have been laid open by a dutiful Irish servitor, without any cause of particular hatred or envy to the parties herein touched, or hope of reward. He is at present hastened over to the State in Ireland for some special services undertaken and imposed upon him. Will be ready, along with an

1600.

English servitor, whom he has conferred with, to render all the assistance in their power to the Privy Council.—1600, July 3. *Unsigned.* pp. 20.

July 3.
Abbey of
Foyle.

4. William Bourke and Morrogh Ny Moe O'Flaherty to Sir George Carew. "We are now in camp 2,500 Connaught men, more or less, and do hear by report that your Honour is ready for a journey to some part of this country. We being not in pay with these country people, because we denied their proffers, we thought it meet to write to your Honour these few lines, letting you understand that we will not set upon you in any way, nor molest you in your journey, so that your Honour consider us with a piece of money, and give us your pass and safe-conduct for to depart this country into our own country. Not that we fear you, nor any other, but that we mean to do you no harm, so your Honour show us the like favour. You may well accept of this our favour, for it is a thing that others of your calling before you sought for and could not obtain, although very desirous for the obtaining of it." Expect his speedy resolution.—Abbey of Foyle, 1600, July 3. *Copy.* p. 1.

July 4.
[Dublin.]

5. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "At my being at Kilkenny, the Earl of Ormonde did acquaint me with his letters to Her Majesty and my Lords of the Council; above the effects whereof I gathered by him that there were few things likely by those villains to be urged upon him during his imprisonment, but unto them he seemed to yield unto (*sic*): and therefore it is not now to be considered what he hath promised, but what he doth mean, or will be enforced, to perform. If I be not much deceived (as in this case I may be), the Earl doth continue with as great affection as ever to Her Majesty, and with much more spleen against the rebel; but the tie upon him to the contrary are the pledges he hath put in, whom no doubt the traitors will retain upon their own conditions whatsoever his were. I do not think he will deliver his daughter, although I believe he hath promised to do it; and if by coming of some force from Spain there do not ensue a general revolt, I am very confident that his pledges will be delivered or gotten away without any great impediment to the service either growing by the Earl's taking or their delivery for his redeeming. The pledges were sent for and delivered without my privity, whereunto I have hitherto neither declared any mislike, or given any approbation; and I think it fit by the continuance of the Queen's gracious usage, either to free him from all manner of jealousy that he should be held in suspicion, or else to take some course on the sudden to be assured of him; which, when you think fit to be done, I presume may be easily performed; although the course must be such as must be to his and his country's ruin, which I hope you shall not need to command, because I hope he will make good demonstration of his loyalty. And indeed, Sir, I cannot but bear a kind of reverence to so ancient a servant to Her Majesty, and a compassion to the miserable fortune he was in. He told me that during my being with him he had great hope brought him to have

1600.

all his pledges delivered for money; the which if it might be, he said he would speedily perform. If they be not delivered the sooner, it shall be hard but I will put the Earl and the fathers of the pledges in blood against the rebels, and that will soon mar all contracts between them. I have many plots upon Onie McRory to take him, and I think it is a thing that the Earl doth very much practice, and will go very near to perform.

“Upon my return from Kilkenny, one Ketinge, a rebel, made means to me that he might have leave to deliver me a petition from the gentlemen of Leinster (as he termed them). I made them no other answer to their request, which I send you as I received it, but that they had so often abused Her Majesty’s mercy, as they could claim no other justice from her but punishment; and, although they had committed many outrages in the nature of robberies, which no State could provide for in all places and at all times, yet I would shortly make them know how unfit and unable they were to capitulate with their Prince, and afford them punishment or mercy in such measure as should best seem to Her Majesty’s own liking. Notwithstanding, if any were desirous to redeem his faults by some extraordinary service, I would upon his humble suit grant him leave to come or to speak with such as I should appoint; but the protection they desired I would not grant. Most of the rebels of the northern borders have likewise sought to me for protections, but I hold them to it to deserve it first with some good service.

“The garrisons of Knockfergus and the Newry have laid all waste about them for twenty miles, taken great preys, and done very good service. I doubt not but Lough Foyle will soon do the like, and more. With them remain the garrison appointed for Ballyshannon, which must be performed to end these wars. But if they had been sent by sea, and at this time, in such sort as was projected, I do assure you both garrisons had run a great hazard; neither do I think it safe to plant Ballyshannon without an army, or some great diversion of those troops, which will otherwise make head against them. If I can by any means leave these parts but guarded, I am now thinking to draw down again towards the northern borders, to lie towards the Ferny and the Brenny, upon all occasions to draw out the garrisons of those parts, and yet to keep them in heart, to be ready to go through with our purposes for the north, if we hear from you that we shall be enabled out of England. If the Spaniards do not come, assuredly Tyrone will offer as humble conditions as ever he did very shortly. But the Queen must determine to ruin him, for he was the first life, and is the heart, of the rebellion; and will never come in, but he will go out stronger upon the first opportunity he can take. If Sir Arthur O’Neill were with the same, or some other title, presently set up against him, and Tyrone’s head proclaimed, I presume you should see him fall suddenly, and we might clip Arthur O’Neill’s wings as we list. I have a great desire to see Ballyshannon planted before winter, and, if it were possible, Armagh, and then you may conclude that, except God have otherwise determined, you shall soon see an end of these wars. But it is in the north from whence the Queen hath received all these wrongs, and

1600.

our country so much dishonour; and there, if you enable me, will I leave my bones, or beat that false traitor out of his country, who, by our misfortunes, is now in the courts of most Princes of Christendom called the great Prince O'Neill.

“From Munster I hope you hear of all things more certainly than I can send you. In Connaught they do what they list. In Ulster they begin to fall. In Leinster they continue strong. The Enes, and whatsoever the Queen's forces do not cover, that they take, and waste whatsoever they do not defend, which is impossible for us to do in all parts. Sir, I hear there are divers gentlemen of the Pale gone into England to complain, but I know not of what. If it be of anything wherein I have denied them redress, they have reason to appeal to Her Majesty; if otherwise, it had been fit they had first acquainted me with it. Sir Geoffrey Fenton can best inform you what course I have held with them, and how desirous with the murmuring of the Captains I have been to do them all right. I will only give them this recommendation, that they are the worst subjects that any Prince hath in Christendom. My Lord of Howth is one of the best, as I think, of the nobility; but there is one Rochford, a lawyer, with whom I never spake but at the Council board; but, believe me, Sir, he is the veriest kindle-fire and rebellious-spirited man that ever I did hear speak. There is none of them asked any leave except my Lord of Howth; who, after he was ready to ship, sent to me, being going to Kilkenny, for some private occasions of his own. Tyrrell doth make means to me to come in, with protestations of great service, but I do deal nicely with him, as is fit with so notable a traitor; and yet, if he could be won, there is not a more notable instrument to be gotten from them, and to be used against them. I have sent the manner of his tasting my disposition, as it was sent me by one whom Sir Geoffrey Fenton knoweth. If you think good, I will proceed further with him; otherwise, I will reject him. But there be some few of these rebels of the most stirring sort, that would make good rods to scourge these traitors, and after to be thrown into the fire themselves. You must needs send some shipping to keep Spain from sending munition; for I dare undertake they shall in the north receive from thence some very great quantity very shortly. Tyrone hath sent by divers parts of Ireland priests, as they say, to Rome and to all parts from whence his hopes are, for aid; and, as the rebels give out themselves, with this overture, that, upon the arrival of succour, the Earl of Ormonde will declare himself their head. One told me, with whom Archer had dealt to take this party, that they meant to make the Earl King of Ireland, and that all the Pale and towns would join with them. And thus much the Earl told me the priests propounded unto him, with assurance upon oath and their salvations, that they were already assured of the towns and most of [the] nobility and others of the Pale. But if Her Majesty maintain her army, I doubt not but to untie or cut asunder this knot. Sir, if without trouble to yourself I could make you see and know all that I do hear, and Her Majesty continually to understand the very thoughts of my heart, I should have what I most desire.”—
[Dublin], 1600, July 4.

1600.

[*Postscript.*] “Sir, the day after I came from Kilkenny to this town, the rebels to the number of 300 came down to prey the Naas. Captain Berry being coming after me with my company, issued forth, recovered the prey, and fought with them in their retreat almost five miles. At the first charge, there being but few of our men come up, the rebels had like to have routed them, but that Captain Berry, with extraordinary valour, charged into the midst of their pikes, received five wounds with the sword and the pike, and presently put them to retreat. There were of the rebels very near twenty killed, and not one of ours, nor all the rest of our men received amongst them so many hurts as the Captain. He is one of the ancient Captains in this kingdom, a gentleman and well to live; and this was a party that deserved some honour. I am sorry that I dare not give it him; but in these cases I pray, Sir, get my restraint enlarged, for I will not abuse it. I have sent a note to Sir Geoffrey Fenton of divers things to be propounded unto my Lords. I pray, Sir, give them your best furtherance.” *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 8th. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Enclosures:—

5. i. *Petition of divers noblemen and gentlemen of the English Pale to the Queen, praying for relief, as they are “worn out with the extremest extremities of miseries and oppressions, such as we think no Christian people ever yet endured.”—Dublin, 1600, June 13. Twenty signatures. One sheet.*

5. ii. *“Intelligence from the parson of Trim, 17 Junii, 1600.”*

“On June 16, L. W. repaired to Captain Tyrrell at Rathclonmore, a mile from Castlejordan. He was accompanied by Cahill McTeig O'Connor and others. James Sheale, a principal practiser for Tyrone in Munster and Leinster, and one of Sir Gerrot More's men, were with Captain Tyrrell and the Connors about the enlargement of John More. In the presence of L. W., Sheale delivered Cahill a letter from Tyrone written in Irish. L. W. was desired by Cahill to read it. Its purport was that Tyrone had written divers letters to Cahill for the enlargement of John More, but that these had been neglected. Tyrone charged Cahill, upon sight of this letter, to set More at liberty, and to receive from Sir Gerrot More what the latter brought with him. If Cahill refused, Tyrone would take such order as would be little to Cahill's ease. After the reading of the letter, there was some familiar and secret speech, but what they concluded the writer knows not.

“Presently after, one Owen McMaster, serving man to William Brymingham of Dunfert, and one Robert Burnell chirurgion, who hath long been in rebellion with Walter Delahide, and is now with Brymingham, came to the hill, and brought a letter from their master to Captain Tyrrell and Cahill McTeig. In that letter, both in respect of kindred and deserts, he challenged their favours against Richard McWilliam Oge Brymingham, promised his future services, &c. L. W. read this letter likewise.

“He called Tyrrell aside, found him very willing to reclaim himself, acknowledging that he was mere English born and bred, that Her Majesty was his only and lawful sovereign, that his

1600.

heart was with her, and so should his hand be too, were it not that he is withholden by two reasons. The first, the often and sudden change of the Deputies, their opposition in government, for, whom the now Deputy raiseth, the succeeding Deputy throweth down; and yet for this he can easily dispense, and will be content wholly to repose himself upon your Lordship's honourable word, the rather for that he hears your Lordship to be wary to promise, and careful to perform. His second cause is the expectation of Spanish forces, the certainty whereof by the eleventh day of August, though it be avouched by the Spanish friar, and by a gentleman of good reputation come from Spain a [of] late, yet he is content to forego those hopes, and to be at your Lordship's command and direction, so as your Honour will provide for his safety, which his safety cannot be procured and continued (he saith) without you make him able to serve, which he is willing to do, and desireth no recompense till he desereth.

“L. W. desired him to set down his petitions. He answered that it became not him to ask anything of them whom he had so highly offended, but required that I should repair unto your Lordship, and to know what manner of expectation your Honour would bestow upon him, still referring himself to his deserts. If your Lordship in person rise out in this journey that is in preparation, he will not stir against your Honour, for that you [re]present his prince's person; only he will do his best to keep the woods and their cows. If any man else besides your Honour come, he will try what himself and confederates can do. He heard that your Lordship would go southward, and that the Earl of Southampton had the managing of this prosecution.

“There be six firkins of powder come from Tyrone, but no lead. He [Tyrrell] humbly desireth secrecy, or else he shall lose goods and children, who are in the north. As soon as this prosecution is on foot, O'Dempsey will return and serve. Tyrrell told that it was given out and believed that Sir Geoffrey Fenton was sent into England to complain of the noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale. The Spanish friar is yet in the north, but means to steal up if he come. Walter Delahide is received and maintained at Disert with William Brymingham. Yesterday they returned up to plash their passes, and to strip their houses. The proportion of the Spanish aids, as Tyrone, the Spanish friar, and the gentlemen come over of late affirm, is 10,000, and furniture for 20,000 Irish.” Unsigned. pp. 3½.

July 5.
London.

6. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. For letters to be written to the Mayors of Chester and Liverpool, to stay all shipping for transportation of soldiers. Will write to the Lord Deputy to send back all ships of Chester and Wales that are now in Dublin harbour. Without these helps, fears there will not be shipping to serve the soldiers to pass into Ireland, “which would greatly fore-slow the service.” If Lord Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewall be come to the Court, to require to know by what authority they come and for what causes.

1600.

"I must humbly be bold yet to borrow two days' license, for that my cold is sorted to such a cough, at it taketh away my sleep by night, and my appetite to meat by day."—"At my lodging at London," 1600, July 5. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

July 6.

7. Captain Thomas Lee's advice concerning the Irish service. It may be that Lord Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewall will make petition that all spiritual lands may be charged to bear the burden of the garrison, as well as other lands heretofore have been. The demand is reasonable, if all free lands throughout are equally charged towards the same. If the imposition be only upon all spiritual lands and some free lands, then the great Lords will shift off the burden, and lay the same upon their tenants and their meaner neighbours, who are freeholders. The ordinary cessed lands are already utterly wasted. If Lord Howth and Sir Patrick desire to have the charge of the forces for defence of the country, [Sir Robert Cecil] may command them to set down what conditions they require, and what service they will do. "If they will defend the subjects, prosecute the mountain traitors, disburden Her Majesty and the country of some needless charge, and fortify upon their own charge, bring in a revenue where Her Majesty never had any, and plant obedience and civility where it never was, then their offers are worth acceptance; otherwise mine may be effected, as in right they are propounded." *Endorsed:—*1600, July 6. *Unsigned. p. 1.*

July 7.
Greenwich.

8. "Copy of Her Majesty's letter to Sir George Carey, Treasurer in Ireland, for confirmation of such payments [as] he hath made for the last 2,000 men increased, and for these 2,000 men [and 100 horse] now sent into Ireland."—Greenwich, 1600, July 7. *p. 1.*

July 7.

9. Another copy of the foregoing. *p. 1.*

July 8.
The Derry.

10. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. Having settled a garrison at Dunalong, and wholly discharged the remnant of shipping, thought good to dispatch the bearer, Sir John Bolles, who is second colonel in the force, and has been an eye-witness and partaken in Council of all that has passed. Sir John can thoroughly acquaint Sir Robert with the position of matters. Desires that provision of victual for three months may be sent immediately to the Derry, without touching at any other place. The trouble and hazard of transporting it from Knockfergus to the Derry is much more than would almost be credited. Forgot to give notice of the receipt of Sir Robert's letter touching Captain Kingsmill. Will perform the contents thereof.—The Derry, 1600, July 8. *Endorsed:—*Received at Greenwich the 24th. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July 9.
Dublin.

11. Christopher Peyton, Auditor of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. The repair over of Auditor Gorton and Mr. Sutton, Commissioners for viewing the account of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars.

1600.

Unreadiness of Sir George, through uncertainty of the reckonings betwixt him and his paymasters in divers parts. "The Treasurer's account of the wars in all former Commissions was evermore passed before the Auditor and Commissioners here for Her Majesty's services hitherto, until of late Sir Henry Wallop in his later time appealed from me to Auditors in England, to debar me from the accounts of the Captains and Army." Desires to have the office of Auditor of the wars, which his predecessors held. The charge of insufficiency against him is strange, "being myself daily attendant, never out of my office, and for these later sixteen years employed wholly in the Irish services, and formerly twenty years together employed in England." Is sorry he was not made better known to Sir Robert in his former employment. Reported to Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay, as he is now bound to do to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1600, July 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 9.
The Glan.

12. Sir George Carew to Hugh Cuff. Appointing him to be Governor of the town of Kilmallock, and Commander of its garrison, during the absence of Sir George Thornton.—Camp at the Glan, 1600, July 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 9.

13. Intelligences from the north; in the handwriting of Sir George Carey.

"The intelligencer saith that he came from Strabane, where Tyrone's camp lay, on Sunday last, being the 6th of this present, about three of the clock in the afternoon. There was with him O'Cahan, Cormack McBaron, Sir John O'Dogherty, and Neill Garve O'Donnell. He had 800 foot and 200 horse. O'Donnell was with all the rest of the forces in Connaught, but was returned that Sunday, and brought with him great preys, part whereof he took in Thomond, and some in the mountains of Clanrickarde. He lost in that journey seven horsemen of his own country, two horsemen of O'Rourke's, and forty foot. He left his hurt men, which were a great many, and a great part of his prey, in the county of Sligo. He saith that on Saturday, being the fifth of this present, being [at] Dunalong, and having planted their garrison, they sent divers of their company to fetch some wood. And Tyrone having possessed the pass, there began a great fight betwixt them, but in the end our soldiers beat them out of the pass, and slew five or six score of the rebels, whereat Tyrone was in an exceeding great rage, both for the beating and killing of his men, as also that our men had planted themselves so near him as Dunalong, an old castle of Sir Arthur O'Neill's, which was done a day before Tyrone had knowledge of it. Our ships did the rebels much hurt with their shot; our foot do play the men, but the horses [are] jades.

"He saith that on Sunday was seven-night last he heard that there was three horsemen of ours slain, whereof one of [them] was a knight, but his name the rebels knew not [*in margin* :—'Sir John Chamberlain'].

"He saith that the same day that this intelligencer came from thence, Tyrone sent his messenger to Tirlogh McHenry, Art McBaron, McMahon, Patrick McArt Moyle, and Henry Oge,

1600.

willing them presently to repair unto him with all expedition, for that he purposed upon O'Donnell's return to consult of all matters, and that Tyrone purposed within eight days to come up to the borders, and invade the Pale, and leave O'Donnell, Maguire, and O'Cahan, with Sir John O'Dogherty, to attend our garrison at Lough Foyle.

"The Monday after he came from Tyrone's camp, he met a messenger from Tyrrell to Tyrone, signifying unto him that the pretended Desmond was delivered by his brother's means, that Sir Charles O'Carroll was slain, that the English forces were now building up of the Togher, and therefore requested Tyrone to come up and spoil the Pale.

"He saith that O'Cahan is mightily afraid lest we will put a garrison at the Bann, for then he must of force leave Tyrone; and that garrison will also send James McSorley from them.

"He saith that the rebels are of opinion, that except the Spaniards do come (which they are very confident of), that our English forces will possess all Ulster from the mountains to the sea, [and] that their cattle are enforced to eat up their corn for want of other food."—1600, July 9. *Unsigned. pp. 2½.*

July 15.

14. Account of the differences between Sir Samuel Bagenall and John Dobb, paymaster at Newry and Carlingford.—1600, July 15. *Signed by John Dobb. pp. 3.*

July 16.
Dublin.

15. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "When I was in the north at Carrickbane, the 26 of May, I received a packet, wherein I received one from you. Since that time unto this day I have not heard from my Lords anything of their pleasures touching the service, nor any one from yourself, but some that came unto me from you and others of my Lords in the behalf of private men, and for the casting of some companies, to be transferred over unto others at your appointment. At this time we have neither money nor victual left, nor have not had almost this fortnight. I have built the Togher in Offally, a place without the which the fort could not be kept, and am now sending to the victualling of the fort in Leix, and myself going this day towards the borders of the north, for I am advertised that Tyrone is drawing thither. We can do in these times little hurt but by spoiling their corn, and not much hurt to that till it is more up. When you better enable us, we will bestir ourselves in all parts, for now the harvest is great, and the labourers too few. For I can attempt nothing in any one part, but the rebels invade another. There are in Munster many garrisons, in the which new men will serve as well as old, and it will be fit that, if you send us two thousand, one thousand were sent thither, that from thence I might call so many old men. For here we have a tough work in hand, and unto the old men we must only trust.

"I desired my Lord of Dunsany to draw up towards Longford, to second some overtures I had received from both the Maguires, and to blow the fire between them, and between Teig O'Rourke and his brother. In his return he happened upon Tirlagh McShane O'Reilly, accompanied with some thirty horse, and, coming upon

1600.

them on the sudden, killed all except Tirlogh himself and some few whom he took prisoners. The horsemen were all gentlemen, one of them Ever McCooley's son. I find my Lord of Dunsany of late very willing to do service, and this, Sir, with us is a great matter; and therefore, I pray, be a means to Her Majesty to take gracious notice thereof for his encouragement.

"McMahon and Patrick McArt Moyle are at discord, and have both by several means sent to me to come in. I answer McMahon that I will not receive him, except he bring McArt Moyle's head with him, and the like to McArt Moyle, except he bring McMahon's. The like course I take with them all, for almost all offer to come in; but I deny all protections, and have made a proclamation to call in all power given to any to protect, except to the President of Munster and Lough Foyle. I hear that you receive from hence intelligence of the service here to proceed with dishonour. I will not approve it by comparisons, but maintain that no one part of the English army, at any time since my coming, hath received any disgrace. They have in all encounters had the better. Since my time there hath been more of the rebels killed, and of the better sort, than in two years before; and the war was never so near to an end, if it please the Queen. If the Queen keep twenty thousand men only in Leinster, the rebels will burn houses and steal cows, but I dare undertake there is never a part of England, no bigger than the Pale, but hath received as much harm in it by robberies as the Pale hath done since my coming hither. If I did think it were your pleasures that I should only keep the Pale and the cows in it, I could better please these men, though not myself, with the occupation. But, Sir, there be a great many young men and others who perchance the world do think that they somewhat sway me, who I do so much discontent, by crossing some idle humours of theirs, and by not satisfying their bottomless ambitions, that you are likely, or at the least your court, to hear but indifferent relations from hence of my proceedings. But when I shall be charged with any particular error, I doubt not but to make the reporter more ashamed of it than myself. When I shall receive your pleasures touching the service, I will trouble you with the estate of things more at large. In the meantime, Sir, I pray pardon me, for I am ready to take horse, yet have not found myself more distempered since I came into this kingdom."—1600, July 16. *Endorsed*:—From Dublin. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

July 16.
Dublin
Castle.

16. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. John Lee, "a man very inward with Sir Charles O'Carroll, unhappily slain here by the rebels." Lee has thereby good knowledge of the country called Ely O'Carroll, and is pressed by some of the gentlemen of best sort there to go to England to make their states known. He has also some business to dispatch for himself.—Dublin, 1600, July 16. *Signed. p. 1.*

July 16.
Dublin.

17. Copy of Her Majesty's grant of 200*l.* sterling per annum to Trinity College, Dublin, together with a confirmation of all former grants and allowances.—Dublin, 16 July, anno 42 [1600]. *Two sheets.*

1600.

- [July 16.] 18. "A true note of the pensions and sums of money allowed yearly to the College near Dublin," amounting to 388*l.* 15*s.* sterling. *In the handwriting of W. Temple, Provost of the said College.*—[1600, July 16.] p. 1.

- [July 16.] 19. Copy of the preceding. p. 1.

July 17.
Killeglin.

20. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "The same day that I made my last dispatch, the treasure arrived at Dublin, and with it all the packets I had of long time received (*sic*). I confess I was, and am, much troubled to find most of that I ever feared fall unto me, to be reckoned the cause of the intolerable charge the estate is at, that am but the miserable ass that bears this golden burthen, and to have divers imputations laid upon me, which my own heart doth know itself clear of. When I received their Lordships' and your letters, I was going to horse in a journey I conceive of some consequence, whereof I can hardly at this time give you an account, or of anything else, for I do both think and write in pain, being worse than I have found myself since my coming into Ireland. I will answer their Lordships' letters at large with my first ability to do it, I presume to their satisfaction, or else I am more blind in my own cause than I believe I am. Only, Sir, for yourself, unto whom I find myself bound to be careful to satisfy, I do acknowledge your free dealing a high favour, and earnestly desire you to continue it. I do not embrace your love out of the hope I have in your powerfulness to advance any of my ambitions; for God knows how little at this time I esteem or desire the greatest honours the State can give me, being weary of working any longer in a world wherein I find so hard measure. But that which all things most desire, which is freedom, I do both covet and will keep as much as I may, yet such a freedom as they say the saints have, freewill only to do that which is good; and out of that power I ought to have, and know to be in myself, I do protest, without all respects, I do love you faithfully, and will be unto you for ever a true and honest friend; and when I neglect your friendship, or fail in mine, I will be content to quit my honour, which is dearer to me than my life.

"You best know, and the Queen herself, how sincere offices I have ever performed to that noble gentleman, of whose enlargement you write of (*sic*). God deal with my soul as I am truly glad of it, or any other good that may happen to him; which, if you do not very well know me, you would hardly believe, if you knew what wrongs I do and have received by almost all his, both there and here; and even by those for whom I have suffered much, and perchance are the subjects here from whence ensueth most of the imputations you give me. Although for the time I persuade myself the Earl himself is carried from the opinion he hath had of me, yet I will not expostulate with him in the fortune he is in, but I doubt not hereafter but to satisfy him, or at the least myself, that I have ever dealt honestly with all men. Touching my recommending so many, when men have served here voluntarily, it is no reason I should deny them leave to come over, and not much

1600.

reason that I should deny them a few good words, when I write to no particular end for them, but in their commendation. For I may commend a man, and yet think him very unfit to be a Captain. But not to trouble you long, I will mend that fault after the date of this letter. For the rest of my imputations, I will answer them in my letter to my Lords, except that about my horses; wherein, by God, Sir, believe me, I have had great wrong. If they would say that the horsemen were not so good as they should be, I would confess it, but it was impossible for me to mend it. For, if I would have given 40*l.* a man at that time, I could not have gotten such as were fit to go to that place. But, for the horse and their furniture, and the men's provisions, I saw one hundred of them at Chester, and they, upon my honour, were more sufficient than any that ever I saw set forth. And for the other, Sir Richard Wingfield did see them mustered; and I pray, Sir, for your satisfaction and mine, desire him to send you word, upon his oath or honesty, what he thought of them. This I can say, I have now come over some ten of those horses, which were refused as insufficient. I have shewed them here to divers, and I pray God you send us over now no worse, for the best that comes. But, Sir, I was wont to be well-beloved; but now, I know not how it falls out, there is no man more envied; and even in this matter I receive the fruits of it. For Captain Willis, from the first I appointed him the first place that fell of a Captain, and in the meantime a place better than a Captain[*'s*], and Chamberlain's company I had allotted to him. But if you think it best, I do willingly yield to what will better please him.

"Sir, I beseech you to pardon me for troubling you so long, and yet breaking off so abruptly. I will make the best use I can of all the news you send me, and do the Queen here the best service I may. From whence I beseech God well to deliver me; for believe me, Sir, it is the most difficult task that any subject hath in Christendom, and I find it as thankless."—Killeglin, in East Meath, 1600, July 17.

[*Postscript.*] "Sir, for the allowance for my transportation, it was ever the use here to pay the Deputies by concordatum whatsoever appeared to be the charge of the carriage and transportation from London; and I protest I caused it to be set down truly, for advancing unto myself. At all times three months' entertainment was ever allowed, and all Deputies did use it, and the Queen's letter doth bear it. I am sorry my Lords think me not worthy of so much favour as such as have gone before me. I am sure my charge is greater, and estate poorer." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

July [17]. 21. "Certain articles of detection laid down for Her Majesty's further service; by Owen McHugh McNeill More O'Neill."

1. "Inprimis, at his first coming in unto my Lord Deputy, the 28th of April last past, although he came to my Lord's chamber late in the night secretly by a privy way, disguised, and had conference with his Lordship from ten of the clock the same night until one in the morning (nor more persons there present but my Lord Deputy and Sir Robert Gardener, knight, Captain Stanton, the said Owen,

1600.

and one interpreter named Edward Tattle), and presently departing went homeward to prepare himself for Her Majesty's service, yet, before he could come home, Tyrone the traitor had knowledge of his coming to my Lord Deputy, and so laid for him at his own house, for to have taken him at his return. But by God's providence he escaped that danger of his own life; but yet, notwithstanding, he lost all his goods, and what is become of his old father he knoweth not. Also his wife and children escaped the said danger, although very hardly, and are come into the English Pale by God's help.

2. "The day following, being the 29th of April, the said Owen with Captain Stanton, passing through Dundalk, and staying there a little space for mending of a horse-shoe, Sir Garrett More, with many rude fellows about him, came up and down well-appointed, seeking many indirect ways to quarrel with the said parties, who had much ado to depart from them in peace. And to avoid further inconvenience, the said Owen and Captain Stanton went on foot out of the town, leaving order for their horses to be brought after them when they were ready. Notwithstanding, the said Sir Garrett More and his men stayed their horses a while, and threatened the people of the house where they had been that they should be hanged for receiving of traitors, the said Stanton being there with the said Owen, which argueth that they were either parties or privy to the advertisement given unto the traitor Tyrone of the said Owen his being with my Lord Deputy.

3. "Thirdly, the said Owen is induced to think that Sir Garrett More and Sir William Warren gave the Tyrone knowledge of his being with my Lord Deputy, for that beforetime, when he the said Owen was with the Tyrone, the said Sir Garrett and Sir William Warren did continually send messengers unto the Tyrone, to give him warning when any service was intended against him.

4. "Item, when O'Donnell brake prison out of the castle of Dublin, Richard Weston, one of the Earl of Tyrone's men, and now dwelling in Dundalk, brought him certain silk called sarsnet, to make him a line to slide down by and break prison, whereby he, the said O'Donnell, did escape. Who, upon his escape, presently went southward into the mountains of Dublin, unto Faffmackcue [Feagh McHugh], and there staying a time to be healed of his toes which were broken, at the length, when he was healed, he came unto the woods of Mellifont, being Sir Edward or Garrett More his woods, and near his house, where he was relieved, and afterwards sent from thence to Tirlogh McHenry, of the Fewes, the Earl of Tyrone's half-brother, and from him to Armagh, and so to Dungannon, to Tyrone himself.

5. "Item, Sir Garrett More said to the said Owen that he would never serve against the body of the Earl of Tyrone, and bragged that he had said so much to my Lord Deputy before, and further said that he would do the said Owen any good he could, but against the Tyrone's person he would not do anything.

6. "Item, about the 6th or 7th of this present June, Sir Arthur O'Neill sent his messenger with a letter to my Lord Deputy; which messenger coming from my Lord Deputy met with the said Owen, and told him that he had a message to do unto him from Sir Arthur, which was this, namely, that he should not trust Sir Garrett

1600.

Moore, nor Sir William Warren, for that they had written unto the Earl of Tyrone that the Earl should get Sir Arthur O'Neill to come unto him, whatsoever he gave him, presently, although he promised him under his hand and seal, or by oath itself, or by both oath and writing; and whensoever he had him at his command he should presently cut off his head, and he should be dispensed withal, because no promise is to be kept with those persons which served the Queen.

7. "Item, one Edmund Morrohie, one of the best men that Ross Bane McMahon had, who came in to my Lord of Essex, and did serve the Queen—this Edmund going into a house in Ardee to drink, left his horseman's staff at the door, and presently cometh a boy of one Henry Hagan a traitor (and foster brother to Tyrone), and takes away the said staff belonging to the said Edmund, being a subject; who, missing the staff, followed the boy, and took his staff from him. Whereupon the said Henry Hagan, his master, drew his sword upon the said Edmund, who by chance hurt the said Henry in the thigh. Whereupon the said Sir Garrett More and Sir William Warren (always ready to further Tyrone and his followers) went and informed (contrary to all truth) the Earl of Essex, that the said Edmund had made a fray in the town, and hurt the Earl of Tyrone's messenger most injuriously; whereupon his Lordship by martial law (upon their information and aggravation) commanded the said Edmund to be presently executed. Whose death was greatly offensive to the gentlemen of the country that were subjects, to see a subject executed for quarrelling with a rebel that had broken his protection by drawing of a sword.

8. "Richard Weston, a servant to the traitorous Earl of Tyrone, doth continually lie in Dundalk for intelligence, and receiveth from the Mores of Mellifont and Sir William Warren all intelligence from the Estate, and sendeth them unto Tyrone. Besides this, Richard Weston is the chief auditor for Tyrone, and keeps all his reckonings between him and his mercenary soldiers, or bonnaughts. Moreover, the Archtraitor never maketh any 'levell' [*sic*, levy] of money or cows, or cutting (as they call it) upon the people of Munster, but this Richard Weston is sent for, and he lays it down and appoints the Earl's officers, where and upon whom they shall take it; and so keeps the account of all.

9. "Also, one William Hollywood, a man of Sir Edward More's, is one of the three messengers that continually is employed unto the Earl of Tyrone in all their secret practices; if the said Hollywood were apprehended and put to torture, he can reveal many both notable and secret practices.

10. "Lastly, and to conclude, so long as these men live upon the borders doing these wrongs unto Her Majesty, it is impossible ever to have any good service made against Tyrone. But, if they were called hither unto England, and kept in safety, and a commission sent over unto sound Commissioners to examine the gentlemen of the country of Louth upon these disorders and misdemeanours, then there will be such proof had against them of their false dealing with Her Majesty, as these articles will seem but trifles to such as will follow, by the examination that may be taken (by such well chosen Commissioners) of their dealings with Her Highness." *Endorsed*:—1600, July [17]. *Unsigned*. pp. 2.

1600.

July 17.

22. "Certain notes that Owen McHugh McNeill More O'Neill desireth to be made known unto Her Most Excellent Majesty and her most honourable Privy Council before his departure, by objections and their answers."

He made offer of his service to Her Majesty, leaving to her the bestowal of lands or title of honour, as he should afterwards deserve. As to the objection that he can bring but three men to serve the Queen, if the garrisons upon the Bann and Blackwater be made strong, the same three shall prove three thousand before November next. Expects some one of his followers will bring in with him at the least 300 very able men to do service.

"They do also object that Sir Arthur O'Neill is the best member for Her Majesty's service, and chiefest man to be advanced. For answer unto this objection, I hold Sir Arthur O'Neill to be a true servant unto Her Majesty, and one that will serve her faithfully, for it is his duty so to do, and his promise made unto me, who will challenge that unto myself, that I was the cause and worker of him into Her Majesty's service. So did my father work in his father unto Sir Henry Sidney against Shane O'Neill, and my grandfather his grandfather, to serve King Henry the Eighth against the rebellion of Con Bacco, in Sir William Skevington's time; by whose means both the father Con Bacco and Shane O'Neill were overthrown. And I do hope to overthrow (with the assistance of Her Majesty's forces to be planted upon the border) this Archtraitor Tyrone. Neither will I, under correction, allow Sir Arthur McTirlagh Lynagh O'Neill to be an equal subject with me, much less a better; because my father having done better service than his father in the overthrow of Shane O'Neill, my father sought not the O'Neillship, because it was against the law, but was contented to take a less title by much. Yet he was the eldest of the first house of all the Neills and he sought not to have from Her Majesty any other title than it would please Her Highness to give him, which was as much as he could desire, except he should desire the title of a traitor, which was to be O'Neill, as Tirlogh Lynagh, father unto Sir Arthur, desired and entered into by the sword, when my father was with the Estate at Dublin, seeking his right by Her Majesty's grant. Therefore I hope I shall not be misconstrued, or my father's son the less regarded, for seeking his right of her that holds the sword of justice, according to my duty and allegiance, which Tirlogh Lynagh stayed not for, but became a traitor by taking the name of the O'Neill upon him. Neither could the said Tirlogh Lynagh have gained that place from my father, if my father would have stood for it in so unlawful a sort; or, if my father had not been gone up to the Lord Deputy and State, but have stayed in the country, he durst not to have attempted it, for that my father at that time had force much more than his, both of horse and foot. The Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, did offer my father to make war upon Tirlogh Lynagh, if my father would have had it so; but my father would not that war should be made for any of his particular causes.

"It hath been alleged here that Tirlogh McHenry would come in to my Lord Deputy and serve Her Majesty faithfully against Her Majesty's rebels. For answer unto this objection, if he do perform

1600.

his coming, it is but to protect as bad traitors' cattle and goods as himself upon the border of Ulster, and not for any true meaning of service, but to come in, rather to be a spy for the capital rebel, as he was the last time that he came in. For being with Her Majesty, he never drew drop of blood of the rebellion, whatsoever hath been alleged to my Lord Deputy by his friends, or unto your Honours by such friends as he hath here. But against Her Majesty he hath been as bloody an enemy as any man amongst them all. And even the 29th day of April last, which was the very day after I came unto my Lord Deputy, he the said Tirlogh McHenry burnt Louth, and preyed the country. Also he slew eighteen gentlemen of the Garlones, honest tall men and good subjects, who were loath to see their neighbours both murdered, burnt, and spoiled before their faces. Besides, he preyed Dundalk a little before that. I think I should live long, before I should see him draw half that quantity of blood upon the rebels that he hath drawn upon the subjects. But his friends upon the border, whom he nor Tyrone ever touched yet, but do stand as whole as though there had never been any rebellion in the country, have bred this opinion of Tirlogh McHenry, both here and there, that he both can and will do better service than I can do. Therefore, if Tirlogh do come in, and will excel me in the service, and do as I will do, the traitor Tyrone shall not stand up till Christmas day next. But to speak is one thing, and to do is another. First for my assurance, I will leave my wife, children, and father in the English Pale, under the power and command of my Lord Deputy, where I will give them maintenance. If at any time I be found unfaithful in Her Majesty's service, let them all be tied unto a stake, and burnt to ashes. Let Tirlogh McHenry do the like, for the assurance of his faith and faithful service. Neither would Tirlogh McHenry ever have come in, if it had not been for fear of me. For he knoweth well that he must be the first that should be banished his country, and that I would begin with him, for it is he that hath gotten all my spoils into his hands. And thus much for answer unto this objection of Tirlogh McHenry's coming in."

The wars cannot be shortened, unless every passage upon the river Bann be stopped, and a competent garrison left there. Also, a very strong garrison must be planted at Armagh or the Blackwater. "The doing of this is so strong and effectual for the overthrow of the rebel and rebellion, that it taketh from the capital traitor all kind of assistance that the Scots would otherwise give him, both of men and munition. It taketh from him the one half of the whole province of Ulster, and that the best feeding grounds in that province, and consequently all the traffic of the sea from Lough Foyle southward. It bereaves him of 5,000 men of war's maintenance, what of naturals of that country and bonnaughts. All which people shall be driven even of necessity to serve Her Highness, and seek the blood and life of the rebels, to gain their own safety; for the which they shall put in their best pledges for Her Majesty's service, which will sink the rebellion unto nothing presently."

Suggests "as a matter of great importance," although so many of his own countrymen have played the traitor, that such shot as will

1600.

come in from the Earl of Tyrone, may be received, and paid four pence sterling per diem; but upon these conditions: that they shall not come in without drawing good blood upon some principal man and his followers, and that they bring in with them their arms and furnitures; then they are to have their pardons, and within thirty days after to receive ten shillings a piece; and so every month on the certificate of the Colonel and the judgment of the Lord Deputy that such shot have deserved their pay. Thus "Tyrone the traitor will never (in short time) dare to trust any man, especially if a price be set upon his head, death, or taking alive."

Upon the border of Ulster, Tyrone has many friend and spies, who inform him of whatsoever is intended against him. They can be known by their lands and goods being left untouched by the enemy. If they were called away, and a Commission appointed to examine into their behaviour, extraordinary proof of their treasons would be found. Many suffer wrong at their hands. It is impossible, whilst they remain, for any forces to serve effectually against Tyrone. *Endorsed*:—1600, July 17. *Unsigned*. pp. 3.

July 18.
Dublin.

23. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord Deputy having understanding of Tyrone's approach towards the borders, and his Lordship being in his journey towards Kells, sent this enclosed packet [*wanting*], requesting the same might be conveyed unto your Honour with speed. By Mr. Piggott I have received Her Majesty's gracious letter for my warrant touching the payment of the 2,000 foot and 100 horse, which her Highness is pleased to be added unto her former list of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse. I pray God these forces may come before harvest. The treasure, I thank Almighty God, arrived very well yesterday, and it came in exceeding good time. In my despatch yesterday unto your Honour, I wrote all my news to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Only this day I hear that Dermond O'Connor, fleeing out of Munster into Connaught, was encountered by Tyrrell, and some killing was betwixt them. Tyrrell took away all Dermond's cows, and so, as a couple of false rebels, they agreed. I have not received that packet which Watson told me your Honour and my Lord Treasurer had written in answer of those questions and petitions I desired to be resolved of by your Honours, so that I am in doubt lest that packet is miscarried, for I can hear nothing of the same.

"I wrote to my Lord Treasurer to put his Lordship in mind that the victuals and apparel assigned for Lough Foyle might be sent unto them before Michaelmas. For the soldiers there, as I hear, by reason of their great labours in their fortifications, have much consumed their summer apparel. It is a very extreme cold climate and towards winter the passage is dangerous, long nights, and very raging and tempestuous seas. It were good if it might be that they had mantles instead of cassocks."—Dublin, 1600, July 18. *Holograph*. p. 1.

July 18.
Kilkenny.

24. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Sithence my last despatch, sent by my man Sherwood, wherein I advertised and sent to Her Most Excellent Majesty the letter (which in my captivity

1600.

happily came to my hands), coming from a friar in Ulster, which imported an intent of Spanish forces to be sent this next August to this land, I have had an intelligence from a special man of trust of my own, whom I employed in Munster, signifying among other things that the traitors there are possessed with a greater hope of Spaniards coming now than ever before, for that they received some letters of late to that effect; which I may guess was brought or sent unto them by the foresaid friar. Hereof I thought good to certify you, as in a matter of that weight is meet; my said intelligencer signifying also unto me that where before there was hope to withdraw one Piers Lacy, a principal traitor of them, that hereupon he is determined not to come in at all. The rumour hereof doth put the traitors in good height of pride, the consideration whereof I most humbly leave to the grave wisdoms of your honourable Lordships there. Soon before my unfortunate coming into the traitors' hands, I received a letter from Florence McCarthy, wherein he seemed to justify himself (upon hard opinion conceived of him by some), by reason of sundry extremities wherein he stood. And what my answer is unto him (now after my delivery having found an opportunity to send unto him), I thought good to make known to you by the enclosed copy." Kilkeny, 1600, July 18. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

24. i. *The Earl of Ormonde to Florence McCarthy.* "I received a letter from you of the 24th of March last, which I would have answered long since, if my unfortunate mishap had not been in lighting into the hands of the wicked traitor, Onie McRory. Before which time I wrote on your behalf to my Lord Deputy, and made your griefs known to his Lordship, in sort as you wrote them to me. But how hardly soeeter you were dealt with by any man, I did hold you too wise to be drawn by any mean from the remembrance of your bounden duty to Her sacred Majesty, to whom you owe allegiance, and besides you know what most gracious and manifold favours Her Highness hath done unto you, in setting you at liberty when you were in the Tower, in giving you large sums of money when you were in want, and many other things of great benefit, so as nothing ought ever to cause you to forget the same. I have had some conference touching you with my Lord President, who is an honourable and worthy gentleman, and I doubt not will deal favourably and friendly with you, you deserring the same by your service doing to Her Highness. And if, contrarywise, you should prove the man that will bear arms against your natural Prince, you, amongst all, or most, men of this kingdom that are in action would be accounted most odious, and myself become your greatest enemy, in regard of that which in kindness I had heretofore done for you. Wherefore as to one to whom I should not need to use this discourse, but that it proceedeth of my affection to wish your good, in your Prince['s] and country's cause, I advise you to submit yourself in all humble sort, without standing upon high conditions unfit for a dutiful subject; and, whilst there is hope of grace and mercy, to take the benefit thereof, setting aside the vain expectation of foreign aid, being

1600.

that whereby the traitors are deluded ; and if you stand dutiful, I shall be contented to be a mean for you. No more can I write to the dearest friend or kinsman I have. Hoping that this sufficeth to one of your wit and judgment, and wishing to hear from you how things stand with you from time to time, I end. From Kilkenny, the 16th of July, 1600.” Copy. p. 1.

July 18.
Limerick.

25. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “This bearer, my Lord Archbishop of Cashel, not daring to make any longer stay in this country, by reason of the infinite malice which follows him for being an actor in the service against James McThomas, and also for poverty’s sake, not having any means to sustain him, having all his spiritual lands either wasted or possessed by the Pope’s clergy, and his temporal livings, which was very great, spoiled by the rebels, doth make his present repair into England, hoping in Her Majesty’s gracious favour that she will be good unto him for his relief. His deserts here, I do assure your Honour, hath merited exceeding much, having attended nothing else, since his coming over, than Her Majesty’s service, to his insupportable travail and charge. And whereas your Honour did write that he should have 40s. weekly, as a preacher’s stipend, during the wars, the same could not be obtained from the Lord Deputy, because the places were bestowed before your letters were received. There was three assigned for this province, but we have the service but of one, who is a chaplain of mine, which I brought out of England; and yet out of our entertainments the full defalcation for three preachers is evermore continued.

“How all things hath succeeded here since the departure of John Power, his Lordship can fully resolve you, and also inform you what foundations of a new work is laid upon the old ground. I hope in the end the business will be effected, and by much the sooner and surer, if Her Majesty be pleased to send young Fitzgerald hither, to remain a prisoner with me until the service be performed, whereof I beseech your Honour to have consideration, and to give furtherance unto it.”—Limerick, 1600, July 18. *Holograph. p. 1.*

July 18.
Limerick.

26. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. “By my last despatch from Limerick of the 17th of June, I yielded an account to your Lordships of all my proceedings from the time I left Cork unto that present day. Since which time I wrote unto Mr. Secretary by one John Power, bearing date from Kilmallock the 27th of the same, containing all such accidents as had happened between the times aforesaid. The 28th (being the day following) I returned to Limerick, and the 29th marched with the army into the heart of Connello, and encamped at a town called Ballingarry, fourteen miles from Limerick, being thereunto desired by Dermott O’Connor, who was besieged in a castle called Ballyallynan by the enemy, and craved my relief. Upon my arrival there they dislodged, and he [was] freed from danger. In my march, the castle of Cromme, which was held by Piers Lacy, being now part of the Countess of

1600.

Kildare's jointure, upon sight of the enemy, the ward, which Lacy had left in it, quitted the place, where some spoil fell unto the soldiers, and by mischance the house was burnt; but the loss not great, being old thatched houses, and the walls thereof standing good and firm, as they did before. This place gave great annoyance unto the subject, being seated at the entry into Connello, which is the chief receptacle for all the rebels. The last of June, I marched to Askeaton through a fast country, being the way I went from Ballingarry ten miles, where I remained three days, constrained thereunto for the victuals which was to come by water from Limerick. The fourth of July, I rose from Askeaton, and lodged upon the midst of the mountain of Slewloughor, at a place called Ballinture, twelve miles from Askeaton, the enemy all that day marching within view, and our camps not two miles asunder. The day following (as before), the enemy, still continuing in our sight, left us not until we came to the Knight of the Valley's castle, called the Glan, five miles distant from Ballinture, where, as soon as we were encamped, I caused the cannon to be unshipped, and that night we entrenched ourselves about the castle. The day following, we planted our ordnance, viz., one demi-cannon and a saker, all which was done without any loss of men, by entertaining time with parley. The 7th of the same, the Knight of the Valley came safe-conducted to the camp, and desired to have conference with me, which, without his absolute submission unto Her Majesty and yielding himself wholly to her mercy, I refused; whereunto he, beginning to except, would not consent but upon conditions, notwithstanding that he saw the cannon placed ready to play, and his son there in my hands ready to be executed. Immediately being safely conveyed out of the camp (himself standing upon a high mountain not far off), we began to batter, where the small shot did so incessantly burn powder, as the ward durst not stand to their fights, until a breach was made assaultable into the seller under the great hall of the castle. In all this time we lost but one man, and before night we were possessed of three towers of the house, the enemy retiring himself into the fourth (being the strongest of all), the seller whereof being that night also won and fired, they were driven to so great an exigent, as divers, attempting to escape, were taken and slain. The morning following, Captain Flower (being Serjeant-Major), with other officers and gentlemen, got up into that tower, and pressed the enemy (for their last refuge) to run to the top, from which many of them leaping down were cut in pieces, and the rest within slain. In winning of this castle we lost eleven soldiers, whereof one was an ensign, and twenty hurt, of which number (of men of account) the Serjeant-Major (whose valour I cannot but highly commend) had four wounds but none mortal, the Earl of Thomond's lieutenant, and Sir Henry Power, likewise of the same number hurt. Of the enemy of all sorts was slain and burned towards 80 persons, amongst them 24 natural dependants, and of the best followers to the Knight of the Valley, in whom his greatest strength consisted, and by whose loss he is utterly ruined. The reasons that made this traitor to be so obstinate was the confident opinion he had, grounded upon many oaths and protestations from James FitzThomas and the

1600.

bonnaughts, that with his whole force he would give him relief and raise the siege, who evermore lodged during my abode there not above a mile from me, and yet never attempted to give me one alarm. Of his scouts and spies every day heads were brought unto me by our horsemen, as also the advertisements which he received from me of this town of Limerick (whose names I cannot yet discover), that the cannon carriage (being old and rotten) would not serve more than for one shot. His son, being an infant, for humanity's sake I did commiserate, of whom his unnatural father had no regard. Such pledges by experience I find unmeet to be received, and therefore if your Lordships, by a strict commandment, shall prohibit all Commanders throughout the kingdom to receive infants, under correction, I think it very convenient, for here is in this province many the like (who were received before my coming), whose fathers are now in action, and no whit regard them.

“This castle of the Glan is a place of very great importance, seated upon the Shannon, in the which during this rebellion a merchant of Limerick, named Anthony Arthur, hath evermore remained, who was a general factor for all the other merchants of the same town to issue their commodities to the country, to the great relief of the traitors. To make this place guardable, I was constrained to remain there five days in repairing the ruins which the cannon had made, without which it could not be taken, being in my opinion one of the strongest holds in this kingdom; and, for the guard of the same, I left Captain Mordaunt, Constable, who for his entertainment is to have 2s. 6d. *per diem*, and twenty men in wages to be paid upon the extraordinary. This charge to Her Majesty (as soon as possibly may be) shall be eased, and therefore I do humbly pray that your Lordships will tolerate with the same. My desire was to have taken so many out of the bands, but by reason of this two months' lodging in the field, they are grown so weak as they could not well be spared; but as soon as your Lordships shall be pleased to send supplies, Her Majesty shall be then disburthened of this charge.

“In this meantime of my abode, O'Connor Kerry (whose country is next adjoining to it), understanding that I had the like intention to batter his castle of Carrigofoyle (being likewise seated on the Shannon, and the strongest castle in all Kerry),—[*in the margin* :—‘this castle of Carrigofoyle abid the battery of three semi-cannons, and two culverins three days together, Sir William Pelham being then Lord Justice’]—made humble suit to be received into Her Majesty's gracious protection, and for his loyalty did surrender into my hands his said castle, whereof when I had taken possession, I left for the guard of the place Sir Charles Wilmot's company. The Earl of Thomond, out of his good disposition to further Her Majesty's service, and to assure O'Connor more firmly to the State, hath given him in Thomond (during these wars) a castle with thirteen ploughlands, for him and his tenants to dwell in, which is a better pledge upon him than any else he can give; for that thereby all his cattle will be continually in Thomond at Her Majesty's disposition. Likewise, to keep the enemy more busied in Kerry, I sent a party of fifty soldiers by water, who have there surprised a castle called Liscahane, killing the ward, burning

1600.

the country round about it, and do still hold the same for Her Majesty. This castle is seated within little more than a mile from Tralee, and was in the possession of Mr. Edward Gray. The Lord McMorris (who is the most obstinate and malicious traitor within this province), understanding of my being at Carrigfoyle, fearing my neighbourhood, broke down a castle of his called Bewley, seated likewise upon the Shannon, but two miles distant from Carrigfoyle. The thirteenth of this month, contrary to my desire and intent, I was enforced, through want of victual, which daily I expected from Cork, and for which I had long since sent (as by my last to your Lordships may appear), to return for these parts, marching from the Glan through exceeding great fastness, and lodged that night by a castle of Trenchard's, the undertaker, held by the rebels, called Corgrage, seated upon the Shannon, and of strength sufficient to withstand any force but the cannon. But the example of the Glan was so fearful unto them, as, upon summons, they presently yielded the same with safety of their lives, which I thought meet rather to give, than to be at the charge to compass it otherwise. In the which I have left for Constable one Oliver Stephenson (agent of the country), who at his own charge wardeth the same. From thence I marched the 14th (by Askeaton) to Athdare, a manor house of the Countess of Kildare's, but wholly ruined by Piers Lacy, and there lodged (being from Corgrage twelve miles); from whence I sent back to Askeaton to ingarrison there 700 foot and 75 horse, being a place exceeding convenient for service. And the day following (having intelligence of a castle held by the enemy, called Rathmore, three miles out of my way to Limerick), I marched directly unto it, and upon summons it was in like sort (as Corgrage) delivered up unto me; in the which I will establish a ward, which shall keep the same without charge to Her Majesty. And so that night came from thence to Limerick (having sent from Rathmore 450 foot and 50 horse to Kilmallock. The residue of the army I brought with me hither, with a purpose (together with Sir Charles Wilmot's company which I left in Kerry) to plant in that country a strong garrison of 1,050 foot and 50 horse, under the command of Sir Charles (who is a gentleman of great sufficiency, valiant and discreet), which troops will make a short work of the wars in those parts. For by the enemies themselves and Her Majesty's forces that country, which doth now abound with victuals, and is the chiefest relief that the rebels hath, will be soon destroyed. And as for Connello (in the which the Earls of Desmond's greatest commands and relief evermore hath remained), and which at this instant is more obedient and beneficial to James FitzThomas, by reason of the strength and goodness of the soil thereof, than any other country in this province, the two garrisons of Askeaton and Kilmallock will so harass the same, as, before this next winter, I doubt not it shall be merely wasted. Towards the which this army hath already given a good beginning, having left nothing unspoiled and unburnt that was within our reach. Scarcity already beginneth, and when famine shall succeed, there is no mean for the rebel long to subsist.

"In my last to your Lordships I did advertise that I had put such distrust amongst the rebels, as that they were mightily

1600.

distracted, which now appears with better effect than in the same I was able to warrant. For the gentlemen of this province are so suspicious one of another (each fearing that underhand they have made their way with me), as more time is spent in swearing and forswearing, to give further assurances amongst themselves, than in plotting or performing anything against us. The bonnaughts likewise, as well fearing Her Majesty's force (with whom at no time since my coming into this province they durst fight), as to be betrayed by them of the country unto me, did desire my protection and safe-conduct to depart out of this country with their followers and goods. Which when I had granted, [they] without taking leave of the Munster rebels (under whom since the beginning of these wars they have been waged), did rise upon the sudden, and 1,500 of them, with their Captains and leaders, passed the river of Shannon into Connaught lately. In which passage the Lord Burke (in revenge of his brother's death slain by them), not knowing of the protection which I had given them, set upon their rear, and killed some sixty of them, drowned others, and took part of their prey. Of their return I dare promise or give no judgment, because the people are uncertain; but my hope is, the seeds of sedition, which I have sown between the Munster rebels and them, is such as will make them never to accord again.

“James FitzThomas, if the aids which he hath sent for to Tyrone do fail him, I doubt not but in some reasonable time either to have his head, or to make him a woodkern. The countenance of the Queen's army is grown fearful unto them, and the terror of it hath been the cause of these good beginnings; for longer than the swords is over their heads, they will not remain in obedience. And therefore I humbly pray your Lordships that the same may not be in haste diminished, until the work be thoroughly performed, lest the end be worse than the beginning. When time shall serve to ease Her Majesty's charge, no man shall be more careful or ready to give notice thereof than myself, being my part to do no less, and agreeable to mine own desires to quit myself out of this country, in which I serve but in duty. As soon as the victuals cometh from Cork (which I hourly expect), I purpose, God willing, to go into Kerry by the way of Thomond, to settle Sir Charles Wilmot with the garrison there. Which done, I mean to repair to this town; and from hence into the county of Cork, with the remainder of Her Majesty's forces, to place them, as shall be most meet for the service, in garrisons in the several parts thereof. For a small absence breeds in this country many disorders, where I may not long rest, but return again to these parts, to see the proceedings advanced. James FitzThomas, McMorris, and Piers Lacy (as I am advertised), the 5th of this instant dispatched a messenger (with a sum of money) unto Tyrone, to levy bonnaughts in Ulster, and also have dealt with Redmond Burke and Tyrrell to return with their forces to them. Whereof if they fail (holding their treasons to be unpardonable), they have resolved to go into Spain, hoping from thence to obtain aids, to infest this country with a new war.”—Limerick, 1600, July 18. *Signed.* pp. 5.

1600.

July 19.
Limerick.

27. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. Prays that victuals, munition, and money may be sent speedily. Has hitherto had no cause to complain of want of any of them, but is now at a low ebb in all. As the burden of the service will rest mostly on the counties of Limerick and Kerry, prays that two thirds of the above supplies may be sent to the river of Shannon, and one third to the river of Cork. The two crompters have been of great use; their victuals are spent. Sends back one; prays to hold the other for three months yet. Will husband the money for extraordinaries as carefully as possible. The rebels hope for relief from Spain before the end of next month. Desires their Lordships' further directions, if such relief appears to them likely to come. Begs that 500 men, carefully chosen and conducted, may be sent direct to Cork, to strengthen his force.

"The country here grows into great scarcity, so as a famine is like to ensue. Wherefore I instantly do pray your Lordships (especially) that care may be had in supplying us with victuals; for unto the towns and country we may not trust, being all in one condition in giving us any help, and whereof since my coming hither I have had good experience, not having in my last journey such ready helps from Limerick as my urgent necessities required, nor of the gentlemen of the country any assistance at all (who say themselves they be subjects), either of personal attendance, intelligence, or espial, whereby I might either annoy the enemy in person or cattle, but rather privy spies to give them warning to save themselves and their goods; insomuch as these two months we have lived in the field wholly upon our store victuals, without any help more than one prey of sixty cows.

"What censure I should give of Florence McCarthy I am as yet as uncertain as at any time heretofore, for unto the rebels he pretends to be combined (having been, since my last unto your Lordships, a week together in their camp), and yet underhand he seems to be a subject. Of late he hath been silent, and doth not frequent me with letters as he did before; but howsoever he intends to run his course, in spite of his heart the garrison of Kerry will so yoke him, as that (I hope) he shall be enforced to declare himself a subject."

Will advertise their Lordships what shall further ensue of the services in Munster.—Limerick, 1600, July 19. *Signed.* pp. 2.

July 19.
Limerick.

28. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, his servant, Patrick Arthur, "a dependent upon this State from his infancy."—Limerick, 1600, July 19. *Signed.* [Sir George adds a few lines in his own hand, stating that Arthur "was an old servant to Sir Thomas Norreys, and brought up by him." Sir George also writes on the same page a brief recommendation of one Francis Cottesmore, "an ancient follower to Sir John Norreys."] Seal. p. 1.

July 19.
Limerick.

29. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. The good service of the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick. Recommends them to favour in their suits at Court.—Limerick, 1600, July 19. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

1600.

July 20.
Limerick.

30. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "This present day, as the bearer was ready to take his horse, and my packet unto your Lordships delivered unto him, I received in a packet three letters from your Lordships, two of them bearing date the 17th of June, and the other the day following, which arrived at Cork the 15th of this present, and [were] sent unto me by the Mayor of that city, who likewise hath sent me word of certain treasure and victuals, which is there also arrived." Expresses his thanks for these supplies, which will work great effects. Has not heard of the arrival of the munitions mentioned in their Lordships' letters. The treasure has come in a very seasonable time, as by the last of this month they would have been penniless. Their Lordships' orders for the defalcation of powder and arms shall be duly observed. Great want of the 500 soldiers asked for Cork. Weakness of the companies.

"As your Lordships (in your wisdoms) hath foreseen the great imperfections that grows in armies by the absence of Commanders, and therefore do require me not to permit or license any [to] depart into England during the action, therein I am prevented, purposing to have been a suitor unto your Lordships, which now I beseech to command all those that have charges here, and are in England, to return to their companies; for in this small army, which now was employed, more than half of the Captains were missing, some with the Lord Deputy at Dublin, and many in England; none of them since my coming having been here, or thereunto licensed by me. Besides the want of the services of the Captains and those which attend them (which in many Captains grows to a great number), I find great defect by their absence, for that companies will not be, nor are, so well governed and cherished by their Lieutenants, as by them that command in chief."

Desires their Lordships' pleasures touching Lord Barry and Charles McCarthy. Got leave to proceed with the repairing and fortifying of the castle of Limerick, "but now, upon a more exact view, finding the weak seat thereof, and how unable it is by any art to make the same strong, except part of the town be razed, for which I am exceeding sorry, for that this insolent town hath need of a strong curb, I do forbear to put Her Majesty to any needless charge, but only am now in setting workmen in hand to make small work for storehouses, whereby Her Majesty shall be eased of rent."

Apsley, the victualler, has already gone to Dublin to tender his accounts. Encloses letter from the Mayor of Waterford [*wanting*].

"No hour passeth within this Kingdom but some place or other produceth slaughters. This last week Sir Charles O'Carroll (a good servant to Her Majesty) was murdered by one of his kinsmen. Four of the O'Carrolls are in competition for the Lordship of that country, wherein (before the question be decided) it will cost much blood, but therein the State is nothing endamnified. This day a report came unto me that Redmond Bourke, son of John, Baron of Leitrim (a notorious and malicious traitor, and one of great estimation amongst the rebels) was murdered in his bed by Ulick Bourke and his brother, sons unto Redmond Bourke, uncle to this traitor's father, being all combined and actors in this rebellion of Munster. The Baron of Leitrim was betrayed unto the now Earl

1600.

of Clanrickarde his brother by Redmond Bourke aforesaid, their uncle, and murdered in his house. And yet this young Redmond, reported to be now slain, trusting to this devilish combination, linked by the charms of their traitorly priests, did put his greatest confidence in his kinsman, Ulick Bourke, and his brother aforesaid; but how true these reports may be, I dare not promise anything for them."

Hopes that God in His mercy will commiserate the distressed province of Munster, "to the confusion (which appears to be coming on) of these unnatural rebels, except aids out of Connaught, the North, or Spain, do relieve them."—Limerick, 1600, July 20.

[*Postscript.*]—Has received advertisement from Cork of the arrival of a bark with victuals, to supply the wants of the two crompters. His action touching the latter. *Signed.* pp. 3.

July 20.
Limerick.

31. Theobald, Lord Burke, of Castleconnell, to the Privy Council. On his arrival in Dublin, he delivered their Honours' letters to the Lord Deputy and Council, and received very kind usage; but, touching his suits, they only wrote to the Lord President of Munster to let him have the first vacant company. His Lordship promised to give due satisfaction, when he was able, but said that, from former directions, he had to bestow two other companies first. Will not be able to live, his country being all spoiled, his revenue almost nothing, and himself "as poor as Job."—Limerick, 1600, July 20. *Signed.* p. ½.

July 20.
Limerick.

32. Joshua Aylmer to Sir Robert Cecil. Lest Sir Robert might be abused by untrue information of the Archbishop of Cashel against Mr. Justice Goold, he could do no less than certify "the late wrong offered by the Lord Archbishop to the said Mr. Justice, in abusing him in words, for that he would not, contrary to law and the security of his conscience, give his opinion to order ten pounds to the Archbishop against a poor English minister. The Bishop so far forgot himself, as my Lord President was provoked to reprehend him; and such is his malice as he will not spare any means possible to incense your Honour and the rest of Her Majesty's most honourable Council against the honest and due desert of the said Justice, whom I assure you to be a grave and just judge, a true and faithful counsellor and servitor to Her Majesty, and hath done and discharged at all times most honest duties and services to Her Highness; and, sithence this last revolt in Munster, he hath not only been a great favourer of all the English subjects, but as a father relieved them with his travail and purse, and caused the cities and towns to relieve them, when they were ready to starve, and by the sincere regard of Her Majesty's service, and Christian care of her distressed subjects in these ruinated times, he hath thereby purchased the hatred of most of the country birth, as well abroad as within the city, who now would be glad to see his trouble, if they could any way procure the same, and make the said Archbishop the mean to move and incense your Honour and the rest against him. And if the said Archbishop bring his name in

1600.

question before your Honour, you shall find the matter more of malice than of cause against the honest and just gentleman, whom all the country, being good subjects, do love and cherish for his due regard of justice, which hereafter shall more plainly appear unto your Honour.”—Limerick, 1600, July 20. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July [20.]
Kilmallock.

33. [Hugh Cuffe] to Sir Robert Cecil. Taking occasion of this messenger's repair into England, has thought it his duty to signify the present estate of the country. The pride of the rebels is much abated, especially since the Lord President went into Kerry. There he took the castle of the Glin from the Knight of the Valley, and Carrigofoyle from John O'Connor, with divers others. “In doing whereof, and passing through all their fastness, the enemy never durst to offer fight. Since which time Teig O'Brien with all Cosmay are come in, and [have] submitted themselves simply to Her Majesty's mercy. Besides all which, Dermond O'Connor with all the bonnaughts, to the number of 1,400, are departed the country. So that now they are very weak and divided, whereby there is great hope before Michaelmas that James McThomas, with Piers Lacy and some few others yet remaining rebels, will become no better than woodkern. As touching the estate of the army, I do assure your Honour that, although it was not altogether without some defects, yet was there never since in this country, at the beginning of this rising out, the companies more full and better furnished; the which, notwithstanding, is now grown somewhat weak, chiefly by reason of their sick men.”

Abuse as regards the apparel for the soldiers. Gives details. Prays that he may not be known to be the informer.

Recommends the suits of the town of Kilmallock. Was Commander of it, when it was besieged, and has now been newly made Commander by the Lord President. Has always found the town better disposed to Her Highness's service than any town in Munster whatsoever.—Kilmallock, 1600, July [20].

[*Postscript.*—Prays that he may have “the other 3s. 4d. *per diem* as a Councillor, although not as Commissary.” Has no allowance as Commander. [“I do already grow in debt.”] [*The signature has been torn off, probably by Sir Robert Cecil.*] *Holograph. pp. 3.*

July 20.
Greenwich.

34. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. “Such are the instructions which you received with you in writing, and so many were the cautions that verbally passed betwixt us and you before your departure, for the well ordering of that Government, as we might think it superfluous to prescribe you a new, if some courses which are observed did not make us doubtful that by some remissness and lack of experience (though free from negligence and disobedience), things are not so well ordered as they might be. *In the margin*:—‘I cannot but wonder you slip in such errors, whose former example of loose government might have served you for a glass, not to follow but to shun. We mean not *in maximis*, but would not have it *in minoribus*.’] For when we consider that the army is that which must end the war, and know that of the

1600.

army you are the sole Commander, we think it then most necessary, in all things that have dependency thereon, to challenge yourself and no other. And although we have commanded our Council to touch many particulars, yet we will add some few words of our own, because we know they make in you at all times a deeper impression.

“First, there is nothing which any former error hath brought forth, how ill soever grounded, tending to matter of charge, which you do not plentifully seek to continue or renew, if it hath any relation to the men of war. Wherein, besides the wrong you do to us, to put us to speak in a negative style, you do forget that you owe us a double tribute, not only as a general of an army, but as a Governor of a whole kingdom; so as, howsoever you may be carried away that, because you are a man of war, that (*sic*) you must therefore deny nothing that tends to the particular profit of Captains and such like suitors, you do forget that when public necessities exhaust any Prince more than can be well borne, such particular and private things must always be proportioned to the time and occasion. In which kind all Deputies indeed ought to use such moderation, without discovery of any facile disposition to recommend unnecessary things, as we might be rather won to set it down for the greatest motive, that, if the Deputy recommend it, the request should be granted; where now there is nothing more easy or common than to procure a letter from Ireland in favour of such persons as you know yourself are not capable of that they desire, nor can be satisfied as the time serveth; and yet when they come over so accompanied, our refusals seem harder, because they can plead your recommendation. But we will pass this branch, and touch some other of like nature, and that is this, that no punishment is inflicted upon any that do commit greatest disorder, but many suffered to lie idle, like drones, with their companies, without doing hurt to the rebel, or yielding safety to our subjects; a matter so generally complained of even by those of all sorts that have anything there to lose, as it is not the voice of these two, lately employed for the Pale, but of all other, that the army is only profitable to the men of war. Wherein to you, whom we do trust and favour, we may speak it, that there is no sense to believe otherwise, seeing men of so small means are preferred, but that they, finding so great sweet in their entertainments, cannot but be apt to wink at a bordering rebel, rather than to suppress him; for the way being open to quiet, all men know, is the step down from their commodity. On which we do not insist as taking exceptions to the qualities of many valiant gentlemen and forward spirits to do us service, but as a reason to you to impose upon them all such strait conditions as may make them know and feel that you do suffer in your honour by their negligence, and therefore will call them to strait reckoning. And therein must we even shortly say in a word, that there is no general, if he have an army well paid, who is excusable, if the faults of an army be not punished, whereof you nor no man can give one instance that any one Captain hath been punished by you for anything. We therefore pray you seriously to look into these things, and seeing you cannot be ignorant how heavy, nay how perilous, a thing it is for us to be thus consumed, that you do apply all the powers of your mind to

1600.

the execution of some such services as may free us from these intolerable outcries of spoils and miseries even under your elbow, and that these great numbers may be as soon as may be abated, to which for this short time we have assented; and in that point also to cast from you that humour (if any such creep upon you), that rather than you would discontent a Captain or follower, to forbear the cassing of an unprofitable company, where you know that it were better for us to reward one of them with any other extraordinary than to keep a hundred men in our pay, because a Captain should not be out of entertainment. And for the Irish captains and companies, although we hear it often spoken that for no cause any one of them must be cased, for fear of running to the rebel, it is an absurd thing to think that they are not better servants to the traitor in our camp, than if they were with him. For they are spies; they furnish him with powder and all other necessities, and daily disband when they have continued in our service. And where you have divers mean persons that do dwell in their own countries, and are in our own entertainment, we do utterly condemn it as the only way for them to defraud the State and prolong the troubles, and therefore wish that those who must be maintained were employed elsewhere.

“To conclude, what should we say to you more than this, that, out of our desire that you might value yourself by your own good endeavour with that success in our service, which your good beginnings promise, we conceal nothing from you, that may keep you even from so much as suspicion of remissness, or facility to be carried from the true and direct way to end this rebellion. Of which we could be as well content you should be an instrument as any that ever served us; and therefore, because you know the time is precious, we have troubled ourselves thus particularly to require you to summon those that are under you to acquit themselves better, and not to live from companies, to corrupt and overrule Commissaries, to send away good men and to entertain churls for a muster day, and never to care what they do, so they may persuade themselves to be unseen or unpunished. In both which, according to the course you hold, specially in these points, which make all our charges fruitless, that is, the deficiency or the changing of our soldiers, by whomsoever it be, we shall make judgment of your affection to our service, and so end.

“Although our Council have written unto you at length, both by the Lord of Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell, and also by a despatch which our Secretary carrieth, in what sort we would have this matter concerning the grievous oppression of the country carried for their relief and comfort, yet for a further strength to that which the Council do write, we think good by this direction, under our own hand, to reiterate our commandment, that good care be taken to redress the enormities, if they be proved. For the better effecting whereof, our pleasure is that they be no way disgraced, but favourably heard, as long as they contain themselves within duty, and show no ill affection in the manner of their complaints.”—Greenwich, 1600, July 20.

On the next page is added:—“A clause of the Lords’ letter of the 17th of July, 1600.”

1600.

“That howsoever your clear intention may have been misinterpreted at first, by lack of good information and assistance of others, you will now upon your own better experience find that a number of evils do multiply upon that estate, by slight and partial handling of matters, which are made full of difficulties, nay rather impossibilities, to be reformed or provided for, when in truth nothing is less intended, but laboured still, by continuing the self same courses to cover and excuse the errors of former times.” *Draft. pp. 4½.*

July 20.
Chester.

35. H. Hardware, Mayor of Chester, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I received your Honour’s letter of the 18th of July, with a letter therein enclosed, directed to Sir Henry Dockwra, with further directions therein for the delivery of the same letter to Lieutenant Dudson.” Cannot hear of Dudson’s coming to Chester. If he comes before the letter can be dispatched to Lough Foyle, will not fail to deliver the same to him.

The shipping laden with beer and other victuals for Lough Foyle put out of the river on Sunday last. No hope of any other going to that place for a long time. Is ready either to stay the letter till other occasions be ministered to send it, or presently to dispatch a bark with the same.—Chester, 1600, July 20. *Signed. p. 1.*

July 21.

36. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde. “We are sure that there need not many words from us to make you know how great contentment the news of your delivery hath brought us, who were much more deeply wounded to apprehend the peril of your own life, when it depended upon the savage humours of faithless rebels, than for any other particular that concerned ourself, though there could nothing have happened, for many respects, more prejudicial to our service. Concerning the conditions which we have seen, to tell you true, we were so fully pleased with the contentment of your safety as we little troubled ourselves to examine the particulars, making this one ground for all, that nothing hath passed the thought of our faithful Lucas which was unworthy of his constant and loyal profession, howsoever the same might be assailed with lewd and vile temptations. For the present, therefore, you must take this with you, that it will remain a good while for a quarrel between us and you, whensoever we remember that you, whom long experience had taught so many better rules, would be the cause, through lack of foresight, to give such a wretch the triumph to have the Lieutenant of our army in his mercy. And yet, for all that parenthesis, let Lucas comfort himself that he, which is our [?] *hasta la muerte*, shall never deserve more trust than we will give him, nor desire more happiness than we do wish him and his. For all things else, we require you to impart your purposes from time to time with our Deputy, with whom you may use freedom, as well in regard of his own respect to you as the confidence that we repose in him.”

1600.

At the top of this draft the Queen has written with her own hand:—
 “Your lovinge Sovereaine who wisched you better advised than to
 witsafe” [vouchsafe] . . . :—*but the words are struck through.*
Endorsed:—1600, July 21. p. 1.

July [21.] **37.** Copy of the preceding, with slight alteration.—1600,
 July [21]. p. 1.

July 21.
 Greenwich. **38.** Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the
 Council. That the portion of tithes and portecorn claimed by Lady
 Burgh, widow of Lord Burgh, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, be given
 to her without further delay.—Greenwich, 1600, July 21. *Draft.*
 p. 1.

July [21.] **39.** Draft of the preceding, partly in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.—
 1600, July [21]. pp. 2½.

[July.] **40.** Petition of Lady Frances Burgh, widow of Lord Burgh, to
 Queen Elizabeth. Complaining of the way in which the corn, to
 which she is entitled, has been withheld from her, notwithstanding
 the express commands of Her Majesty to the contrary.—[1600,
 July.] *Draft.* p. 1.

July 21.
 Greenwich. **41.** Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the
 Council. Letter in favour of Florence, Baron of Upper Ossory, who
 is returning from the English Court. Directing, in pursuance of his
 petition, that the country of Upper Ossory be reduced into shire-
 ground, and annexed to Queen's County. Further, that the Baron
 may have in fee farm certain parsonages and livings within the
 limits of his seignory, to the value of not more than 20*l.* *per annum*,
viz., the patronage of Aghvoe, the small abbeys of Aghvoe and
 Aghemacarte, and the parsonages of Attaingh, Cowlkirrie, Killenny,
 and Eirke.—Greenwich, 1600, July 21. *Draft.* p. 1.

July 22.
 Dublin. **42.** H[enry Wriothesley], Earl of Southampton, to Sir Robert
 Cecil. “I wrote unto you not long since by Sir Geoffrey Fenton
 about a request which my Lord Deputy made in my behalf for the
 government of Connaught, of which he hath of late received an
 answer, wherewith he hath acquainted me. The trouble you put
 yourself to in moving it, is an addition to the many favours you
 have been pleased to show me; wherefore for that, with the
 rest, I must and will acknowledge myself bound unto you, though
 for the bad success you found (more than I am sorry Her
 Majesty thinks me so little able to do her service) it
 grieves me nothing, the place being such that I protest unto you
 I think any that doth understand it aright will not greatly
 desire it. How far, and why I did affect it, I made you know in my
 last letter, my hope being by that means to cancel Her Majesty's ill
 conceit of me, and to be settled in her good opinion, which if I have

1600.

already recovered by any punishment I have endured, or service I have done her, I am much more happy than if I were put there to seek it with so great pain and hazard, as must of necessity belong to him that undertakes that work. And now, since I have here nothing to do but as a private man, which condition cannot afford me means to perform aught worth the thinking of, and that I do desire to spend my time so as I may best be enabled to serve Her Majesty, I do intend, God willing, to go hence into the Low Countries, to live the rest of this summer in the States' army, where perhaps I may see somewhat worth my pains, and I hope Her Majesty will not be offended with it, seeing both now and ever I will study nothing more than to direct my course to do her service. Sir, I have still found you kind and friendly unto me, and therefore I beseech you, in this which concerns me nearest, which is the recovery of her favour, yield me all the furtherance you may, and assure yourself I will never be ungrateful, but ready to deserve it any way I may, and remain always willing to obey your commandments."—Dublin, July 22, 1600. *Endorsed:—1600. Seal with silk. Holograph. pp. 2.*

July 24.
Dublin.

43. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Has a most heavy burden on him, whereof he cannot any way be eased, nor satisfy his Honour and the rest of the Lords, until his accounts be taken. Prays for leave to go to England with his papers. It is not safe for Her Majesty, nor good for himself, to defer his accounts longer than Michaelmas next; and it is an exceeding great grief to him, and a most dangerous peril to his poor estate, to be still borrowing 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* before the treasure comes over, so that the army may not be mightily distressed. Their Lordships' letters import nothing more than that great sums of money must of necessity remain in his hands. "I humbly beseech your Honour (whom I am most desirous to satisfy) not to have any such conceit of me, for, by Jesus, I swear I meddle not with the Queen's money; and my agents, I know, do nor can keep any sums in their hands, I do look so narrowly unto their issues." Again craves leave to go to England to finish his accounts. Begs that the Commission for taking them may be altered, as were those of previous Treasurers. The bearer can further inform Sir Robert. Has sent a book of extraordinaries issued since his last certificate. The charge is exceeding great. Prays that it may be duly examined, and what is disliked signified, that it may be reformed. Has not included the extraordinaries for Munster or Lough Foyle, as he has received no certificates thence.

"Sir Oliver Lambert, in his journey towards Leix (for the victualling of the fort there), took a prey from Donnell Spainagh of seven or eight hundred cows, besides other small cattle. My Lord Deputy hath sent for money, victuals, and munition, as also for hooks and scythes, which I have bought and sent to his Lordship, for he intends to make a journey into Offally, and there to burn and spoil their corn, and do them all the hurt he may, except he be called from thence by Tyrone, who draws now to the borders. I would God the 2,000 foot and 100 horse were come, that we might apply them on all sides." Desires a continuance of Sir Robert's

1600.

favour. Has of late discharged one of his agents, William Bicknell, who threatens to do the bearer, Thomas Watson, some mischief, supposing that Watson was the cause of his discharge. This was not so. Bicknell's carelessness and other faults were the reason. Beseeches Sir Robert to send for Bicknell, and "to reform him," as shall be thought fit.

"I have sent your Honour a hawk. I pray God he die not by the way."

Asks that the bearer, Thomas Watson, may attend Sir Robert with a few memorials, wherein Sir George desires resolution.—Dublin, 1600, July 24.

[*Postscript.*]—"This letter enclosed can manifest to your Honour my Lord Deputy's designs." *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

43 i. "*Extraordinaries granted by the Right Honourable the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Council of the same, between the 29th day of May, 1600, on which day the last certificate ended, and the 20th of July, eodem anno.*"
Total: 3,548l. 19s. 5½d. pp. 11.

43 ii. *Sir Francis Stafford to Sir George Carey. The Lord Deputy has appointed all his forces to be at Trim on the 23rd of July. On the 24th, he intends to dislodge, and to encamp by Sir Edward FitzGarrett's town, thence towards Offally, and so to Gessill, where he proposes to be on the 26th of July. The Lord Deputy has directed Sir Oliver Lambert to draw through Leix to Portnahinch, where his Lordship unites his forces, "and then we shall fall a spoiling all the corn of that country." The Lord Deputy has also appointed Sir Arthur Savage to draw with his own company and Captain Thomas Burke's [and] Hugh Mayhane's to Ballymore, and there join Lord Delvin's company and Sir Francis Shane's, and with John McCoghlan; and they are appointed to burn all those parts. Mulroney O'Carroll writes that he has killed fifty of the enemy, one of whose commanders is said to be a brother of O'Donnell, and another a Scot, called Gelaspee [Gillespie]. Tirlogh McHenry's wife has been with the Lord Deputy, and offered, if protected, to bring all her creaghts into the Pale, to the number of 3,000 kine, 60 horse, and 140 foot. Teig O'Rourke has, by his letter to Sir Arthur Savage, desired to be received into favour. Prays to be remembered to Sir Anthony Standen. Endorsed:—1600, July. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July 27.
Nantwich.

44. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "In my way towards Chester, I met with letters out of Ireland, some out of the north and some from the borders, the principal contents of all which I have extracted and sent them to your Honour in this writing enclosed. I understand that Sir Arthur Chichester and Colonel Egerton are come into England, the one being the chief commander at Knockfergus and the other a good assistant in the second place. It is strange that men of worth and reputation will leave their places of charge for any private business, at a time when the service is on foot, and all the parts of the kingdom in action. And for Knockfergus*

1600.

and the two Clandeboys, all that hath been well done there hitherto will be in danger to go back again by the absence of these two, but especially of Sir Arthur Chichester, who, as I am written to, is about Milford in Wales, and Colonel Egerton remaineth about London. I humbly wish your Honour to charge them both to return without delay to Knockfergus, and every other Captain about the Court and London, that have charge in Ireland, to be commanded to their places, upon pain of cashiering, and their companies to be turned over to others. This night, God willing, I will be at Chester, from whence your Honour shall receive all such matters as shall occur there.”—Nantwich, 1600, July 27. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 29th. *Signed*. p. 1.

Encloses:—

44. i. *Extracts from letters received by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.*

1. *By letters from Cavan of 18 July, 1600.*—“Connor Roe Maguire is come in to the Lord Deputy, offering to pull down the other Maguire raised by Tyrone, so as he may be aided by Her Majesty.

“Tyrone, in the last assembly of his confederates at Strabane, said these words; that now he feared that the mean of his overthrow was on foot, meaning the garrison of Lough Foyle. And yet, saith he, in despite of all the English forces, I will for one quarter of a year bear up the war, and by that time, if things fall not out well, I will exhibit such conditions of peace as I know the English will not reject.”

2. *By letters dated at Trim, 21 July, 1600.*—“The Lord Deputy is ready to put into Offally through the borders of Westmeath, and the Serjeant-Major by the fort of Philipstown, and both their forces to draw through the country, to spoil their corn and take their cattle.

“After the proceedings of Offally, both those forces will strike up into Leix, to do the like execution there, as in Offally.

“The Lord of Southampton hath taken his leave with a determination to pass into the Low Countries by sea. This sudden alteration of the Earl’s groweth out of some sudden discontentment.

“Tyrone doth still practise with Sir Art O’Neill to draw him back again to himself, and offereth to him very large conditions. But Sir Art answereth that he hath given himself to the Queen, and would not leave his Prince to go to a traitor. Your worship, at your return, hath need to look at this, and let Sir Art be kept, now that you have him; for, if he should slip back again, for want of maintenance, it would be a great discouragement to all Irishmen to come into the Queen. Tyrone hath received letters out of Scotland, whether from the King or any other I know not as yet, but Tyrone was nothing well pleased with the letter nor the messenger.” pp. 1½.

July 28.

Stone.

45. Sir Anthony Sentleger to Sir Robert Cecil. Came to Chester on Tuesday last, and as he was travelling up towards London, seven miles short of Stone, his horse fell with him, and bruised one of his legs very sorely. Got to Stone with great

1600.

pain, and remains there unable to travel. Lest the cause of his long stay from duty might be unknown, and an ill conceit of him be bred, signifies the above to his Honour, and also that he came over with the Lord Deputy's licence for private affairs of his own, the present time being one in which men of his profession may best be spared from Ireland. When he left Dublin on the 21st of July, the Lord Deputy was in the borders of Meath. A little before his Lordship had sent Sir Oliver Lambert, with a competent force of horse and foot, into Leix, to victual the fort there, and to take and destroy what he could of the cattle and corn of the traitors in those parts, and so to go forward into Offally, where his Lordship purposed to meet him, to perform the like there. What success there hath been was not known at his coming away. The Lord Deputy spareth no travel or pain, but is in continual action, and takes the right course to shorten the wars by calling in all authorities to protect, by endeavouring to destroy the traitors' corn before it be ripe, by taking their cattle, and restraining from them all kinds of munition. If to all this it might be thought fit to add proclamations for head-money, there is a great hope that, with the new forces now going over, both to encounter Tyrone in the northern borders, and to prosecute the rest, the traitors would soon be weakened. Of these things Sir Robert is sure to be frequently advertised by such as can best declare the same.—Stone, 1600, July 28. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 28.
Bristol.

46. Arthur Hyde to Sir Robert Cecil. According to his instructions, came to Bristol on the 25th of July, to attend the receiving of the horse and men appointed for Munster. Found the Commissioners ready, expecting him and the horse, but not above twenty-six came; wherefore the Commissioners stayed till this day, when they mustered the horse in the list. There appeared thirty-one, and the defects of horses and men were thirteen. Appends a list of the names. Whilst the list was being called, there presented themselves before the Commissioners three men, with horse and arms well furnished. These were John Chamberlain, of Gloucestershire; Robert Chamberlain, of Oxfordshire; and Mr. Pope, of Oxfordshire, husband of the Lady Wentworth. There is nothing in the directions to the Commissioners giving power to them to muster, or to deliver over to the writer, the three men so casually presented before them. There being so many of the forty-four men wanting, and the Commissioners having no certainty whether the rest will come, desires Sir Robert to signify his pleasure what shall be done therein; also, whether the writer is to pass away presently with the men he already has, if the wind serve, or to stay for those still wanting.—Bristol, 1600, July 28. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 29.
Chester.

47. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have examined David Hetherington touching the words supposed to be spoken by him in the Lord of Upper Ossory's company and others (*sic*). He confesseth that many speeches passed to and fro at the table concerning Captain Lee and some misdemeanours of his; but for any conveyance of powder to the rebels by Captain Lee, as is supposed

1600.

in the note, Hetherington denieth that he did charge Lee with any such matter. Only he saith his speeches were then (which he will still maintain) that, if Captain Lee would forsake the benefit of his pardon, there would be men enough to charge him, and matters enough to touch him in the highest degree. This is all that Hetherington can remember of these speeches, in which I find no cause to return him back thither to prove the thing which he saith he never spake.

"I dealt with Mr. Mayor yesternight that victuals might be carried down to the ships, to the end the soldiers might take the first wind; who answered me that within two days provision should be put aboard for one thousand, and within two days after for another thousand. This day I mean, God willing, to take a view of the whole companies, and afterwards to certify your Honour what I find and think."—Chester, 1600, July 29. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

Encloses:—

47. i. *Note concerning Hetherington's statement as above. "He is to be heard of at Mr. Browne's in Stroud where Sir Geffrey Fenton lieth."*—[1600, July 23.] p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

47. ii. *Copy of the preceding note.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

July 29.
Chester.

48. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have spent this day and part of yesterday in viewing the companies of foot and horse, together with their arms and furniture. Touching the horse, I find the greater part of them to be very serviceable and well-appointed; and for the rest, the most part passable, and few to be disliked. And for the foot, they hold the like proportion, both for the bodies of the men and goodness of their arms; only there is a want of 200 suffered to run away, part through negligence, and part by corruption of the conductors; which is a great diminution in the total of 2,000. The overplus of the arms and apparel, which should have served these runaways, is stayed here in the Mayor's hand, by order from your Lordships, as he saith. But, for that the Captains have undertaken at their coming to Dublin to reinforce their companies and make their numbers complete, it were good (if it so pleased your Lordships) that this surplusage of arms and apparel, retained in the Mayor's hand, might be sent over to Dublin to answer those supplies of men which the Captains are to raise there." Otherwise, the Captains might refuse to raise them. This surplusage to be inventoried, and sent to the Lord Deputy and Council, for distribution among the men to be raised. "For, at the arriving of these Captains at Dublin, I hope they will be compelled to have their companies full, and all frauds [be] cut off, which in former times have been over frequent." The Commissioners agree with his proposals. Prays for a speedy answer from Sir Robert, so that the overplus may be transported at once with the companies. "All the Captains are already sorted to their companies, and all the companies divided into two regiments, under the charge of the two Colonels appointed by your Lordships; so as this little army standeth now ready to take the first wind, after their victuals and other necessities be put aboard, which Mr. Mayor telleth me shall be done within two or three days at the furthest. And therefore, after I

1600.

shall have spent to-morrow and the next day to expedite these preparations, there will be no cause for me to stay longer here, but [1] will draw down to the seaside to be ready to pass for Ireland with the first commodity of wind and weather, leaving to the Commissioners to see the soldiers shipped, for whose transportation I find in this river and at Liverpool barks enough both for horse and foot; and it will be requisite for me to be in Ireland before their arrival, if it may be, to make things ready there, to put them to employment immediately after their coming, lest time be drowned, as in other times hath been in like occasions."

The accident to Sir Anthony Sentleger. Again prays that the Captains absent from Ireland may be ordered back to their charges, upon pain of being cashiered. Sends the names he remembers, but there are others, therefore he wishes the order to be general:—the Earl of Kildare, Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir John Bolles, Sir Francis Rush, Sir Griffin Markham, Captain Clare, Captain [Francis] Kingsmill, and Captain Egerton.—Chester, 1600, July 29. *Signed.* pp. 2.

July 31.
Derry.

49. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. On July 26th, a party being sent over to O'Cahan's side to cut wood, two Irish and one English ran to the enemy, and the same day five English ran likewise from Dunalong to the enemy. The horsemen are the worst that ever took pay from Her Majesty. On July 29, the enemy came down, even to the camp, and took away some threescore horses, without resistance.

"The Governor, much moved at the loss of them, drew forth some foot and some few horse of those that were left, and followed them so far from the camp that all O'Donnell's forces came to oppose themselves against him, and to aid the rest for the horses; but the Governor very gallantly, having not above twenty horse, charged amongst threescore horse of the enemy's, and quite through them, where he received a hurt in the head with a horseman's staff, and was dismounted, one of the skirts of his doublet stricken off with a horseman's staff, but suddenly got up again, came off, and retired, with the loss of two men and two horse. The enemy's hurts I have not yet learned.

"There is one Tirlogh McQuin, who hath three sons already come in to Sir Arthur O'Neill, that likewise promiseth to do the like, and to bring with him one hundred foot and some horse, and whatsoever creaghts he hath, as cows and other goods, and will put in good security for his loyalty to Her Majesty. His dwelling is within five miles of Dunalong. Tyrone has left us, and most of his forces, and is gone towards Dungannon. O'Donnell is here, some eight miles distant from us, in camp, with all his forces, horse and foot.

"It is now requisite (if it stand with your Honour's liking), that our supplies of horse and foot were with us; for we have but threescore horse left, and these of the worst. Our foot die daily. If there be officers of good sufficiency appointed over these troops of horses, being supplied again, and our supplies of foot come, it is not to be doubted but we shall deal very roundly with them this winter; for one hundred of our horse with good men will put three hundred of the enemy to the worst.

1600.

"Touching the three ships seen between Connaught and O'Donnell's country, it is not yet known what they be."—The Derry, 1600, July 31. *Endorsed*:—Received 27 August. *Signed*. pp. 2.

July 31.
Derry.

50. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. The loss of the sixty horses, and the Governor's gallantry in endeavouring to rescue them. Tirlogh McQuin's promises. Tyrone has left. O'Donnell eight miles off. The state of the force. Supplies wanted. Sufficient officers to be appointed to take charge of the horses. Asks Sir Geoffrey's influence on his behalf, that he may have at least as other Captains of far less continuance have.—The Derry, 1600, July 31. *Endorsed*:—Received 16 August. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

[July.]

51. "The names of such Captains as are lately come into England from their several commands in Ireland."—[1600, July.] p. ½.

[July.]

52. "The charges and entertainments which they" [*i.e.* the Captains] "that are absent out of Ireland have."—[1600, July.] pp. 1½.

[July.]

53. List of "Captains that have double charges."—[1600, July.] pp. 1½.

Aug. [1.]

54. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Before the receipt of their Lordships' last unto me, I had promised this bearer some few lines of commendation in the behalf of Lady O'Carroll, who hath put him in trust with the soliciting of her affairs. But since, in regard of their restraint, I would assuredly have put him off, were it not that I should have thereby discontented the Lady's brother, Sir John McCoghlan, a man of good power in those parts, and of whom at this instant I am to make use in the prosecution of Leix and Offally. Besides, the extraordinary desert of her husband, and the fresh remembrance of his death in Her Majesty's service, did require that some extraordinary respect should be shewn towards her." Leaves the consideration of her suits to Sir Robert. *Endorsed*:—1600, August [1].

[*Postscript.*]—Is now going into Offally. Has sent Sir Oliver Lambert into Leix, to victual the fort [of Maryborough], and to spoil the corn there. "In the mean time he hath been doing somewhat. It is more hurt to the rebels than they have done to the Pale since my coming. I do send you his letter, because you shall perceive that to continue, which I assure you hath hitherto held, that we beat them wheresoever we meet them. Yet, whatsoever the

1600.

end be, and the danger, in the meantime our conflicts seem to be but *de lana caprina*." *Endorsed* :—In favour of the Lady O'Carroll by Mr. Lee. *Signed*. The postscript is in Lord Mountjoy's hand. p. 1.

Encloses :—

54. i. Sir Oliver Lambert to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "The carriages in port failed me, so that I was forced to lose a day, lest these nimble troops should be idle. I made a countenance as far as the Blakford, and suddenly turned over the Barrow by Rebane; and, on Saturday morning, fell into part of Phelim McFeagh's country, and Donnell Spainagh's, where, out of their fastness, we hunted 1,000 cows and 500 garrans, and many more at our devotion, if I had been able to drive them, and fight too. By ten of the clock, their whole force were gathered, and fought with us till seven of the clock at night, that we came to our quarter, and kept us waking all night. We made them run wheresoever we encountered. They gave one brave proffer, when, if the horse had seconded their leaders, I blush to say what we might have done. Our chiefs did excellently well. Sir Oliver St. John hath tried his footmanship, who gallantly carried himself. Captain John Masterson must not be missed when your Lordship purposeth anything here.

"I met with your Lordship's letters at my return to Athy, when I was dividing the prey amongst the soldiers who best deserved it. We killed twenty-six of the rebels, and many hurt; the soldiers got great spoil. To-morrow I will rest. A Wednesday, God willing, I will victual the fort, and dwell in Leix till your Lordship send for me. Onie McRory assaulted Athy in my absence, to get the garrans. The Earl of Kildare's company guarded the place, who gave Onie his payment, with the loss of six of his best men. His attempt was desperate, his force 400. He shot at our victuals. He got twenty garrans and some churls, which he sent back, and bade them tell me that if I victualled the fort, he would give me leave to walk where I list in Leix; all which I believe, and I hope your Lordship shall hear it."—Athy, 21 July. [Postscript.]—"Our prey was milch cows; forty of the likeliest to be beef shall be sent to Kilmainham." *Endorsed* :—1600. Holograph. pp. 2.

August 3.
Carrigofoyle.

55. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have now returned this gentleman, Captain Joseph May, after his wearisome and tedious employment here. He hath shewed a good desire to advance the services in these parts, and I do assure myself would have done more therein, but that he hath since his arrival been much crossed and punished with sickness, wherein with great pain and charge he hath long continued, in a very dangerous sort for his life. But his care (notwithstanding the same) hath merited good favour, and the continuance and increase of your honourable opinion."—Carrigofoyle, 1600, August 3. *Signed*.

Sir George Carew has added in his own hand, and under his signature :—"This bearer, your servant, is an exceeding honest, painful, and well-disposed man. I am sorry his employment hath

1600.

been no more beneficial unto him, for he hath spent much, got nothing, and escaped this country sickness with great extremity. If my recommending of him may multiply your favours unto him, I should account it a great favour unto myself." p. 1.

August 4.
Dublin.

56. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Mr. John Lye, an ancient and faithful servitor to Her Majesty, who has license from the Lord Deputy to repair into England. His good service in frequently discovering the purposes and proceedings of the rebels. He has been a special mean to keep the inhabitants of Ely O'Carroll quiet. The barbarous rebels have burned and wasted his houses and land, except two castles, which he still holds. He has a perfect knowledge of the state of Ireland, and especially of Leinster.—Dublin, 1600, August 4. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 5.
Dublin.

57. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Lady O'Carroll, widow of Sir Charles O'Carroll. She is in a distressed estate, and is much to be pitied. She seeks the payment of a great sum due for the entertainment of Sir Charles and his foot company. Recommends that favour be shewn her.—Dublin, 1600, August 5. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 6.
[Dublin.]

58. Robert Newcomen to the Lord High Treasurer Buckhurst. Since his last letters no further victuals have arrived at Dublin owing to contrary winds. Sends a note of the victuals remaining in store there. It is to be desired that the winds may speedily turn.—[Dublin,] 1600, August 6. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 7.

59. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "About the 16th of July I received all the packets that at divers times you had dispatched out of England, being the same day to take my journey towards Ardbraccan, not far from the borders of the Brenny. My intention was then, having received intelligence that Tyrone meant to draw into those parts (upon the taking of Tirlogh McShane, to assure that country, that was otherwise likely to revolt to (*sic*) the Estate), to have gone as far as the Cavan, to have spoiled the corn, to have executed Tirlogh upon his own land, and to have forced Tyrone, either to fight on the plains, or to make it appear that he was not able to make good his party, where he had promised aid. During my being there, O'Connor Roe Maguire submitted himself unto me, with much assurance to continue a good servant, and to do good service to the Queen. But, hearing that Tyrone was still at Strabane, and perceiving your desire to have something done in Leinster, I presently dispatched letters to Sir Oliver Lambert, who was gone to victual the fort of Leix, to meet me at Gessill in Offally about the 26 of July. I sent to Sir Arthur Savage to gather all the forces about him, and to come by Fercall, and in the way to burn and spoil what he could of the rebels'. I left the northern borders as strongly guarded as I could from incursions, and marched myself with 560 foot by the poll, and

1600.

three-score horses, beside voluntaries, by the fort of Philipstown, over a great bog, into Gessill, the 25th of July. I went myself and all the company on foot; our horses were led with the baggage over hurdles that we brought with us. That night we took some 200 cows, seven or eight hundred garrans, 500 sheep, and great store of other small cattle. The next day we burned all that quarter about us, and spoiled the corn, marching towards the passage that Sir Oliver Lambert was to pass to meet us, being one of the most dangerous passes of Ireland. About noon that day we met him, having fought all that morning, and killed divers of the rebels, whereof there were fifteen left in the place, and very many hurt. Of his part, there were 28 hurt and seven killed. After we met, we marched that evening towards a place within their fastness, where we heard there was great plenty of corn. At the entry whereof being a ford, with wood on both sides, and bog between the wood on the right hand, they let the vanguard of the horse pass without any shot, and began the skirmish with me, being accompanied with a few gentlemen and my own servants, a little before the vanguard of the foot, who sending their wings out somewhat slowly, the enemy came up close unto me, yet with small hurt, more than a great wound that Captain Masterson received, and the killing of the easiest going horse I had under me. I heard after that I was so much beholden to Tyrrell, that he appointed a hundred shot to wait upon me, and gave them marks to know me. We continued, even till we encamped, a very good skirmish, beat them through their woods into their uttermost fastness, and, as I hear by one that says he was that day with them, we killed thirty-five of their men, and hurt seventy-five. We lost but two men, and few hurt. But, not to trouble you long with the particularities of these small encounters, we stayed in that country till the third of August. Every day we did work, both voluntaries, commanders, and soldiers, and almost every day fight, and as often beat them. We have burned all their houses, and destroyed all their corn. The most part of the wheat we cut down with our swords, unto the which with much difficulty we induced the soldiers (for it was extreme painful) with the example of the Captains and gentlemen that began and continued the work with them. The wheat that we destroyed was valued at above ten thousand pounds, being almost the only means for them to live, but the chief treasure wherewith they do entertain their bonnaughts. It is incredible in so barbarous a country how well the ground was manured, how orderly their fields were fenced, their towns inhabited, and every highway and path so well beaten. The reason whereof hath been that till this time there hath not been any of the Queen's forces in those parts since the beginning of the wars; with the which they were grown proud and secure. After we had dispatched the uttermost of our business, the soldier living for the most part with a small proportion of biscuit and water, and ourselves having left nothing in the camp to drink but water, we passed our army out of another part of Gessill, over a great bog, where we had no use of our horses, which beyond us and the rebels were led over with the baggage, so that the enemy had the advantage they seem most to desire, which is, to fight with our foot without

1600.

the assistance of our horse. Notwithstanding, they had been every day so well beaten, and so infinitely discouraged, that, although the whole forces of Leinster were gathered together, and had their natural ground to fight on, yet in their sight they suffered us to pass over without any one blow. That night I hanged one Llenaugh, a famous rebel, upon a tree which, by his own confession, was the meeting-place where he plotted all his villanies. When he was taken, I had eight heads brought unto me, and my guide into the country, going to see them, found his own son's amongst them. Before Sir Oliver Lambert came to me, finding his carriages not ready to put the victuals into the fort of Leix, he suddenly struck back into Donnell Spainagh's country, and brought away a thousand cows, 500 garrans, great store of sheep, and other spoil, and had the killing of twenty, before he was overtaken with the forces who fought with him all that day and part of the next night, with the loss and hurt of divers of their best men. They fought with him both going to the fort with the victuals, returning the carriages to Athy, and almost all the way that he came to me. Sir Arthur Savage on the other side, as I hear, was well fought with, took a great prey, spoiled the country, but was not able to pass to me.

"These, Sir, be the small things, although the greatest that we can do here, and with as much pains and hazard as any poor men endure in any war of the world, that in all our proceedings find so many difficulties, that, even in the beginning of this journey, our men were forced to fast two days, for want of carriage for our victual; and that only one impediment is the occasion of our omitting great opportunities. We do now look to receive from you for our northern journey men, munition, victual, and money. The first I am sure we want. For the money, I hope Mr. Treasurer will satisfy you, for he tells me, by the time we shall go, there will be none left. These demands, I know, are displeasing, and knew they would be before I came hither; but both the place I hold and this civil office belonging to it is of necessity imposed upon me. Upon the arrival of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, for whom we now look every day, I will make a despatch unto you of the estate of all things more at large."—1600, August 7.

[*Postscript.*] "My Lord of Dunkellin and his brother Sir Thomas Burke were with me all this journey, and shew themselves very forward in all service." *Holograph.* pp. 3.

August 8.
Dublin.

60. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Lady O'Carroll's claim to certain arrears of pay due to her late husband, Sir Charles O'Carroll. Recommends the bearer, Mr. John Lee, for his good service to Her Majesty, and by reason of the losses he has received at the hands of the rebels.—Dublin, 1600, August 8. *Signed.* p. 1.

August 9.
Holyhead.

61. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Left the whole of the troops quartered in Worrall, near their shipping, and ready to embark at the first favourable wind. Impressed upon the two Colonels the necessity of losing no opportunity for the transportation of their men.

1600.

"I came to this place yesternight, where I await for a southerly wind, and a bark to put me over, the post boat being already in Ireland, and no other remaining here to serve my turn. And therefore I left order with a bark in Chester-water to take me in here, if the post-bark do not return out of Ireland in the meanwhile. And yet, to have more strings to my bow, I have this day sent overland to Carnarvon, to know what shipping is in that harbour, to the end I might be there accommodated, if need were. I desire greatly to be in Ireland, to make use of the time, which I see passeth fast away, and little service done to that which will be expected, wherein, if I were with the Lord Deputy, I might somewhat quicken his Lordship in the course of his service; which (by the time that is lost) I see is not so resolutely proceeded in as may answer Her Majesty's and your Lordships' expectation. And I would be glad that this harvest season in Ireland might be more fruitful than heretofore hath been, specially now that Her Majesty hath hallowed the work with all helps that in reason can be demanded.

"In my passage through the country, I found sundry corporate towns (specially in Wales) to grudge much at the misdemeanours of Captains and others passing out of Ireland, with commissions to press post-horses; by whose misdemeanours and the frequency of those commissions I find the people to be much stirred, whilst they see so many disordered men, for their private affairs and not in Her Majesty's service, to abuse themselves and spoil their horses. A matter which I found true in two instances, which I examined at the request of the country. They are very forward to answer all commissions that come for Her Majesty's service, but to serve private men's turns, under warrant of those commissions, is the thing that grieveth them, as being by that course unworthily used. The way to remedy this evil is to stop the frequency of those commissions in Ireland, wherein, God willing, I will move the Lord Deputy at my return, and acquaint him with the inconveniences. But, if it will please your Lordships, by a letter written to myself, to command me peremptorily to see that no commissions for post-horses be granted, but directly and simply for Her Majesty's service, and not colourably for private causes, it will thoroughly strengthen me, and stop all future inconveniences that way."—Holyhead, 1600, August 9. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

August 10.
Chester.

62. Sir Patrick Barnewall to Sir Robert Cecil.—"Here be arrived many passengers from Lough Foyle, who do exceedingly, both in words, and especially by view of their own decayed and consumed bodies, possess men with an opinion of the misery of that place, which they affirm chiefly to proceed of wants, and that some of the victuals sent thither are so unsound and corrupt as must needs prove the ruin of those enforced to feed upon it (*sic*); the redress whereof I leave to your honourable consideration. But forasmuch as the reputation of this estate (so far forth as the nature of the matter doth reach) goeth engaged in this action, in that the traitor to my knowledge doth rest persuaded that, if this designation doth fail, then hath he absolutely won the bucklers, and freed himself from the fear of any attempt hereafter ever to be made against

1600.

him, let me be humbly bold, out of that liberty it hath pleased your Honour to grant unto me, to signify my poor opinion how the decayed forces shall best be supplied there. I could wish the numbers meant for supply of that place were not immediately sent thither, but that some notice were given to the Deputy to draw down an equal number to that meant here for supply, out of the forces in Leinster and the hither part of Connaught, where most of the force of that province doth lie, to Carlingford or some other convenient port, where the supply from hence may be landed, and an equal number of the best and valiantest soldiers out of several bands, which this new supply for numbers may make again complete, shipped for Lough Foyle; so as the new men may have some time upon the frontier of the English Pale to exercise their weapons, and the service of Lough Foyle furnished with good and sufficient men, able to endure toil and hardness, and to perform at the very first what service soever their Commander shall bring them to. Wherein your new men can serve to little purpose, and commonly before they can be brought to have the use of their weapons, if their garrison at first be in places far from relief, they fall into sickness and diseases, and so drop away there, or are sent back again to England; a course not to be liked, except necessity doth enforce it, in that the very best men which can be sent thither, upon change of diet and air, do hardly escape sickness, and one man recovered is worth any three that can be sent for supply out of England. Therefore it were better to set down some course for the recovery of their health, than upon every little disease to send them away from thence.

“At my coming last out of Ireland, I understood for certainty what want the rebels were in for powder and lead; and, although the general opinion and report now in Ireland is, as I understand by letters from thence, that their stay from attempts and encountering our forces, at the victualling of the forts and elsewhere, is their expectation of the Spaniards, for whose arrival they reserve themselves, yet I assure your Honour it is their want of enablements and means, from whence this their general silence doth proceed; so as now the aptest opportunity doth present itself in every quarter to bend the forces against them. I have purposed never to be a suitor for employment, though my breeding and disposition doth chiefly incline and draw me that way; yet if, by your honourable favour, for which a letter from the Lords or your Honour signifying Her Highness[’s] pleasure will serve, I might have that horse and foot which my Lord of Southampton, now upon his passing into the Low Countries, resigned over to his Lieutenants, I will endeavour to deserve them.”—Chester, 1600, August 10. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2.

August 11. **63.** The Lord High Treasurer Buckhurst to [Sir Robert Cecil]. “Sir Arthur Chichester desires that one hundred men that he is to have may be armed [thus], viz. pikes, without cuirasses, 30; and the rest, culivers, with bandoliers, 70; all which himself offereth to furnish for 20s. a man. And because I hold him a man of worthiness and integrity, I have assented to it, if you like it, and do find by the

1600.

reckoning of it, having conferred with him about it, that doing it well, as I hope he will, it cannot be done for less. And since the arming of these is but for one hundred, and rising but to a 100l., I had rather lay it upon the Queen than charge the country with it, these matters having been so chargeable already unto them.

"I have agreed with Jolles and Cockin, if you consent, for the providing of one month's victual more, to serve for Leinster and Connaught, and all to be of fish, but to be excellent good. But this is meant to be divided thus, that whereas they have already four months' victual of butter and cheese without any fish at all, now this month's victual, being all of fish, shall be divided by two days' fish into every of the former months' victual, and so there will be five months' victual; and every month's victual shall have only two days' fish every week, and all the rest of the week butter and cheese. And this I have done by the advice of Sir Arthur Chichester, who saith that being good fish, the soldier will like it better than always butter and cheese, and doth affirm that his soldiers at Carrickfergus have had continually two days' fish every week; so as the Commissary there, as it is plain by this, buys fish there good cheap, retains back the butter and cheese, and serves them with this fish; for Jolles and Cockin do send no fish at all.

"Touching a course to be set down to Serjeant Warberton and Mr. Wilbraham for some exemplary punishment of the runaways, I hope my Lord Keeper will give them direction therein.

"Touching the distrust of the soldiers of not receiving their apparel at their landing, I mean to write a letter myself to the Lieutenants, and therein I will require them to signify to their soldiers that I do assure them that at their landing they shall have their apparel delivered unto them; and by this means, the Major writes, he hopes to win the soldiers to go on shipboard.

"I send you this enclosed touching the state of victual in Ireland. There are divers ships of victual which long since have been ready to pass away, and do only stay for lack of wind, which we cannot help.

"It appears by the taking of 7,000 cattle that the army will lack no flesh, so as if they had but bread and salt, they might shift well enough. But they must have all things from England, without any manner of provision or care to be taken there [Ireland]. Our 2,000 men are attending the wind at Chester; so as, when God is pleased, they are to pass; we can do no more.

"Touching treasure, though we have small store, yet, since the life of that service is now in hand, and without money the service will be dead, protesting still against this Treasurer, I will send 20,000l. if you think good; whereof to Munster, 5,000l. and 15,000l. to Dublin. For as for Lough Foyle, they have sufficient, in respect of their full victual taken. Of the shilling there was no mention, so I give it to the next poor body I find. I am now going to Horseley secretly, and, if there be cause, you know where to have me. But without good cause, I hope you will spare me for some few days, having not seen my wife these four months. This 11 of August, 1600."

[*Postscript.*] "I send you this enclosed, whereby you may see that the matter of Savoy is rather breaking towards war than peace.

1600.

The advertiser is a master of art. I have had from him a dozen letters ; but I, not minding to entertain intelligence, have answered none. But if you will entertain him, I will direct him to you. He shall cost you nothing but your favour." *Holograph. pp. 3.*

August 12.
Holyhead.

64. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Yesterday I received by the post of this place your Honour's letter written from Nonsuch, consisting upon directions to be communicated to the Lord Deputy, which, God willing, I will accomplish with all requisite cautions, as near as I can. I wait still for the changing of the wind, which so soon as God shall turn into a right quarter, I will not fail to take the first commodity, having here little to do, but to think how I may rid myself from the penury of this place ; humbly putting your Honour in mind to call upon the Mayor and Commissioners at Chester to be careful that the soldiers lose no opportunity of the wind there ; a matter which I fear much, if the Commissioners be not quickened by your Lordships' frequent letters.

"I humbly desire your Honour, by a line or two of your next, to give me some taste of the proceedings in Munster, what return is made of Power's letters, and how Dermott O'Connor standeth or falleth to that service, wherein I see no reason to doubt of good success, if the project to send over the youth of the Tower be not altered, and the time taken to dispatch him thither, whilst the humours of the country are wrought that way, and that Dermott O'Connor and his hopes may have no time to grow cold. It may be it will be required, and I know it is looked for, what portion of his father's lands and houses shall be assigned unto him at his first entrance ; and the well dealing with him therein in the beginning may prepare a good way to the well expediting of the whole cause ; where, if he shall be used but with a spare and dry hand in that point of his first settling, it may put the buzz into the followers' and Dermott's heads that all is done, not in good meaning to establish him in sort as is conceived, but to carry on some other purpose for Her Majesty, and to make him the ground and instrument thereof, and afterwards to return him to his former captivity ; which if it should fall out so, the case of Munster would be more desperate, and all hope taken away from others of the Irish to look for good measure at Her Majesty's hands hereafter. They are wily people, apt to cast in these matters as far as the wit of man can reach ; and therefore I wish, if a portion of his father's lands and houses be urged by the followers and Dermott, that the matter be so carried, as, though they be not thoroughly satisfied for the present, yet they may hope to have their portion enlarged afterward, which no doubt will contain them for the time, and Her Majesty's turn may proceed to be served by them, to the breaking of that rebellion, which is the chief end and scope of all this business. I know the Lord President is best able to inform your Honour what parcels are meetest for the new Earl, and in what manner they may be compassed ; yet I thought not amiss to note to you these three following,

1600.

namely: 1, Tarbert, which is freely in Her Majesty's disposition; 2, the house of Askeaton, being likewise in Her Majesty's hands, though the seignory be passed to Sir Francis Barkley; 3, and Loughgirr, which is possessed by Sir George Bouchier, but will be drawn from him upon reasonable composition. One or two of these three may suffice him for his first establishing, and, as he shall go further on to do service, Her Majesty may use further liberalties to him, either by pension or some other quantities of land. But in this matter the Lord President may set down a better course than I can; only I wish that whether Her Majesty shall grace him with lands or pension, that he have but a provisional estate therein, which will make him labour to do well, to the end he may deserve a better. I have great care of this cause of Munster, for that out of the example of it other parts in Ireland may be wrought to serve Her Majesty's turn, humbly desiring your Honour therefore that I may know how things go there, that use may be made accordingly of occasions and opportunities in other parts of the realm."—Holyhead, 1600, August 12.

[*Postscript.*] "Though the treaty of peace be for a time discontinued, yet I hope it is not dissolved; and in Ireland we must hold it up still, otherwise the Archtraitor and his confederates will make their advantage of it. And therefore if your Lordships jointly, or your Honour in particular, have occasion to write to the Earl of Ormonde [*these last three words have been struck out*], it were good to let him know that the treaty of the peace is to revive again after a small time; for from him it would be divulged amongst all the Irishry with better credit than from another." *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

August 12.
Dublin.

65. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. Is assured that the success of the Lord Deputy's journey, begun on July 16 and ended on August 5, has been imparted to Sir Robert by his Lordship. Yet having been present, thought it his duty to make known to his Honour that this journey was to very good purpose. The Lord Deputy, with 100 horse and 500 foot, entered into the heart of Offally, "which hath not been heretofore done, when there lay in garrison at the fort of the Dyngan 800 foot and 50 horse." During his abode in those parts, his Lordship "burned all the country and spoiled by estimate 10,000*l.* in the fairest corn that ever was seen, fought divers times with the enemy, and did beat them." Sir Oliver Lambert, two days after the Lord Deputy came to those parts, joined his forces with those of his Lordship. On August 12 the Lord Deputy departs from Dublin towards Leix, intending to spoil the corn there. Thus he employs himself and the forces, that the army should not live idle until the journey northwards, which is purposed presently upon the arrival of the 2,000 soldiers who are at Chester, and are hourly expected. If God shall prosper the Lord Deputy's journey for the planting of the garrison at Armagh, and it shall please Her Majesty and the Council to hold their determination for Ballyshannon, the "President of the garrison at Lough Foyle" doth yield good testimony that Tyrone cannot long stand, for many daily both seek

1600.

to revolt from him, and will, the planting of Lough Foyle having "put all the rebels of Ireland in an amaze," and "the disposition of the Irish is much altered."—Dublin, 1600, August 12. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

August 12.
Nonsuch.

66. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord High Treasurer Buckhurst. "Because I do guess; by receiving no answer to my last letter concerning the lady, that you are gone to your Tusculum, I think good to let your Lordship know that I am bold in these matters of Ireland to change some resolutions in some petty things, rather than to trouble you, or make it known here that you are gone abroad." Has appointed a letter to be drawn for 100*l.* to furnish arms for Knockfergus, and because Sir Arthur Chichester has a great debt, wherein he cannot be relieved but by the checks, and his present want is very great, has persuaded him to leave someone to look to the arms, rather than that he should be absent when the time is nigh to do service. Has won him to this, upon promise that he shall receive 100*l.* to help to carry him away. This may be done upon the remain of a Privy Seal.

"I have found by conference with Sir Arthur Chichester that the Queen's Commissaries are the destruction of her service, and therefore do earnestly desire that your Lordship's course may proceed for the assignment of their own Commissaries to the merchants that provide the victual, for thereby the burthen of the service will lie in the proper place; always provided this, that when the Commissary (appointed by the merchant) certifieth what victual they have sent, which is the satisfaction that your Lordship and we have of the merchant's good or bad dealing, it may be ordered that the certificate of the Commissary be accompanied with the hand of the principal Commander of that garrison, for thereby the Captain shall be concluded to have received the victual, and the Commissary restrained from abusing the Captain afterwards, as I see it is common now in Ireland. For Sir Arthur Chichester protesteth that, since he came to Knockfergus, he never received [a] bit of pork or bacon from any Commissary, and yet the merchants here did assure that they have sent thither at divers times great proportions of either."

Desires that Buckhurst will give order for money, for it is impossible to imagine how long the treasure may lie at the seaside, for want of wind. Victuals have been waiting for forty days. His arrangements with Jolles and Cockayne. Part of the new victual for Leinster to be fish. Sir Arthur Chichester has earnestly required that some fish may be sent to Lough Foyle, because in the depth of winter they cannot fish. Part of the provision of meal to be replaced by fish, and some seven or eight quarters of mustard seed is also required. "But, my Lord, the lack of beer hath overthrown them, and will do, if we think not of it; and therefore, if it were possible, until the brewhouses there be erected, to send one hundred tuns of beer thither, it were money well bestowed, whereby so many lives are saved."—Nonsuch, 1600, August 12. *Signed.*

1600.

Sir Robert Cecil has added in his own hand:—“I think 12,000*l.* to Ireland, considering the month’s victual, and 3,000*l.* to Munster, will serve.

“I send you an abstract [*wanting*] of a horrible attempt on the King of Scots’ person. All things else are as you left them.” *pp.* 2.

August 13. **67.** The Lord High Treasurer Buckhurst to Sir Robert Cecil. “It was Tuesday before the Lady Rich came unto me, for she was gone to Barn Elms, and thither I was fain to send for her. I took that course with her which your letters prescribed. She seemed very glad of this riddance, and prayed me to give Her Majesty most humble thanks for her favour, which she acknowledged with her follies and faults committed, and assured that this should be a warning to her for ever not to commit the like; concluding still with her most humble desire to have the happiness to see Her Majesty, until which she should never enjoy a day of comfort to her heart. I send you your letter again touching that cause.

“Now to the public. Having had conference with Beverley touching the Commissaries of the victuals, who are the caterpillars and consumers of the good effects of this service, I have thereupon framed two letters from the Lords to the Lord Deputy and Council, unto which for brevity I refer you. If you like thereof, then, I pray you, cause them to be signed by the rest of the Lords, and sent away with all speed. But of necessity, in my opinion, they must come over into England about their accounts; so as when the Treasurer’s accounts are likewise sent hither, as that must also be done, then both being here before the auditors, I hope we shall see an end of the account. Only in the certificate of the checks will be the difficulty, which must be quickened by an earnest letter to the Mustermaster and Comptroller of the Musters.

“Touching the 100*l.* for arms for Sir Arthur Chichester, I have given order to Mr. Skinner to pay it. I am glad you have persuaded Sir Arthur Chichester to leave a man here about his debt, for how to pay him upon the sudden will be a difficult matter, and in the meanwhile he may have 100*l.* upon the remain of the Privy Seal yet unissued, upon which only is 300*l.* left. And when he hath his 100*l.*, we shall have only 200*l.* left for all suitors. Mr. Skinner may pay it upon your hand and Mr. Chancellor’s, and I upon my return will confirm it with mine.

“I am heartily glad that at length you concur with me to expel these beggarly corrupt knaves the Commissaries, who do nothing but spoil all for their own gain, and no remedy nor reformation given from the State there, but every one, as far as I see, *intentus in rem suam*, and fetching what they can from the public. The change now will only be thus, that from knaves and beggars you shall commit it to honest rich merchants, who stand upon their credit, and have a good state beside to answer misbehaviours; and, which is not the least of all, the good success thereof, I mean of the victual, will either bring credit or blame upon them if it fall not out well. For now, when a *primo ad ultimum* it passeth through one hand, we know whom to blame, and whom to commend if it be well. And I like exceeding well that one of the Colonels, if he be

1600.

at hand, or else one of the principal Captains, do join with the Mayor and such other as shall be appointed Commissioners for the view of the victual at the landing, and for the allowing or disallowing thereof. It is a fortnight since I spake to Mr. Wade to draw this new contract touching these new Commissaries, and gave him full instructions touching the same; and yet yesterday, talking with the victuallers, they hear nothing of it. That which you write of touching Sir Arthur Chichester's affirmation, how he had always two days' fish from Traves the Commissary, and never no flesh, was debated before me, where Sir Arthur affirmed the one, and the victuallers protested they sent no fish, but a great provision of flesh. So as it is manifest Traves bought fish, and sold away the flesh. If my Lord Deputy in his martial orders have not set down and published this to be death, in my opinion he doth not that he ought to do.

"Touching the contract of the victual of Lough Foyle, you must consider that the contract was for seven months' victual for 4,200 men; and it is soon spoken that such a mass of victual should be sent away presently, but it is not so soon done. First, it is impossible so soon to be gathered, which only can be done out of the maritime parts. Secondly, if it could be gathered, yet to send it away altogether were to destroy all. For it must be sent one after another, so as it may come fresh and fresh; and therefore, with your favour, the times of shipping these seven months' victual being thus, viz.:—

At or before the 20 of July—one month's victual

At or before the last of August—two months' victual

At or before the last of September—two months' victual

At or before the 15 of October—two months' victual

"and this contract being not made before the first of July, how it might be sorted to fitter times I know not; and you were then made privy to it, and you allowed and liked thereof. Nevertheless, if they can anticipate these times, I shall be glad thereof, so as always it be considered that the mass of victual, lack of storehouses, and length of time before it be issued, do not hurt more than the haste will do good, considering that all must be there before the middle of October, which at that time was said to be a very good time for passage. And I am glad that you like of a month's provision of fish, which no doubt being perfect good, as I doubt not but it shall, will be as good for the soldier, in respect of the change, as butter or cheese; and of that opinion is Sir Arthur Chichester, and desires fish for his garrison, and so hath always had fish; and this may be distributed into two days' fish for every week among the rest. I have also written this morning to Jolles and Cockain, that of the seven months' victual which is for Lough Foyle, one month's victual may be in perfect good fish, according to the contents of your letter and the advice of Sir Arthur Chichester; the which course, for my part, I like much better than all butter and all cheese, and I do assure myself that the soldier will like it also. And God forbid that they should lack mustard. I know it will sharpen their stomachs.

"Touching a hundred tun of beer, I will also deal with Cockain and Jolles to send so much for Lough Foyle, and to that end also

1600.

this morning I wrote unto them; but how it may at this time of the year be brewed to have continuance, I know not, and yet I have written to the Mayor of Chester a month since to procure certain merchants of Chester to carry beer to Lough Foyle, and have given them license to go without custom. And I have also particularly written to Newcomen, besides the general letter of the Lords, to go forward also with his offer of getting up his brewhouse there, which now is at Dublin.

“Touching sending money into Ireland, I am utterly against your opinion; for, although my part is to send as little money out of the Receipt as may be, yet it remains in the Receipt to do Her Majesty service, and never can it do it better service than to save a kingdom; and if ever there be a time to bring safety unto it, it will be by this journey into the North. And therefore, at such a time, I had rather they had too much money than too little. For, if they have too much for that journey, they have it ready to serve for the time coming and future services, so as thereof can come no prejudice to the Queen. But, if that journey should fail for lack of money, then should the fault be cast upon us, and the kingdom either endangered or left in a perpetual war. Besides, if the Spaniards should land, I would be loath they should want money, for, if we can but defend the realm this summer, I make no doubt but this winter cold and the Irish air, so far different from Spain, would quite consume all the Spaniards before the spring. Therefore having, since my letters unto you, more nearly calculated and cast up what is one month’s pay of 10,000 foot and 850 horse (for so many are in Leinster and Connaught), the list being now 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, besides a 1,000 or 2,000 Irish at pay of a 1,000*l.* monthly, I find that one month’s pay comes to 11,193*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; and yet you see in this reckoning that the extraordinaries are cast to be but 307*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*, the which no doubt at the going forth of the Deputy to this northern journey will be much more. Therefore I have now ordered that the Deputy shall have 18,000*l.* and Munster 2,000*l.*, which is to the Deputy not above one month and a half’s pay; and then we mean to be quiet in the Receipt here till Hallowtide, for to that time by estimate no doubt they are furnished, besides all defalcation of victuals, arms, and checks [*sic*, query clothes meant], yet doth the Treasurer protest that by this 2 of August all the last 20,000*l.* is utterly issued and spent. I send you the estimate of Mr. Meredith touching a month’s pay, as is aforesaid.

“And now, having also this day till two of this clock been in the Tower, to see the riches and jewels there, where I have seen the admirable[*st*] sight of jewels and precious stones that ever was seen, I wish you all honour and happiness, trusting that you will now spare me for one ten days to see my wife and children, whom these four months I have not seen, and to have some use and comfort of my life here unless matter of necessity for Her Majesty’s service shall call me away, and then I come an it be at midnight.”
—1600, August 13.

Lord Buckhurst had inadvertently written the closing portion of his letter on a blank page of Cecil’s, and so adds this postscript:—

“I doubt not but you will laugh at this, that a part of my answer

1600.

is a part of the paper of your letter, which grew by haste, I laying the one part of your letter before me to answer, and so mistook the other part, thinking it had been a part of mine own letter." *Holograph.* pp. 7.

Encloses:—

67. i. "*Note of Her Majesty's charges in Ireland.*" Total, 11,193*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*—1600, August 12. p. 1.

August 13.
Naas.

68. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "I received your letters of the last of June the 16 of July, being at that instant beginning a journey, wherein I have continued almost until this time; and therefore humbly desire your Lordships' pardon if I have not made so speedy answer as otherwise had been my duty. I can receive no greater comfort than to understand by your Lordships Her Majesty's gracious allowance of any of my labours, my chief end being to serve and please her without any respect to myself. And although I conceive how insupportable Her Majesty's charge is in this kingdom, yet do I hold myself bound to propound to your Lordships whatsoever I believe to be necessary for this service committed to my charge. Out of which respect I could do no less in duty than to let your Lordships know what in experience I found, that the state and strength of this rebellion being as it is, the army so divided was insufficient to make such an end of this war as might be most for Her Majesty's profit and honour. But now, with these supplies which it hath pleased Her Majesty to grant, and which we daily expect, I will endeavour above all worldly respects to finish speedily my heavy task; which unto none should be more grievous than to myself, were it not lightened with the remembrance for whom I suffer and labour. And although Her Majesty's expense ought to be, and is unto me, of very precious regard, yet I think no parsimony more dangerous than such as maketh all the rest of her expense unprofitable; in which nature are many extraordinaries, the sparing whereof in many things and at many times doth set our whole work at a stay. The necessity of which charges I humbly desire your Lordships to consider and estimate by that computation which is generally made in all wars, that the extraordinaries are a third part of the charge unto the State. But, if your Lordships will vouchsafe to let me know in what one particular I have been prodigal, I will hereafter amend it, or give your Lordships good satisfaction for it.

"As I am in all things to obey your Lordships' pleasures, so am I ready to execute what it shall please you to direct me concerning the distribution of commands of horse and foot; but, as I conceive, the coupling of the charge of both to some is no increase of her Majesty's expense, no hindrance to her service, nor any way contrary to the government of all wars, neither to that justice by which all offices and rewards are distributed, in which nothing is more unequal than equality. And for any charge I have myself conferred upon any, I hope so well to justify their worthiness, as to make it appear unto your Lordships what difference there is between them and such in whom their preferment stirreth up envy. For such commands as I found some possessed of before my coming, as by your Lordships'

1600.

own order to Sir Samuel Bagenall, an 100 horse, 200 foot, and 20s. by the day, and to others by the Governors that were before me, I have from many of them taken part of their entertainment, and do most humbly desire your Lordships, that seeing I am so ill able to give contentment unto any, that it will please you to appoint such as you will have discharged. For he that is not particularly named by your Lordships will think himself wronged by me. But if your Lordships will give me leave to inform you herein what I think, to whom their abilities that serve under me should best appear, I fear your Lordships, by this course of equality, shall take away the greatest strength of the army, and that alacrity which from extreme discomfort I have now reduced it unto. For I dare affirm that the first downfall of the reputation of our nation in these wars did arise by the baseness of some private Captains, the valour and sufficiency of whom is so precious, as, if they be defective in neither, the private soldier will hardly be beaten. And as there are in divers degrees as good Captains in this kingdom as anywhere else in the like rank, so do I assure your Lordships that there are none more unworthy than such as most importune you there, while many of the better sort without charge attend their fortunes here with continual hazard of their lives. Where it pleaseth Her Majesty to dislike my granting license to many Captains to go over, it may please your Lordships to understand that, of some six or seven score in list, at their great importunity as I remember, I gave leave to no more than some six or seven, and in the summer, when they might be best spared, and many of them having occasions concerning their whole estates, in which case I think it a hard case to restrain a Captain from some time to intend them. Yet, both in that and in my recommendations, I will hereafter be more sparing, since I find it so offensive. For the treasure, I hope Mr. Treasurer will give your Lordships satisfaction, with whose accounts I am not privy, but understand by him that before the treasure arriveth the greater part of it is issued, and consequently find the army still in want; the which I humbly desire your Lordships to reduce unto some certainty. For in these wars, when we want means, we must not only stand still, but of necessity give some way to the disorder of the soldier.

“Where it appeareth some Commissaries have informed your Lordships that they dare not certify deficiency as they should, I must needs complain of their extreme dishonesty therein. For I have commanded them all to acquaint me with anything they could imagine conducing to Her Majesty’s service in the musters, and given them the best encouragement I could devise, and to this time I never heard any of them complain unto me, although I doubt not but there is cause, as hath been ever in all armies that ever were. But to shew my desire not to have Her Majesty deceived, I have mustered the army after journeys in their marches, which is counted as extreme a course as can be held. For mine own particular, concerning my allowance for transportation, all Deputies have been hitherto allowed whatsoever in that nature they disbursed; and for impressing myself at all times three months beforehand, it was no more than all Deputies in like sort have used. But I am sorry that your Lordships think me not worthy of the same favour, but am

1600.

contented with your pleasures. In the matter of munition and arms, I must again solicit your Lordships for a resolute and direct answer, whether they shall be defalked out of the apparel, as heretofore sometimes hath been used, or out of the lendings, which here we find a thing intolerable, and therefore beseech your Lordships on the poor soldiers' behalf, that of their 3s. a week, whereon they can hardly live, nothing may be impaired. I have been careful to the uttermost of my power that no wasteful expense should be made of powder, and to that end have established a proportion to be allowed monthly to the soldier for his watches without defalcation, and that less than in the Low Countries is allowed by Her Majesty, viz., half a pound to a smaller shot and three-quarters to a musket, which I conceive to be spent as it were in day of service, since the charging and discharging of his piece in time of watches is of necessity. To the new companies for the first month I have allowed a double proportion in regard of their training, which is warrantable by Her Majesty's instructions delivered unto me, wherein not only the powder spent in day of service (as your Lordships seem to intimate) but a competent proportion also is allowed for training without defalcation, such as I should think meet to assign. But for that which is spent in service which is the greatest quantity, I know not what other course can be taken than by the certificates of the captains or officers, to whom it is best known. The daily return of able and sufficient soldiers from hence into England is a thing which I labour by all means to prevent, and have caused divers to be executed which have run from their colours with purpose to steal away, and proclaimed confiscation of bark and goods against such as should transport any soldier without license. If yet I could devise any stricter course, I would put it in execution; but on the other side I beseech your Lordship that in England the like severity may be used in the ports at their landing, which I think a more ready way to prevent this disorder, which because it seemeth by your Lordships' letter to be more frequent in the western parts, whither they seldom pass from hence but from Munster, I have written to the Lord President to stay that abuse.

"Concerning the proportion of victuals contracted for by your Lordships, whereof as yet no part is arrived, I perceive the greatest quantity thereof is to come in meal; which in two respects will be inconvenient; first, for that coming late, as it is now likely to do, it will require time in the baking, and secondly, being baked, we are not here able to find bags for the carriage, or if any, yet with double charge to Her Majesty for them, which, as I am informed by Mr. Treasurer, may be had in England for 11*d.* a piece, and here will cost seven groats; which I do the more willingly acquaint your Lordships withal, that you may perceive how necessarily we are oftentimes constrained to charge Her Majesty with extraordinary expense, especially in these new plantations, such as that of Lough Foyle already performed, and this of Armagh which is now intended, wherein besides the charges of carriage, which for so great a garrison and for so long a time must needs be excessive, I shall be forced to build a fort in the midway between the Newry and Armagh for the more easy victualling of it hereafter.

1600.

The like charge of raising forts upon their straits and passages I find needful in many other places, which cannot otherwise be passed without endangering the whole army. The distribution of the business to divers of the Council is a matter which for mine own ease and discharge I would willingly embrace, and to that end, when first I went into the north, I directed a commission to Mr. Treasurer and Sir Geoffrey Fenton for the matter of victuals. The like I was minded to have done in the munition, but that Sir George Bouchier, who of necessity was to be one therein, was at the same time drawn to Kilkenny by reason of the Earl of Ormonde's imprisonment, and is but even now returned from thence. But, as soon as I shall have leisure to stay here any time, which now I am not able, I will endeavour to settle a course in those and all other causes according to your Lordships' directions.

"To Lough Foyle I had, before the receipt of your letters, sent a supply of 2,000 boards, the want whereof in that garrison did especially arise from the stay of the Ballyshannon voyage, for which 1,000 boards were appointed to be sent from Galway, so as the 1,000 men assigned for Ballyshannon remaining at Lough Foyle wanted their provision in that kind. Bell, the shipwright, of whom your Lordships write, is dead, so as some other course must be taken for the boats of Lough Foyle. For the provision of that garrison with beer, I have, with the Council's advice, taken order for the erecting of a brewhouse there, whereby the soldier shall be furnished better cheap than with that which can be sent from hence.

"Lastly, where it pleaseth your Lordships to admonish me what great cause Her Majesty hath to think many Captains and Commanders negligent, for that she findeth no service done by them to answer her charge, I humbly desire your Lordships to know that, first in general, there have more rebels, and those of the better sort, been killed since my coming than in more than two years before; there have been greater preys taken; and, God be thanked, I have no reason to send to your Lordships notice of any one disaster to any part of the army. And thus much the country and enemy doth acknowledge. For the garrisons in these parts, there are none of which your Lordships might in this time look for any especial account of their service, but Knockfergus, the Newry, Dundalk, Ardee, and Kells. For the rest of the forces were rather laid for the time, fit to be called together upon all occasions, than for any other service. Knockfergus, besides many good services, hath laid all the country waste for twenty miles about, which before was inhabited by the rebels. The Newry hath done the like, and Dundalk hath banished Tirlogh McHenry with his creaghts to lie out of his own country almost as far up as Monaghan; and yet Dundalk and the rest of the forces on this side have been ever part of the army which now three times hath been called together only to victual the forts. The which service being in itself so small, it may seem unnecessary to be followed with so great charge and hazard, except those forts might be made more profitable than they are. But first I found them held as they had been these many years, and durst not quit them without your Lordships' order. To leave them stronger in men, I could not; nor, if I had, could I have provided victual for them; since the

1600.

reason we are driven so often with an army to adventure for these as they are, is because we can never get carriages sufficient at one time to carry provision for any long season. But I beseech your Lordships to remember that the summer [is in] this country the most idle time of all other to do service; and I think it a great work, finding all things as I did, if in this time I lay a good foundation for the war, and appoint and plant such garrisons as may be stirring all the winter; the which I will endeavour with all my power, and in all other things to serve Her Majesty as faithfully and painfully as I can to her contentment.”—Naas, 1600, August 13.

[*Postscript.*] “Being at Kilkenny, the Lord of Cahir met me, whom I moved to endeavour himself for the recovery of his castle, assuring him that, if I were forced to draw down the army to take it again, he should never be master of it. Even now I understand from him that he hath recovered it, and holdeth it for Her Majesty. I am now in my journey to spoil the corn of Leix, as before I have done of Offally, whereof I have advertised Mr. Secretary, and doubt not but your Lordships have been acquainted therewith.” *Endorsed*: —Received at Nonsuch the 20th. *Signed. Seal. pp. 5.*

August 13.

[Naas.]

69. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Earl of Ormonde. “I received two letters from your Lordship by the way as I was coming towards Castle Dermott, for until the forces come over, which we expect daily, I am not willing to lose any time, and have therefore thought good to make a journey into Leix, as I have done into Offally. Which I do the more willingly, in regard of your Lordship, to take some revenge upon those traitors, against whom in particular you are most animated. Therefore I would intreat your Lordship, with such force of horse and foot as you can make, together with Sir Christopher St. Lawrence his company, to fall on Saturday night through Idough, and on Sunday night to meet me at Culinagh Castle. I am not willing to engage your Lordship any further in this service than may stand with your safety, which I more esteem than all the fruit of this journey. But if your Lordship think it not meet to adventure yourself with so small forces, I pray you notwithstanding to send Sir Christopher St. Lawrence unto me with his company and with your forces at the time and place appointed. I do exceedingly desire to see your Lordship and to confer with you, when it may stand with your best opportunity, about the Lord Mountgarrett his sons, and such other matters as are mentioned in your letter, whereof at this time I cannot so conveniently write. Only concerning Tirlogh McShane, although his malice against the Pale deserves no favour, yet, if it may give your Lordship any contentment concerning your pledges, I will spare his life for a time.”—[Naas,] 1600, August 13. *Copy. p. 1.*

August 13.

Carrigolough
in Thomond.

70. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, his kinsman, who has been employed this summer in one of the crompters upon that coast, that the Lord Admiral would employ him again next year. When transporting victuals or munition, would rather be attended by a kinsman, over whom he

1600.

has commanding power, than by a stranger. Has written to the Lord Admiral at large of the necessity for a ship and barge in those parts. Begs Sir Robert to further this.—Carrigolough in Thomond, 1600, August 13. *Holograph.* p. 1.

August 13. **71.** “A note of the forces which the Lord of Ormonde delivered to my Lord the 13 of August, 1600, before the return of the army from Ossory into Leix by the pass of Cashel.” Total, 2,560. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

August 14. **72.** The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. “This morning I received this enclosed letter from a man of good credit, which, for that the Lord Deputy departing hence two days since and (*sic*) is by this time entered into the rebels’ fastness, I thought very meet to send unto you. Two of the parties named in it are men of good account, I mean Stainhurst and Nugent, the one named Walter being brother to Richard Stainhurst, the learned physician who is with the King of Spain, and the other called Richard Nugent is eldest son to William Nugent, brother to the Lord of Delvin, which Richard by his mother shall be a good inheritor in the Pale. The other, named Shelton, is he of whom Sir Robert Gardener and myself heretofore wrote to your Honour in Lapley’s cause, having then intelligence that he was at Court, under pretence to be cured of the Queen’s evil. One of his brothers was executed with Lapley, and this young man hath been a good while in Tyrone with his treacherous uncle the Friar Nangle. I have made the more haste to let your Honour understand hereof, for that they departing so lately and going wholly through Scotland (where I doubt not they will think themselves very secure), there may be some good means used to have them apprehended there.”—Dublin, 1600, August 14. *Endorsed* :—Received at Nonsuch the 21st. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

72. i. *Stephen Duff to the Lord Chancellor Loftus.* “Having heard certainly by one that my Lord Deputy did license to go to the north for taking up some debts due to him, that there came to Tyrone an eight or ten days ago one Mr. Stanurst of Corduff from the Prince Cardinal in embassy to Tyrone, and is gone back again in the way he came, which was through Scotland, and there is gone with him back William Nugent his son and heir, and one Shelton of Dublin,” thought it his duty to inform his Honour.—Drogheda, 1600, August 11. *Endorsed* :—Received the 14th in the morning. *Holograph.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

August 15. **73.** The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. *Kilkenny.* “Having had here with me some of my horsemen, with purpose to have repaired towards Dublin to confer with your Lordship, I received your Lordship’s letter touching the ordnance at Cahir. Whereupon I sent those horsemen away to give assistance to that piece of work; and sithence, having received other your Lordship’s letters to meet your Lordship at Culinagh Castle on Sunday night,

1600.

I have with the speed I can sent for them back again ; with whom and the other forces here I will, God willing, hold my meeting with your Lordship according the time and course you have appointed.

“ I send your Lordship hereinclosed the copies of a letter which I received from Onie McRory and of my answer thereunto. I pray your Lordship upon your entry into Leix to cause the Captains to hearken after my pledges in the best sort they may, and whither they go, lest unknown they might miscarry by some of the army. This morning I have a meeting near this town with my Lord Mountgarrett and his sons ; and so, referring that shall fall out thereupon and other occasions to our meeting, with many thanks for your Lordship’s favour in my suit touching Tirlogh McShane [*marginal note* :—‘ this was only to respite his execution till his Lordship might speak with the Lord Deputy,’] I end.”—Kilkenny, 1600, August 15. [*Postscript.*] “ Your Lordship’s letter came [not] unto me until two hours after I was in bed yesternight.”

Copy. p. 1.

Encloses :—

73. i. Onie McRory O’More to the Earl of Ormonde. “ Whereas I have heretofore written unto your Honour to take order for your pledges, I knew your Honour, being encumbered with other divers weighty matters, cannot accomplish your desire therein, wherewith I am well contented, although I have no so secure a place to keep them as I would, neither would I hitherunto send them where they might be safely and securely kept, lest the sending of them therein should be anything grievous to your Honour. I understand, Right Honourable, that the Lord Deputy doth now set forth with an army, and whither I know not ; but, as I understand, they pretend a most abominable course, which is, wheresoever they go, to cut and reap down green corn, which is a most execrable course and bad example unto all the world. And as for my own part, Right Honourable, I have been taught as bad a lesson in a manner by them heretofore, and, as I am informed, they mean not to give over schooling of me yet in bad actions, which I protest unto your Honour is very loathsome unto me. But the best is, I have but little to lose, and if it be lost in that sort, I protest I mean not to seek for no more tillage, but rather live upon the tillage of others, not sparing friend nor foe. But, Right Honourable, fearing lest my cruel dealing hercin should hereafter be objected against me, there is no reasonable course that might be taken for me, but I would be partly advised by my friends to take the same, rather than use such cruel plots as are set down to destroy this poor commonwealth of Ireland. Wherefore I am humbly to beseech your Honour (if by protection or otherwise you can stop this army), if they be coming hither, that your Honour will show your Honour’s good will to the furtherance of the commonwealth of your poor country, I mean the whole realm, whereby we may take further deliberation as we shall further consult, and also that I may not be driven to remove your pledges, which I must do, if they remain in the country any time, specially if they spoil corn.”—1600, August 13.

Copy. p. 1.

1600.

73. ii. *The Earl of Ormonde to Onie McRory O'More.* "I received your letters of the 13th of this present, whereby I understand that you have heretofore written unto me for order to be taken for my pledges, which letter, if any you sent, came never to my hands nor any other letter of yours, since my delivery from you, save this letter; so as I know not what special course you desire I should follow for the enlargement of them. I understand by the said letter that my Lord Deputy is set forward to some journey, meaning to reap and destroy green corn wheresoever his Lordship shall travel, which, as it seemeth, you doubt may light upon that country. If you may certainly understand that his Lordship will come toward you, fail not to send me word thereof, and what time you think he will be there, to the end I may meet with his Lordship to have conference with him for a reasonable course to be taken with you. And if, in the mean time, I shall understand of his Lordship's coming towards those parts, I will make my repair towards him. Until then I do wish you to hold you from any more extremities, and until you shall hear from his Lordship. It is reported that you dealt without conscience or other good regard in killing Gerald FitzGerald, of late being your prisoner four days before, which with the outrageous burnings and spoils committed by you lately in the English Pale, may move my Lord to be revenged on you, wherewith I have not been made acquainted as yet; and therefore do by this bearer my servant, acquaint his Lordship with the contents of your letter, whom I pray you to conduct safely unto him. And so, wishing you to grow to dutiful terms of submission, which will be the best course you can follow, I end."—Kilkenny, 1600, August 14. Copy. pp. 1½.

August 15.
Kilkenny.

74. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.* "Sithence I wrote my letters to your Lordship very early this morning, I have considered as well of your Lordship's great care of my safety, for which I most heartily thank you, as of the traitor's force, which is reported to be great, daily gathered together. And, lest some occasions, happening often in the course of these wars, might alter your coming to the appointed time and place on Sunday night next Culinagh, whereby I, with so few forces with me, might be engaged, I heartily pray your Lordship, in that (God willing) I mean to be there according to your appointment, to let some messenger pass from you unto me, whereby I may be ascertained of your Lordship's being there. And so, going forward in the best sort I may, wishing your Lordship all happy success, I commit your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty."—Kilkenny, 1600, August 15. [Postscript.] "Whosoever wished your Lordship to send for me with so few, was not well advised, and I doubt it will not be safe for me, yet will adventure it, understanding of your Lordship being there, if it be possible for me." Copy. p. 1.

August 16.
Dublin.

75. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil.* "With much ado, I got the coast of Ireland yesternight at midnight, and have this morning signified my arriving to the Lord Deputy, who, two days

1600.

before, was drawn towards the Kavanaghs' country. I wrote to his Lordship that for the despatches I brought there was no safety for me either to bring them or send them to him, the rebels lying so strong upon the ways; and therefore I humbly wished his Lordship, if the service he was in would draw any long time, that his Lordship would send a convoy for me to come to the camp, otherwise to direct me to remain here till his return.

"There is come this night and this morning Captain Fisher with six or seven more companies of Sir Edward Herbert's regiment, whom I left in Worrall. The residue of the whole complement, both of horse and foot, I hope will be brought up by this wind, if the Captains do use the diligence they ought. These that are come, and the rest to follow, shall be distributed to meet places for service, and to ease the country, till his Lordship's return, who I hope will then fashion himself altogether for Armagh, and the other services of Ulster, where there is great need of some good discipline and government, specially at Lough Foyle, for that the garrison there hath of late received a blow in their horses, by reason of the absence of their Captains, and want of good officers to guide the companies. Besides, the Governor himself, rising out to supply that want of the Captains, in rescuing their horses hath received a dangerous hurt in his head, so as if he should miscarry upon that wound (no sufficient man being there to raise up in his place), your Honour may gather what may be the hazard of the whole service there, if it be not utterly overthrown. Sir John Bolles, who was appointed to succeed him upon any such accident, is now in England, and no other Captain of judgment in all that army to take the superior charge, most of the other Captains being but young men, whose knowledge reacheth not beyond the leading of 100 men. I have written this much to the Lord Deputy, praying his Lordship to consider of a meet man out of hand to be sent to Lough Foyle to take charge there, if Sir Henry Dockwra should miscarry, which I greatly fear, whereby that service may be held up and continued, which is the main ground, with God's help, to suppress the whole rebellion. And now, under your Honour's favour, it is a strange course that Captains, who take Her Majesty's pay, shall disdain to abide in her service, and remain with their companies, by whose absence your Honour seeth how the inconveniences do daily multiply, and cannot but still increase, to the endangering of the great cause we have in hand, if they shall be suffered still to abandon their charge and live absent from the service. It is a course to enrich themselves and peril the service, but the example is dangerous, when servitors dare presume to take wages of a Prince and disdain to do the service they are appointed to. I have often written and spoken in this, and have reaped no other fruit than envy and malice; yet, in so apparent contempt of the Queen and dishonour of her service, I will hold my wonted plainness both to speak and write of these abuses, hoping your Lordships there will second me, as you have promised. For these two sores of the absence of Captains and licentiousness of the soldiers must either be stopped, or else the whole cause will run to an incurable course.

1600.

"I have sent your Honour enclosed this letter of Captain Willis [*see No. 50 above*], which came to me the same morning I arrived here, by which you may see more particularly the accident of Lough Foyle, and the estate and manner thereof."—Dublin, 1600, August 16.

[*Postscript.*] "Before the signing of this letter, seven or eight companies more of foot are arrived. But I hear nothing of Captain Dawtrey nor his charge of horse. I fear his passage will be as slow into Ireland as himself is unwieldy in body to answer the service when he is come." *Signed.* pp. 2.

August 17.
Dublin.

76. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Mr. John Lee, who is ready to depart for England, licensed and recommended by the State. Advised him to forbear going till a more seasonable time. Lee's great experience and losses. He was a man inward with Sir Charles O'Carroll. His service in the latter's country.—Dublin, 1600, August 17. *Signed.* p. ½.

August 18.
Knoketan-
caslane.

77. Piers Lacy to Sir George Carew. "I received your letters, and although mine offences be so heinous as I might desire rather to be pardoned than excused, yet it is known to the State and Council of Ireland how much against my will I was compelled by mine adversaries to enter first into this action. It is also known to the Earl of Ormonde, whose letters I have procured to your Honour that (*sic*) if it might stand with your Honour's good consideration, to receive me to Her Majesty's favour. And for my demands, notwithstanding your Honour little needeth the furtherance of a more sufficient man than myself in Her Majesty's service, yet being granted, I should not doubt to accomplish such services as may merit the same. My faithful disposition to do Her Majesty service heretofore hath been well known to the Council of Munster, as it may appear under their hands; and I protest unto your Honour that I am this day as willing to do the same, if I might with good ability and safety of my life. Whereas it hath been your Honour's pleasure that secretly I should repair towards you, I do not know how to come to your Honour privately without peril of my life; for, although I doubt not of your Honour's good word, yet the fear of mine adversaries, who heretofore hath transgressed the Lord Lieutenant General's commandment in doing me harm, doth make me so wareful, as I will not give them such opportunity as by my going thither privately they may watch. But, if it might stand with your Honour's consideration to grant my demands, I would repair openly to your Honour to make my submission, and to put in sufficient security for my loyalty hereafter."—Knoketancaslane, 1600, August 18. *Copy.* p. 1.

Annexed is, "A note of the demands of Piers Lacy," viz.:—Restitution of his blood and lands; forgiveness of all his recognizances; to have a hundred men in the Queen's pay during the service in Munster; the said Piers to enter sufficient security, either by pledge or sureties, for his loyalty hereafter. *Copy.* p. ½.

1600.

[Aug. 18.]

78. Extract from a letter of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carew.

"I have written to the Lords that, of the 2,000 men which are now to come over, one thousand might be sent to you to remain in your garrisons, that the like number might be drawn hither of your old men, which I hope you will approve, because you very well know the toughest of our work is now in hand, being going into the north, and yours well-nigh brought to an end. If therefore 1,000 new men come unto you, I pray your Lordship to send me, in lieu of them, the companies of such Captains of your list as are absent, named [*sic*, namely], Sir Henry Pówer, Sir John Barkley, Sir Edward Fitzgarrett, and Captain George Blount, which amount to 600 men, and to make up the rest of the 1,000 with such companies as you shall think fittest to be sent. If the whole 2,000 come hither, yet will I entreat you that the companies above-named may be drawn hither, and I will supply you with the like number from hence of new men. For to the planting of Armagh I must go strong, which without some increase of old soldiers from you I cannot do. If your Lordship think 1,000 too many, I am content to have only such companies as I have already their Captains, and desire your Lordship to send them away with speed, and upon their first arrival I will return as many."—[1600, August 18.]
Copy, attested by Sir George Carew. p. ½.

August 19.
Limerick.

79. The Lord President [Sir George Carew] and Council of Munster to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "By a letter of your Lordship to me the President, wherewith we are acquainted, you have thought fit to command from hence 1,000 of the foot companies for your present assistance in the northern services, or at least the companies of Sir John Barkley, Sir Henry Power, Sir Edward Fitzgarrett, and Captain George Blount. To which, as it may well be imagined by us, your Lordship hath been moved by some reports of a settled quietness in Munster, and thereupon they the better to be spared. If our endeavours might have effected what we specially both have laboured and desired in the reducing of this province to a quiet state and condition, we might have satisfied your Lordship's direction therein. But, in respect the whole work of the kingdom is your Lordship's, and that this, as a great part thereof under your Lordship, is now in some forwardness of reformation, if it be not by new accidents and combinations (by a late marriage, as we are credibly informed, made by Florence McCarthy between James McThomas and Cormack McDermott's sister) drawn into new disorder, we are hopeful to make a good account thereof in short time. But as we can conceive no better of Florence, than as of a traitor, intending as before to make a strong faction by joining to this head all the Carties, who will increase the number at least 3,000 more strong, we make no doubt your Lordship will, under due consideration which we humbly beseech, forbear to withdraw any forces hence till a better conveniency appear to spare them. Besides they are so dispersed into several garrisons remote from one another, and those now placed with an expectation of good to ensue, as in Kerry 1,050 in list with Sir Charles Wilmot

1600.

(who by poll are not above 600 strong), the rest in no better case remaining at Askeaton, Kilmallock, Lismore, Kinsale, and Moyallo, and elsewhere as before. So as the companies your Lordship requires cannot be drawn forth of Kerry, and others to supply their places, before your Lordship's cause of employment for them will be passed. If, upon reports of a reasonable conformity here, or by the desire of any to have their charges removed thither, your Lordship is moved to withdraw part of our weak army, we humbly pray your more favourable consideration of the same, having here many obstinate and notorious rebels to deal with, and such as, if they should but once discern a dividing of these small and weak companies, would quickly incite these unsettled people to reunite and make a stronger and more troublesome faction than in the beginning. Or, if this harvest (from which they hope to gain great relief) be not with good care and means attended, to prevent them of the benefit thereof, very little good hath been done as yet. This we hope will serve to excuse the withdrawing of any companies out of Munster till better opportunity; having here besides now a new report of the landing of Spaniards, which we cannot tell how to believe, in regard of the confident expectation these traitors have of their daily coming, and which we assure ourselves is the greatest cause of their obstinacy in this rebellion."—Limerick [1600], August 19. *Copy. p. 1.*

[Aug. 19.] **80.** "A note of the levy of horse" that proceeded from Chester and Bristol to Ireland. Total, 183.—[1600, August 19.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

August 19. **81.** Donnell Spainagh [Kavanagh] to the Earl of Ormonde. Offers to repair to the Earl on obtaining the Lord Deputy's protection and the Earl's safe-conduct. Will then set down his griefs and clear himself of the bad reports made concerning him to the Lord Deputy. Requests a speedy answer.—1600, August 19. *Copy. p. 1.*

August 19. **82.** Redmond Keating to the Earl of Ormonde. Desires the Earl's safe-conduct, that he may come and confer with him. The Earl is "the only man under God" in whom Keating reposes his whole trust.—1600, August 19. *Copy. p. ½.*

August 20. **83.** Sir George Carew to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "The
Limerick. 19th of this present I received two letters from your Lordship by one Tobin, which I was exceeding glad to see, for that your letters came but seldom unto my hands, although I suppose your Lordship hath me oftener in remembrance. Of your good success in Offally I do as much rejoice as any man in this kingdom, for no man in loving you truly shall exceed me, and I hope that God will so multiply his blessings upon you, as that you shall return the happiest Governor that hath borne the sword in Ireland. I humbly thank your Lordship for leaving such order as you have done that on

1600.

pardon for Munster men shall pass without my approbation ; if there had been any such starting hole left them, I should have quickly run into contempt. As for Tobin, the service which he affected is performed, but I am very sorry that he came not to me in time ; himself shall witness with me that I will be ready to do him good, if it lie in my power.

“Your Lordship’s second letter, written by your Secretary, consists of many points which doth not a little trouble me, because I am not able to satisfy your Lordship’s commandment as you expect, and as myself desires. For God I call to witness, I am as ready to obey you as the meanest Captain in this realm. But I know your Lordship prefers the Queen’s service before all other respects, which makes me thus far bold to certify you of my estate, which done my duty is discharged ; and then afterwards, as it shall please you to direct, you shall find me obedient. For I protest before God, yourself excepted no man of this army doth more wish or endeavour the happy success of your proceedings than myself, which makes me to beseech you to think upon the estate of this province before you call any of my weak troops from me. And that you may be the better resolved of the same, although I have formerly written to your Lordship the present estate of Munster in my letters sent by the way of Connaught by a servant of my Lord of Thomond’s, who I hope ere this time is with your Lordship, yet hereinlosed [*wanting*] I do send your Lordship the copy of that which I did then write, lest the other should miscarry, by the which it shall appear unto your Lordship how impossible it is for me to observe your commandment until the harvest be past which is now in hand, without the apparent loss of this year’s service, whereof I do humbly pray your Lordship to have due consideration. But if, upon your next letters, you will command the same, when my duty in advertising you of the estate of the province is performed, I will be ready to obey, although exceeding sorry that you should continue in the counsel, which, under correction, for many respects I do not wish to be taken.

“Your Lordship by this copy of my letter may understand the weakness of my little army, and how they be dispersed in divers parts of the province, far distant one from another. The traitorous practice of Florence McCarthy, who is as I think past all hope of recovery, whereof I am, since the writing of my last unto you from Carigolough in Thomond, better satisfied of his obstinate revolt ; for by the Bishop of Cork and Dominick Sarsfield, a lawyer, I am certified that the marriage between Cormack McDermott’s sister and James McThomas is consummated. To prevent which mischief I am hastening to those borders, and must be enforced, if it be true, to draw from my other garrisons at least 1,000 foot and 50 horse to lay them in Carberry and the borders of Muskerry, to prevent and suppress this new beginning of a rebellion more dangerous and difficult than at the first. Moreover, your Lordship knows that the province for goodness and good towns is not inferior to any in the kingdom, and is the only place for the Spaniard to make his descent into, if he pretend any invasion, which is here constantly believed. Lastly, the companies your Lordship writeth for, which is, Sir Henry Power’s, Sir John Barkley’s, Sir Edward Fitzgerald’s, and Captain

1600.

Blount's, two of them are in Kerry, which cannot be brought from thence, being so remote, in any convenient time to come unto you, for I may not remove them without great danger of the other companies which are weak, before I have sent two other companies for them; and the other two companies are in Connello, which is the chief strength which James McThomas hath, and, if they should be withdrawn, that country will be possessed by the enemy, which is his chiefest relief, and so give him breath to gather new strength to maintain the rebellion; whereas, if those garrisons may continue, I have good hope to famish him this next year. The whole kingdom is your Lordship's charge, the good or ill success of every part of the same, you are indifferently interested in it. If anything succeed in Munster, the honour of the same is to be ascribed unto you, as to all other generals in the like. The love and honour I bear you moves me to write the more vehemently, for I know all my labours are lost, and the Queen's charges cast away, if my garrisons be now diminished. I am in a fair way to bring this province to some conformity. I humbly beseech your Lordship to permit me to proceed, and, because the detaining of these companies may not be thought by you to be any hindrance to your northern journey, as a Councillor I do (under correction) wish and counsel you to send for a good part of the garrisons of Connaught to assist you. The companies are all old soldiers, and although many of them be Irish, yet out of their countries they will do good service; and in my opinion they are best to be spared, for the prosecution there is not so hot on foot as this of Munster, neither are the provinces for divers respects to be equalled. These reasons, with many other, which, for that I will not be troublesome unto your Lordship, I do pass over, do move me to pray and humbly advise you not for a time not (*sic*) to withdraw any part of the forces from me. But yet, if it be your will to have them, I will not contest with your Lordship, but must and will obey, as in your wisdom you shall please to command. I protest unto your Lordship by the majesty of God, I do not enforce anything to abuse you, but do plainly declare unto you the present estate of this province, which when you have well examined, I hope you will give me thanks, and like the less of those that have counselled you to so ill a course, which either proceeds from such as do not understand the present estate of Munster, or else from some malignant persons that prefer their particulars before the public. I beseech your Lordship let my credit thus far prevail with you, to be believed for Munster before all men, for I do thus far arrogate unto myself, that no man living knoweth the present estate of the same better than I do, and do believe constantly no one man so well as myself; and if I should for any particular design of my own abuse you in the public proceedings, I were worthy of death. As in my last, so in this, I do humbly beseech you to procure a supply of men for Munster, for I am sure the army in no place are so weak as these companies are. And thereof there is no marvel, for since the 20th of May until now they were never out of the field, and now the garrisons of Askeaton are no better than in the field, for they lie in cabins and live upon provant victuals, not knowing any other drink than water. And for my particular, I do assure your Lordship, all mine own horses are so

1600.

overtravelled as many of them are dead, and those that live so weak as they are not able to carry a man a foot pace. The garrisons, I thank God, are not idle, for, besides the harvest which in all places they possess every day, I have news of taking of preys and killings. I can make a true account unto your Lordship of a (*sic*) 1,000 rebels slain in small companies, since my coming into Munster. Those of Askeaton this last week in two skirmishes killed about 50, and they of Kilmallöck many more. Captain Flower, as I hear, hath done good service at Lismore, and Sir Charles Wilmot prospereth well in Kerry. If this late marriage do not hinder me, I do hope in God to make your Lordship a good account of Munster; but whosoever informeth your Lordship that my work is almost at an end, either understands not what he said, or else I must judge worse of him; for as yet I am but in the beginning of a good way, which is subject to every little object to give it interruption. I know from those which serve with me, the opinion is held that the neck of the Munster war is broken, which is spoken rather out of fear it should be, so doubting to be discharged, than of any truth that it is so, or from a desire that they wish it so to be. Others, because they see the force of this province somewhat changed, because the army marcheth unfought withal, do judge the war ended, but such do but look upon the outside; but I that make it my study, and have better understanding in the managing of these affairs than those that are not so much interested in the service as I am, do find the numbers little less in rebellion than at the beginning, infested with the same traitors' hearts as heretofore. Only the difference I find is, a general distrust, which by practice I have infected them withal, that no one of them dare trust one another (*sic*), and every one seeketh to save himself in his own fastness. But let these fellows once take breath, and advise upon their business, they will easily be reconciled and unite, and then the work will be no less knotty than at the first.

"Your Lordship's letters in the behalf of the Lord Barry and Charles McCarthy, which you did formerly write, did never come into my hands, neither yet will I acquaint them with this, until I see how they stand, for a little absence breedeth a great alteration in this inconstant nation. I had good hope that the multitude of Commissaries would have eased the soldier of the check by discretion, which, for mine own part, I know no reason why it should be continued; but with the rest I yield my neck to the yoke, since by your Lordship I understand it to be continued in Leinster, but by the Captains here I was otherwise informed. I will speak with the provant master of clothes; if there is any surplusage in Munster, your Lordship shall have understanding of it. So, praying your Lordship to bear with my long tedious letters, and to construe [*sic*, construe] the meaning of the same according to the truth of the estate of the province, and according to the dutiful affections I bear you, which is not to abuse you in the least, and beseeching you to bear with my boldness in advising you, which can better judge than myself, do most unfeignedly and resolvedly rest at your Lordship's service."—Limerick, 1600, August 20.

[*Postscript.*] "I did forget to write unto your Lordship that James Fitzgerald, son to the late Earl of Desmond, is now at liberty,

1600.

and by Her Majesty is permitted to write himself Earl of Desmond. He is daily expected in Ireland, but I am an unbeliever in that point. As I was writing of this postscript, Sir Francis Barkley delivered me this little letter enclosed [*wanting*] sent unto him from one Morrogh Grany McSheehy, a notorious traitor, who now desires to be received into protection, by which your Lordship may perceive how they flatter themselves with Spanish aids, and do report, as by the same you may see, that four Spanish ships are upon the coast of the Dingle, and that two of the Spaniards have spoken with James McThomas at Castlemaine." *Copy.* pp. 4.

August 20. **84.** A Book of Her Majesty's charges in the realm of Ireland, from 1 October, 1598, to February 28, 1598-9. *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane on 20 August, 1600.* pp. 58.

August 21. **85.** A particular of the proportion of munition and such like, that has arrived at Cork since June 4, 1600. *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

August 23. **86.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my arriving here, which is now eight days past, I have heard nothing from the Lord Deputy, which maketh me think that the two messengers I sent to him are cut off. But it cannot be long before his Lordship return, for that he hath appointed the general hosting to meet him at the hill of Tara the first of September, and so to pass into Ulster, for the which his Lordship will be better fitted than was looked for, now that the two thousand foot are landed, and some of the horse, together with some part of the munition. But of Captain Dawtrey and most of his company, I hear nothing as yet.

"I have heard these two or three days, that Onie McRory is shot in the body with two bullets, which I have forborne to advertise, for that it was but a report at random without any certain ground. But this day Imperia Romana, coming from those borders, telleth me that she heard he was dead of that hurt; which maketh me somewhat confident, though, till I understand more, I dare not assure it. But, if it be so, it is a blow given to break this rebellion in Leinster in short time. As I shall know further, your Honour shall be advertised. For which purpose I have this day returned Imperia Romana into Leix, from whom I shall receive the truth, so soon as she may come or send to me with safety. The slow coming of the horse from Chester cannot but hinder much the service, specially if they be not here four or five days before the journey into Ulster, that they may be refreshed and put into heart for that expedition. I hear the Lord Deputy hath destroyed a great part of the rebels' corn in Leix, and got some of their cows, but to what quantity I cannot write certainly till I hear more.

"I have heard nothing from Lough Foyle more than I wrote in my last, whereby may be gathered that Sir Henry Dockwra's wound will not endanger his life; for that, if there were peril that way,

1600.

there would have been no such delay used to signify it hither.”—Dublin, 1600, August 23. *Endorsed*:—Received at Oatlands, the 27th. *Signed*. p. 1.

August 23. **87.** Document endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, “Intelligences of a discovery of ships upon the north coast of Ireland, and certified to Tyrone to be Spaniards, &c.—directed to me the Secretary.”

“August the 23rd, 1600.—Tyrone was drawn up as far as the woods called Kehanagh, betwixt McMahon’s country and the Brenny. The causes of his coming up was to recover an island that some of his own kern kept against him, and to set order betwixt the Reillys. Upon Monday last he set down an order betwixt them, viz., that Edmund O’Reilly should continue O’Reilly during his life, and made Owen O’Reilly McHugh Connollogh tanist. This Owen (P.W.) [*marginal note* :—‘This P.W. is an intelligencer whom I have long time employed in Ulster’] saith his name is Owen (but I fear he mistaketh it), sought and still seeketh to be O’Reilly, and is withstood by old Edmund, by Clan Shane, and Clan Owen.

“Before Tyrone could take in the island, upon Monday night late after he was set down in camp, and all their cabins made, letters came in great post from O’Donnell, which having read he shewed exceeding great and outward tokens of joy, and told all that were near him, and that openly, that there were forty very great ships discovered upon the coast of O’Donnell’s country; that, as soon as O’Donnell espied them making way towards the shore, he posted away those letters, wherein he did assure him that they were Spaniards; after, in all haste, giving order for the taking of the island, for the defence of those borders, and charging the Reillys to send out spial to observe when my Lord Deputy would make head northwards, and to send him word thereof in very great haste, he posted away towards O’Donnell, and took but a very small train with him. At his going thence, there was not any one ship come into haven, or any one man landed. The next day after Henry Oge and McMahon had the island yielded, and, dispersing their army, went every man home to his own house.

“P.W. saith that the news of the ships is very certain, but whence they are none knew then, although every one there answereth himself that they be Spaniards.

“Upon Wednesday he was at the Cavan, where the Reillys had been all day in parley, and at night were ready to go by the ears, but were parted by the old Reilly and the friars of the Cavan. He thinks they have fought by this time, and saith that, if opportunity be taken upon this first quarrel, they might be easily brought to cut one another’s throats.

“After I had sealed up my other letter now sent, these advertisements were brought to me from Trim, which I make bold to send to your Honour, though I have little confidence in the intelligence. For the Spaniard, knowing the misery of the north of Ireland, where there is neither castle nor town to cover him, hath no reason to make his descent there, with purpose to invade and possess; neither hath Tyrone reason to draw a force of Spaniards into his country, where they can do him no good, but may put him and all

1600.

his in hazard of expulsion. If the fleet had been discovered upon the west of Ireland, it had been more credible that they were Spaniards. And yet the summer being so far spent, the time is not for him to approach these coasts with a mind to tarry by it, but haply he may shake off some loose shipping to spoil and rob, and so to return back.

“It may be thought that this discovery of so many ships is forged by the rebels, to keep their confederates in heart, who they see begin to faint in their hope of the Spaniards coming, as usually they have done every year heretofore. But if such a fleet of ships were discovered upon that coast, I think it rather a navy of Easterlings, who have often a trade that way to and fro the north-east countries.”

Signed by Sir Geffrey Fenton, who adds in his own hand:—“I find many Captains here at Dublin, whose charge and places of command are upon the borders, where their companies do lie in garrison, but their Captains absent from them, whereby the service is neglected, and the soldiers live in all licentiousness and disorder. It may please your Lordships, by a special letter to this purpose, to require the Lord Deputy to command all Captains to remain with their charge; otherwise to be discharged, and others put in their places. Otherwise I see it will be hard to redress this foul abuse of the absence of Captains from their colours.” *pp. 2½.*

August 25. **88.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. “That you may
Cork. from time to time be satisfied of my proceedings in the service of this province, since the writing of my last dated the 18th of July, until which time nothing worthy your view was omitted, now pleaseth it your Lordships to understand that the 23rd of the last I departed from Limerick towards Kerry by the way of Thomond, enforced so to do by reason of great rain that fell, whereby the ordinary way over the mountain of Slewloughor was thought to be impassable for horse and carriage. The forces I carried with me was in list 1,050 foot and 75 horse, and marched into a place called Kilrush, opposite to Carrigofoyle in Kerry, and by the 28th day of the same month all the troops and baggage were transported, which considered (the breadth of the river being there at the least one league and a half over) was done with more expedition than I expected, and which in truth I could not have effected in many days, if my Lord of Thomond had not given me great aid, not having any other boats to perform that service, but such as he procured. The day following, having notice that the rebels in Kerry hastened the ruining of their castles, I sent Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces aforesaid into Clanmorris, who recovered the Lord FitzMorris[’s] chiefest house called Lixnaw (being set upon props of wood ready to fall before they had time to fire them), and also a castle belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, called Rathonyne, not far from Tralee, which likewise stood upon props, and the enemy put from the firing of them; into which places he presently did put sufficient guards for their defence (either of them being fit for service). From thence, without stay, with fifty horse only, he went to view Tralee, which was Sir Edward Denny’s house,

1600.

and now utterly defaced, nothing being left unbroken but a few old vaults ; and, as they were in breaking of them, he came so suddenly upon the bonnaughts appointed by James FitzThomas to see that work perfected (being in number 150 foot and four horse), as they had not time to make any resistance, but fled, of whom he killed 30 dead (*sic*) in the place, and recovered the arms of 100 ; the rest that escaped was (*sic*) by the means and favour of a bog and mountain near adjoining to Tralee. The second of August, Sir Charles Wilmot returned with the forces to Carrigofoyle. In this meantime, the victuals which I had sent for from Cork (as in my former several letters I advertised your Lordships) came into the river, and for their safety rode at a place in Thomond called Carrigoholough (almost opposite to the river of Cassan in Kerry), from whence in boats I sent the same to Lixnaw, four miles into the land, where Sir Charles with his troops remained to receive them, in which service (as before) I was only aided by the Earl of Thomond. The Lord FitzMorris, when he saw his chief house possessed by our forces, took such an inward grief at the same, as the 12th of this month he died, leaving behind him his son and heir, as malicious a traitor as himself. The county of Kerry is (in my opinion) the best inhabited place in Ireland ; but now (I thank God) their harvest is ours, which will be a good relief to the garrison.

“The Island of Kerry (the ancient and chiefest house of the Earls of Desmond, and late belonging to Sir William Herbert as an undertaker), and almost all the castles in those parts, are razed to the ground, which is an evident token of their resolved obstinacy in this rebellion. Florence McCarthy I do no less doubt than heretofore, for I know he is sworn to James FitzThomas, and yet protests the contrary unto me, as by the copies of his letters herewith may appear, as also by a declaration of one Garrett Liston (a late protected rebel, who submitted himself upon assurance since my being in Kerry) more evidently (sent with these) doth manifest. As soon as I came into Kerry, I sent for him to come unto me, at that time he being not ten miles from Carrigofoyle (where I then was) parleying with James FitzThomas. His answer unto the same (as before) is herein-closed. Whereupon I wrote the second time unto him, and according his desire (to leave him without excuse), sent him a safeguard, the copy of which letter with these I present unto your Lordships, wherein I appointed him a time and place of meeting, unto which as yet I never received answer. If he be a rebel, as otherwise for anything I can judge I cannot account of him, then are the services of this province more difficult than is supposed. For I do assure your Lordships the Cartys of Munster, whom he hopes to draw into his faction, together with their dependents and followers, are of themselves able to make above 3,000 strong, which together with the remain of the other dispersed rebels yet in action, do amount to no less than 7,000 at the least. To strengthen this rebellion in a firmer combination, Florence McCarthy (as I am credibly advertised, and am constantly persuaded to be true) hath practised a marriage between the sister of Cormack McDermott, Lord of the country of Muskerry, and James FitzThomas ; which I was advertised was consummated, but do find the contrary, and

1600.

doubt not but to work the means to frustrate the same. If this plot should hold, then the city of Cork (until by force I do disperse them in this country) will be my frontier, for Muskerry adjoins unto the walls of that city, and do assure myself that many that are now subjects (if this marriage take effect) will run into rebellion. The Cartys' countries, which are large and spacious, comprehending the countries of Muskerry, Carberry, Dowallo, and Desmond (by reason of the multitude of huge mountains in the same), are in nature exceeding strong, and yet full of corn and cattle, having felt little of the war; into the which for the present all the other rebels of the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry (whom I have beaten out of their countries) do fly for refuge.

"Florence of late had his messenger with Tyrone (as he pretends) for the release of O'Sullivan More, his brother-in-law, who was carried prisoner by Dermott O'Connor out of this province; but my intelligencers assure me that it was only to procure forces to support this rebellion, for the heartening whereof Tyrone hath sent letters of comfort unto all his friends and confederates in this country, assuring them that before Michaelmas day the Spanish forces will land in Munster, which is confidently believed by James FitzThomas. For, notwithstanding his forces are very weak, yet he vaunts ere that time to be the greatest Earl of Desmond that ever was in Ireland. Within the province itself, there is no man that can hinder the service but Florence McCarthy, who like a dark cloud hangs over my head, threatening a storm to impeach our actions. But yet (without foreign aids) with the force I have, together with other means which I will procure, I doubt not but in short time to make him humble himself, and to sue for Her Majesty's mercy. Another argument that approves Florence to be a traitor, is this. In my last unto your Lordships, I wrote that I had sent into Kerry (at that time that I did besiege the Glan) a party of fifty soldiers by sea (which were led by a servant of mine own, called Morris Stacke), who surprised a little poor castle, called Lischahan. The enemy, as soon as I dislodged from the Glan towards Limerick, besieged that castle, and placed an engine called a sow to the walls thereof, to sap the same; but the ward did so well acquit themselves in a sally, as they brake the sow, and slew 27 of the bonnaughts, whereupon the enemy raised his siege. Not many days after, Florence came to speak with the ward, assuring them that I was gone to Cork, that most of my troops were defeated, and that it was impossible for them to expect aid till the next spring; but yet, for the love he bare me, would be glad to save their lives, persuading them to render the place unto him, promising to convey them safe unto Carrigofoyle. Their answer was, that in despite of all Ireland (until my coming) they would defend the castle. When this did not prevail, then he terrified them with the force of the enemy, and the weakness of Her Majesty's forces; with which prevailing as little as before, he departed, and lodged that night with James FitzThomas. Notwithstanding I know all this to be true, yet (under your Lordships' corrections) I think it meet for a time to hold that temporising course with him which hitherto I have done, being loath to add so powerful a traitor unto the other traitors,

1600.

till the rest be more depressed, assuring your Lordships that both the horse and foot in this province are exceeding weak, decayed by sickness and killing, but most of all by runaways, who are conveyed away forth of the port towns, although in every of them I have proclaimed it to be death to him that shall carry a soldier into England without a passport from myself. And therefore I do humbly thank your Lordships for the favourable regard you have of this province in sending supplies hither, which (with the horse already sent) I wish had been already landed. No man can be more careful than I have been to prevent the escape of soldiers into England, but find it very hard to correct the same; for they pass away in English bottoms, and the searchers in the ports being of this country birth, and not the best affected to the State, are content for small bribes to wink at the same; but therein I will endeavour the best remedy I may, yet notwithstanding do humbly beseech your Lordships to give strait charge that such as land in England without a pass under my hand may be stayed, and of some of them an example made there, which will terrify others from doing the like. If I have not been too severe in punishing by martial discipline such runaways as have been taken, I am sure I have committed no error, having executed more for that fault than I have given pass to depart.

"All our garrisons, namely in Kerry, Askeaton, Kilmallock, Moyallo, Kinsale, Youghal, and Lismore, I thank good (*sic*) do prosper, and are now in their harvest, which must be well followed, or else this summer service will be lost, wherein I will be careful to lose no time, for the destruction of it will procure the next year's famine, by which means only the wars of Ireland must be determined. Since the placing of these garrisons no day passeth without report of burning, killing, and taking of preys from the enemy, insomuch as all places near unto them are wholly abandoned by the enemy, and left waste. Infinite numbers of their creaghts as kine, sheep and garrans, are taken from them, and by a true report, which I can justly account, besides husbandmen, women, and children (which I do not reckon), of weaponed men there hath been slain in this province, since my coming, above 1,200 men, and of Her Majesty's army not 40 slain by the enemy.

"When I went last into Kerry, I employed Mr. Gerrott Comerford, a Councillor of this province (who since my coming hither hath very carefully attended me), to deal with the Lord of Cahir to recover his castle from his brother, with promise to repossess him of the same, if he could obtain it. Which is brought to effect, for the Lord of Cahir is possessed thereof, and his traitorly brother (who did surprise the same upon the ward) hath promised to come unto me to submit himself, and to receive Her Majesty's gracious pardon. The cannon and culverin with all their carriages, necessities, and shot (which was left there by the Earl of Essex), I have taken order for, to be sent to Clonmell. The motives that urged the Lord of Cahir especially to do this service, was the fear which he justly conceived that, at my return into these parts, I would take the same by force and raze it to the ground, which I swore unto him I would do if it were not delivered into his hands. Your Lordships' further pleasure touching him and that castle I do humbly pray to receive,

1600.

for I can do in the same what it shall please you to command. The use of it for the present is not so needful in my opinion as when the White Knight was in rebellion, and the charge to keep it will be great, and as long as the great ordnance shall remain so near unto it, there is no doubt but the house will be kept under good command. There remaineth yet two other castles of the Lord of Cahir's in Her Majesty's possession, one of them called Knockneman in the keeping of the Lord of Dunboyne, and the other Derrinlare in the custody of one Richard Power, a gentleman of good reputation, and upon whom I have good bands for the safe keeping and delivery thereof when it shall be required; both kept without charge to Her Highness. But these castles his Lordship hath greatly importuned me to be restored unto, challenging them by virtue of Her Majesty's free pardon, which he hath obtained to be restored thereby unto all his possessions, as in former time (before this rebellion) he was. Wherein I have forborne to satisfy him until your Lordships' further pleasure signified unto me in these, which shall be duly performed; but your purpose therein I humbly beseech may not be revealed to any man but myself.

"After I had settled Sir Charles Wilmot in Kerry (as aforesaid), the 16th of this present I returned to Limerick, where understanding that (by reason of my long absence from these parts) the cankered poison of rebellion did by Florence's practice threaten new disorders, I made there but little abode, and the 20th came to Kilmallock, where I remained one day, enforced so to do, to take assurances of many gentlemen and freeholders that came to submit themselves, having not hitherto received any into Her Majesty's protection, but upon absolute submission and security. The day following (the White Knight being then in my company), news was brought him that the garrison of Moyallo, commanded by Captain Roger Harvey, had in skirmish slain sundry of his followers. I, being careful to give him contentment (being as he is under Her Majesty's protection), examined the matter in his own presence, and found that Captain Harvey, having intelligence by a spy that was his guide of a notable rebel called Shane McRedmond, and certain other traitors and their goods, who were near unto Sir Walter Raleigh's lands adjoining unto the White Knight's country, with 70 foot and 24 horse, marched that night twenty miles from Moyallo, and at the break of day (our men thinking they had been brought upon an enemy's town) set fire to a house having some few people in it; but an old soldier being in the company, knowing it to be the White Knight's chiefest town, informed the Captain thereof, who instantly had hanged the guide for his traitorly practice, if by any other means he could have returned home. The country in this meantime being assembled (our men having then passed ten miles homeward) overtook them, and the White Knight's second son had speech with Captain Harvey, who told him that he was sorry that his traitorly guide for private malice had so vilely deceived him, and that he would not fail to satisfy his father when he came unto me for any harm that was received, to his content. But the young man, following the advice of one Garrett McShane (who lately was a notable traitor), thinking [it] not possible for so small a company to withstand his greater force, which consisted of 120 pikes and

1600.

160 shot and 18 horse, would needs fight, and gave a charge, wherein their foot came to join with ours within two pikes' length, and then brake. In this conflict there were slain and hurt about sixty on their side, and amongst them Garrett McShane, the leader and procurer of this fight, was slain by Captain Harvey. Of our men some few were hurt, but none slain. Captain Harvey received a shot on his morion, a blow with a pike in his back (but escaped killing by the benefit of his buff coat), and had his horse slain under him. The White Knight (upon knowledge of the truth of this accident) condemned his people for their folly to enforce a fight, having no harm intended them, nor any done, but the burning of that one house, confessing them to be well lost. But yet for his better satisfaction (albeit his men are not to be excused) the traitorly guide had his due reward, wherewith the White Knight departed from me (as he protested) very well satisfied. The skirmish hath been the best performed of any of long time in this country, and the rather considering the inequality of numbers, and their long and wearisome march; for of late (by what new valour I know not) they have esteemed their foot far to exceed ours. From Moyallo, the 23rd of this instant, I came to this town, from whence, as more matter worthy of relation shall be offered, I will from time to time humbly present the same to your Lordships."—Cork, 1600, August 25. Signed. pp. 6.

Encloses:—

88. i. *Florence McCarthy to Sir George Carew.* "Your letters were safely delivered unto me, which had assuredly cost the messenger his life, if he had been taken by the way. And as for your Lordship's doubt therein whether I stand firmly your friend or no, because it is so long since your Lordship heard from me, I am, I assure your Lordship, and shall be ever found, a true subject to the Queen's most sacred Majesty, and a poor true old friend of your Lordship, and as faithful to your Lordship's chiefest friends in England as I can for my life; otherwise God let me not live. Neither should your Honour miss to hear at all times from me, if I had means to have my letters safely conveyed or delivered, as your Lordship may judge by my last several letters, which (as God judge me) I sent hid or stitched up in women's apparel; the one of which women went safe to your Lordship to Limerick, by Mr. Marshal's means, and the other went safe to my Lord of Thomond, by whom she sent her letters. By the contents of which letters your Lordship perceived my mind and intention towards Her Majesty's service, and the advancement of your Lordship's reputation. For I am sure your Lordship found no greater resistance than I told you, neither did myself, nor any of my people or of all my country, assist or relieve any rebels or others against your Lordship, as I promised, more than that my brother went down to Castlelisen with the Kellys, who promised him upon any good opportunity to take away my brother-in-law, O'Sullivan More, from Dermott O'Connor, for the which he stayed, when the Geraldines with their Earl were taken by Dermott O'Connor, and did his best against Dermott for the recovering of the prisoners, in hope to recover O'Sullivan. And after the Geraldines were got out,

1600.

he stayed there still, until for want of victuals there remained not above six with him. At which time I protest I had been there with seven or eight hundred and had recovered my brother-in-law, but that I was sure you would be persuaded that I had gone thither to assist rebels. But if I had then recovered my brother-in-law, O'Sullivan, I assure your Lordship both he and I, or at the least myself, had been at the Glin with you, or at Carrigofoyle, at your first coming thither. At the receiving of your Lordship's letters now, I was (thinking little thereof) over the mountains of Mangirtagh [Mangerton], to pacify a mortal controversy for land between the best and chiefest gentlemen here, thereby to keep them from killing one another. At the first I endeavoured to prepare myself to ride unto your Lordship, and had, I assure your Lordship, ventured it upon the sudden, if I had any good company of horsemen. For want whereof I sent to gather my people, for I cannot for my life keep many companies of footmen here a long time together in one place for want of victuals, but must disperse them into divers cantreds of the country. And before they came, I understood that your Lordship's forces were come to Clanmorris, and that the Geraldines' forces were come over the mountains, the rest being gathered here in Kerry and Clanmorris. Whereby I could not see how I might go with any safety for my country or person. For if I had gone, I should go headlong without any assurance for my safe return from your Lordship and the Earl of Thomond, and should go into a country far off, where I had no knowledge nor friendship nor place of retreat, until I had spoken with your Lordship or the Earl of Thomond, being also ignorant of the intention of the forces which your Lordship sent to Clanmorris towards me, who stood in my way, and [being] assured that the Geraldines would cut me and all my people in pieces, if they found me going to your Lordship; and, if they had missed me, that they would spoil all my country, and place Dermot McOwen or some one of my name there, and write and blaze such matters of me as I should never have my brother-in-law, O'Sullivan, who is at Tyrone's disposition; this also being a very commodious time for the rebels of Munster to alter and undo this country, both by reason of O'Sullivan More's absence, and the dissension and controversy that is betwixt the rest of the chiefest men here. If it please your Lordship to send for me at any time when these forces of the Geraldines are dispersed, I will not fail, if I have any safe way, to go to your Lordship and to my Lord of Thomond upon good assurance; for I will not trust myself into any others' hands, having already passed twelve years in several prisons. The number of forces that James McThomas brought with him over the mountains now is above 300 foot, being 400 or well near, and somewhat less than twenty horsemen. Thomas Oge joined with him with above 100 foot and five or six horsemen. This much I learned certainly of one of this country that was there among them. The freeholders or follower[s] of Kerry, I cannot certainly tell what number they will make. The Lord FitzMorris hath some 200 foot or very

1600.

little more ; the Knight of Kerry hath 300, and about a dozen horsemen upon the sudden, and one hundred footmen more within three or four days' warning. He is my cousin, and one that is allied to me, and that I have won to follow my counsel ; but the hard usage of my nephew, O'Connor of Kerry, and the taking of his castle from him, myself having persuaded him to go to your Lordship [Sir George Carew writes on the margin : —' O'Connor did never send or come unto me until the Glan was taken, and two cannon in a boat ready to sail to his castle of Carrigofoyle '] ; and having dealt with your Lordship and the Earl of Thomond for him at Cork, doth make a great number loath to be persuaded by me. Yet notwithstanding I have persuaded the Knight of Kerry, and [he] is sworn to follow mine advice upon coming of some of your Lordship's forces to Clanmorris. I wished him to send all his cattle over the Maine, for he hath lands of his own there by my country ; and, if his cattle were come, I would be surer of his being ruled by me. He hath written unto me, whose letter, together with James McThomas his letter, I do send to your Lordship [wanting] ; beseeching your Lordship, if you have letters out of England for me from Sir Robert and Sir Walter and Sir John Stanhope, to deliver them to my nephew O'Connor, for upon Mr. Secretary and Sir Walter I dare put myself, or venture myself anywhere. I believe I might better come to your Lordship at Thomond or Limerick than here, for I would (whensoever you would have me) have you to give me some time to provide for the safety of my country, whiles I were (sic) absent with your Lordship ; for I could, if I had any good convenient place to meet my Lord of Thomond. I would go, upon your Lordship's word in writing, and my Lord's faith for my sending safe into my country, with him to Thomond or Limerick ; or else, if your Lordship and my Lord of Thomond can direct any surer course for my safety until I had met yourselves, I will be ready to do it. At Cork I might go in my own strength within eight miles thereof, and within four or five miles of Kinsale."—*The Palace*, 1600, August 2. [Post-script.] "If Sir Charles Wilmott do continue in any place here, he shall never, I assure you, receive no hurt by me, nor by any of my country, neither will I omit to offord him any succour that I may conveniently, if he be near me in any extremity." Copy certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 2.

88. ii. Florence McCarthy to Sir George Carew. "Since the writing of my other letter, there is the chiefest follower that followed Donnell McCarthy taken by some of my people and brought to me. He was going from Donnell McCarthy to the Earl of Desmond, or rather to James McThomas. He had a letter in Irish, which I interpreted, the contents whereof is, that if the Earl do send for him sufficient gentlemen to assure him that he shall come and go safe, he will come to him, and will take any indifferent portion at my hands before the Earl. Which if I will not, and that the Earl will not take his part, he takes God to witness that it is not his fault to go against the holy action. At the writing hereof, there came a third letter to

1600.

me from Desmond, because that at the first I wrote to him and told him plainly that I would not go to him to meet him, not to parley with him, be[cause I was] determined to write to your Lordship; which, as I hear, made mightily . . . , and thereupon wrote this letter, which I do send your Lordship hereincloused [wanting]. Thus being not resolved what to do, before I hear from your Lordship and the great boar of Thomond, I humbly take leave, this 2 of August, 1600." [Postscript.] "If your Lordship do find any safe way for me to come unto you, send my nephew O'Connor to me, but he cannot come too safe. I was parleying with James McThomas at his last being here, and went with him to the Island, in hope to get his letters for the delivery of O'Sullivan, but could not. And where it was blazed through the country then that I should join with him, or promise to help or assist him, I renounce God and my Christianity if ever I promised to join with him, or ever meant it, which doth make me marvel what row he speaks of." Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

88. iii. Declaration of Garrett Liston.

"Garrett Liston, of Skehanaghe in the county of Limerick, gentleman, being in actual rebellion with James FitzThomas, attended him into the county of Kerry, to a village (possessed before the rebellion by James Hussey) called Bollaghafenan, being near two miles distant from Castlemaine, whither, about five weeks since, Florence McCarthy, guarded by 100 foot, under the leading of Morrogh ne Moe, came. Where, after they had saluted each other, Florence took upon him to excuse himself to James FitzThomas for not having met the said James with his forces, to join both their forces together according to some former agreement concluded upon between them, to fight with the Lord President and Her Majesty's army, and alleged for the reason of his absence that it would have been a great weakening to that opinion which the country conceived of their strength, and an utter overthrow to their credits, if they two (with their joint forces), being the chief actors and supporters of the action should be together, and not able to put the Lord President to the worst, which Florence seemed much to mistrust; and, after his excuses had pacified James Fitz-Thomas in the hearing and presence of McAuliff, Thomas Oge, Moriertagh McSheehy, John Ulick, and me the said Garrett Liston, that he would continue with James FitzThomas in this action, and take such part therein as he did, and, although James FitzThomas would give over this rebellion (which Florence termed a just war), yet he himself would keep life in it, so long as he could get anyone to follow him, if O'Neill himself would hold out with him, with whom he was sworn and resolved to sink or swim. And hereupon James and his chief gentlemen being satisfied they departed, James to the castle of the Currans, where he lay that night, and Florence lodged at Mollaghkeef, which was the house wherein Mr. Nicholas Browne dwelt."—[1600, August.] Unsigned. p. 1.

88. iv. Sir George Carew to Florence McCarthy. "I have received your letter, and do by the same perceive the continuance

1600.

of your loyal disposition, which I do rejoice at, for I should be exceeding sorry to understand the contrary. For my particular, I never held but an assured opinion of your fidelity to Her Majesty, from whom you have received such infinite graces, and the like your friends and mine are persuaded of you in England. Yet nevertheless I may not omit in friendship to admonish you to take a more plain course; for, albeit that we do conceive of you as you profess and we believe you to be, yet remember the duty of a subject, which is not only to be internally sound, but apparently by overt actions to demonstrate the same. The country you hold is by the favour and bounty of your Sovereign, who will not permit you to receive any detriment or loss by serving of her, without reward to your content. The party that the world conceives you adhere unto, is an unnatural traitor, usurping counterfeit titles to abuse fools to run his desperate fortune, who is already no better than a wood-kern, and followed of a few poor men that already are ready to leave him. Your discretion leads you to know that no monarch in Europe is able to maintain a war in Ireland with Her Majesty, much less a titular Earl of his own making. The example of the last rebellion by him that had a just title to an Earldom, may persuade sufficiently men of discretion to avoid the danger that his complices did fall into. I do not use these speeches that any doubt rests in me of your faith to your Sovereign, but only to advise you to cast off the imputation of slander which now follows you by holding the neutral course which hitherto you have entertained. I cannot nor will not commit to paper all that I could and would say upon this subject, but do refer it to speech, praying you as you have promised me in your letter to come presently unto me. My Lord of Thomond and I will either tarry for you at Carrigohoulough in Thomond, or else we will come over the water to meet you at the Feynitt. And because you may know that I do understand that you may come safely unto me, you may pass over the Manig to the Knight of Kerry, and by him you may be conveyed either into Thomond or to the Feynitt. John O'Connor, your nephew, shall meet you at any place where you shall appoint him; but herein you must use no delay, for as in my last letter, so in this, in cases of this importance no excuse may be admitted. With these you shall receive a letter from Sir John Stanhope. Sir Walter Raleigh is not at the Court, but at Shirburne. Mr. Secretary tells me that Sir John Stanhope's letter will suffice, and therefore doth forbear to write, but not to be your friend, except you run that course which will make your enemies to rejoice, and cause your friends to be sorry. But his opinion yet is no less confident than mine, which is, that nothing shall remove you from your loyalty, but yet with me doth not allow of your neutral course, and so he willed me to tell you. To be short, if you love the continuance of your estate in happiness, and have regard to your duty and reputation, which above all other respects is chiefly to be preferred, cast off all underhand temporising, and fight for her who hath advanced your fortunes, and believe that she that is able to make

1600.

the greatest monarch in Europe to sue for a peace will evermore support you against those petty companions that disturb the quiet of this kingdom, whose days are few, and will in short time perish either by famine or sword. You shall also receive with these, as you have desired, a safe-conduct for yourself and as many as you shall bring with you. So bid you farewell with this verse of Ovid, Nil mihi rescribas attamen ipse veni."—Carrigofoyle, 1600, August 4. Copy certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 1½.

August 26.
Kilkenny.

89. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Now that the Lord Archbishop of Cashel is again repaired over into England (upon what occasion I know not), I thought good to acquaint you with a copy of a letter pretended to be written from him unto me, of the date of the 9th of April last, which I never received, nor did understand of any such, but by a supposed copy of it, which he found mean[s] to send to Sir George Bouchier, being here with me, which I received not till the 4th of August. The date of his said letter, if any such were, meeting jump with the day before my late unfortunate taking by the traitors, and coming after my delivery in sort as it did, maketh me vehemently presume that there was no such original letter written at all, according to the date and place therein mentioned. But that, and what is therein contained, I leave to your good consideration, the adjoined schedule, mentioned towards the end of the same, being not sent with this copy. In the proceeding whereof this matter did partly arise, which is concerning a controversy of land between him and O'Dwyer, you may perceive, by the original of his letter herewith sent, what he hath written to me of his attendance all the last sessions at Clonmell to answer any the said Lord Archbishop's causes according to course of law, but he neither came, nor any for him; so as if he should seem now to inform that he could not have justice, or that I was not, or am not, ready to perform Her Majesty's pleasure towards him in any his reasonable causes, he must impute the fault thereof to his own absence, nothing in this world binding me more (according to duty) than to observe the directions and commandment of Her Highness, howsoever the Archbishop may inform the contrary in this particular of his own; and so I doubt not but Her Majesty will censure of me.

"As soon as I did understand from my Lord Deputy of his coming towards Leix, I presently repaired towards him with such forces as on the sudden I could gather together. In which journey his Lordship had very happy success, to cut off that notorious traitor Onie McRory, and also one Callogh McWalter, the second best leader in the country, which I thought good to make known unto you. And in his further travel through Leix and Upper Ossory, I, accompanying his Lordship (without all regard to such of my pledges as are holden there, whatsoever hath been maliciously by some of my backfriends, either there or here, doubted or given forth to the contrary), did give him my best advice and counsel for suppressing of the barbarous traitors in those countries, both by such spoil in their corn and cattle and otherwise, as they will feel the smart of it in a good while after. Wherein for the country of

1600.

Upper Ossory, I must plainly say that they have been from the beginning chief relievers and supporters of the traitors in Leix, and in other parts of Leinster, and of themselves continual traitors in all actions. I have (God be thanked) recovered some of my pledges, and am in hope of the rest, by such means as I have plotted for them, acknowledging myself much beholden therein to such help as the Lord Deputy hath given me, which I must undoubtedly believe came of the special care Her Highness had of me; beseeching you that in your next despatch unto his Lordship you will let him know how thankfully I take it at his hands."—Kilkenny, 1600, August 26. *Endorsed*:—Received at Oatlands 6 September. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

Encloses :—

89. i. Milerus [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to the Earl of Ormonde. "I am given to understand by a letter from the Lords of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council that your Lordship informed them that I in choler should compare [*? myself*] with your Lordship in birth or gentility. Which, if it were true, might be judged both arrogantly and absurdly done by me. And although I might prove myself not to be altogether void of gentility, if an Irishman may claim the like (as I know some may do), yet I protest I never did, nor thought to, compare with your Lordship in any point, otherwise than to say that I thought myself to be as true a subject as any other. And when your Lordship said you scorned to have such a companion as I, then to my remembrance I said no more but that in other countries it was not thought scorn for an Earl to have a man of my place and calling to accompany him in reputation. These be the comparisons as I remember; which words of mine, howsoever your Lordship construed them, were neither spoken in disdain nor malice to your Lordship, as God knoweth. And, my good Lord, I am sure you remember that I was then termed no better by your Lordship than a scurvy friar, a knave and a liar, very unfit terms for a man of my profession and age, together with threatening to be beaten withal, adding to my greater grief than the rest, that you thought O'Dwyer (being such as he is) to be a better subject and servitor to Her Majesty than myself. These words, with the rest of mine usage then, might provoke a man of any reputation to some motion of anger. And, Right Honourable, what it availed me to have my calling in the Church, and your Lordship knowing the same to proceed from Her Majesty in such trust and countenance as it is, except I may freely reprehend without dissimulation such as deserve it, both in God's cause and Her Majesty's, and specially in your presence, whom I always hoped to be my patron, or any man else to defend the cause, and being authorized by Her Majesty for the same purpose, by whom little before you were required to see me specially assisted. Yet, my good Lord, both for the charity that ought to be in one of my profession, and the reverence I did always bear to your honourable person, with the instruction I received from my honourable Lords of the Council in England, I am content, and will not be ashamed, if your Lordship, or any man else that knoweth pre-eminence of

1600.

callings, dignities, and degrees, judge my speeches therein to deserve punishment, to submit myself to the same, and do heartily therefore beseech your good Lordship to accept of it, as proceeding from one that doth both honour and love you, and rather to attend the calamity wherein your poor country now consisteth than afflicto affixionem (sic), addere to which matter (according Her Majesty's opinion of me) your Lordship and all others in Her Highness [s] name shall use my simple experience and poor ability. And, my good Lord, albeit my mind was mightily clogged for that any man should note a dislike between your Lordship and me, and specially in these extreme days, yet did I not mean in any sort to acquaint any other with the same, till your Lordship were either reconciled of yourself, or else by mine own entreaty. But since it pleased your Lordship to move the Lords of the Council with the same, I shall desire your Lordship to give me leave to complain to yourself, wherein I was and am yet grieved; which in particularity here I do adjoin in a special schedule, to be by your Honour considered, and then to pronounce your sentence, which I will endure as far forth as I shall be able, not doubting but your Lordship shall therein receive me to your former favour, and remedy all the causes of my grief."—Waterford, 1600, April 9. Copy. Underneath the Archbishop has written and signed the following note, "This is the true copy of the letter written by me the day and place above written." Endorsed:—Received by Sir George Bouchier the 4th of August, 1600. pp. 2.

89. ii. Der[by] O'Dwyer to the Earl of Ormonde. "It is so that a man of the Lord Archbishop of Cashel came to my house yesterday, and left there the copy of a letter or commandment procured by him from the Lord President of Munster, commanding me to satisfy unto the said Lord Archbishop and his children and tenants their just demands for such lands, goods, chattels and munition as he supposed to be wrongfully taken or kept from him by me, as by the said copy, which I do send your Honour hereinclosed, may appear unto you. Your Lordship may call to remembrance that, at such time as the Lord Archbishop shewed unto you certain letters brought by him out of England from the Queen's most excellent Majesty, your Lordship then answered that for the lands in controversy between the Lord Archbishop and me, and for such other demands as he hath against me (seeing you were no ordinary judge to determine those matters), that you would refer the determination and ordering of them to the Seneschal and Justice of your liberty, to be ended by them at the assizes to be holden in the said liberty according the course of law; except in the mean time Mr. Gerrott Comerford, Her Majesty's Attorney in Connaught, and Mr. John Everard, arbitrators chosen by his Lordship and me to end the said controversy, might determine the same. And for that the said arbitrators could not be drawn together to end the same, I attended at the last assizes holden at Clonmell within the liberty, with my learned counsel, expecting the Lord Archbishop's coming hither touching these causes, whereby they might be there determined according the course of Her Majesty's laws;

1600.

where the Lord Archbishop came not in person, nor by attorney, so as (by mean of his absence) nothing could be done therein. Whereby your Lordship may perceive that the fault is in him and not in me; whereof I mean to advertise my Lord President, whereby his Lordship may understand what indirect course the Lord Archbishop do take in following this cause, which I doubt not will satisfy his Lordship. I understand he carried the original commandment sent from the Lord President unto me with him, and left the said copy, purposing to shew the said letter in England, and to exclaim there against me to Her Majesty and the Lords of Her Highness['s] most honourable Privy Council, where he hath no cause of complaint. Whereof I thought good to advertise your Honour, humbly praying your good Lordship to advertise the Lords of the Council of his indirect dealing and practices touching this cause."—Miltown, 1600, July 27. Endorsed:—Received the 29 of July, 1600. Signed. pp. 1½.

89. iii. Order from Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, to Derby FitzPhilip O'Dwyer, of Miltown within the county of Cross, "now Sheriff of the liberty of Tipperary," to satisfy the just demands of the Archbishop of Cashel and his children and tenants.—Castle of the Glan, 1600, July 9. Attested copy. p. 1.

- August 26. 90. Receipt by Edward Brewen, servant of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, for the sum of 10,000*l.* sterling, to pay Her Majesty's forces in Munster.—1600, August 26. It is noted that the 300*l.* assigned for the Earl of Thomond is paid to his Lordship's man in Dublin. Signed, "Edward Brune." p. 1.

- August 27. 91. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Captain
Cork. Francis Cotesmore, who is repairing to the Court of England. His long and good service in Ireland under Sir Thomas Norreys and the writer.—Cork, 1600, August 27. Signed. p. ½.

- August 27. 92. Hugh Cuff to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges the favours
Cork. he has received from the late Lord Burghley and from Sir Robert. The estate of Munster stands thus. The bonnaughts under the conduct of Dermond O'Connor, with Burke and divers others, to the number of 2,000, are departed out of the province. Almost 1,200 of the enemy have been slain. The rest for the most part have been taken in; so that the remainder that follows their supposed Earl, with Florence McCarthy, Piers Lacy, Thomas Oge, the Knight of the Valley, young McMorris, the late Lord of Lixnaw's son, with others, is not above 2,000. Thus there is good hope that, unless the Spaniards, who are daily expected, come, all will be quiet in Munster in a very short time, "but how long it will endure, it is doubtful." Has set down at large his opinion herein to the President, "the which forasmuch as his Lordship vowed unto me by Christ that he liked the same exceedingly well (saving that it

1600.

came a little too soon), it hath encouraged me to send the same hereinclosed [*wanting*], whereby your Honour may understand the true estate of this province for the time to come.”—Cork, 1600, August 27. *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

August 27.
Derry.

93. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. “I had rather acknowledge an error in time, while it may be amended, than, by seeking to cover it, incur a greater inconvenience. In my despatch made by Sir John Bolles, I desired a supply of seven or eight hundred men; in that by Mr. Parkins, of 1,000. I have since more thoroughly considered our estate, and viewed the troops man by man more particularly (by reason of my hurt) than I could do whiles he was here. I assure your Honour we have not in this place at the Derry above 300 sufficient fighting men, at Dunalong scarce 400, and in all places together not above 800. Our artificers are as scant, for had we not of late received from Dublin a supply of six carpenters and five masons, we had not now had any man to lay a stone, or cut a piece of timber. The works we have yet of necessity to do are infinite. Our men daily fall down, beyond expectation and almost all credit. The weather is already grown wonderful stormy, even such as no man can conceive that feeleth it not. The Irish that have stood out from the beginning have knowledge of all; they cease not to work all the means they can possibly to take their advantage. Those that have stood upon terms of coming in temporise, and expect what the next despatch will bring, that cometh from England. Those that are with us, I fear have scarce so much honesty, but even already begin to prepare their way to a revolt. I speak it not upon certainty, but the manner of their carriage, and the words they let fall, joined to uncertain reports coming from other parts, make me much suspect it. Sir Arthur O'Neill is lodged with the garrison at Dunalong. The place was first taken to satisfy his request, and to the end he might have commodity to draw his followers together, being on the other side of the river, and the place itself part of his own country. Under the colour of these followers, we have harboured many rebels that have come in and gone out again at their pleasure. Notwithstanding I have held a course that no man should be received but where he would give his word, for he is of late grown into open terms of discontentment, for none other cause but that requiring more money, I advised him first to do some service worthy of that he had already. He holdeth me still in expectation of Neale Garve's coming in, and the party that worketh it is one of his men. For this cause I appease his discontentment, and give him for the present whatsoever he demandeth. That done, his men begin a quarrel with the garrison, wherein they both presently betook them to their arms. In the brawl, one of his men is slain, by whom appeareth no manner [of] proof. Notwithstanding, he requireth justice, and seeing no man found to execute it upon, with any pretence of equity, he maketh it a new cause of dislike. His mind is violently bent upon revenge, and, being of itself subject to other men's humours,

1600.

is in this case strangely transported from all reason. I protest, before God, knew I the man that justly deserved it, no man living should more willingly deliver him into his hands than I. But to satisfy his appetite with an innocent man's blood, I had rather endure the hazard of his disloyalty, whatsoever danger it put me unto. The conclusion of all is this, I withdraw him from Dunalong to the place where I am myself. I hold him on with fair words, and with an honest pretence am resolved to send him away with the next shipping to Dublin. In the mean time I must of necessity adventure what his, or his followers', malice will work upon us, and that at a time when our forces are weak, and our fortifications not half made up. I beseech your Honour, whatsoever my demand was before, we may now be supplied with 2,000 men, whereof 1,000 armed, or order given to the Master of the Ordnance, that the Captains may be furnished out of the store; but so as neither the soldier be charged with that unreasonable rate, which yet he setteth upon them, nor yet the Captain bear the loss of arming his soldier upon his own purse, which were a charge intolerable, and, to say truth, not in their powers possibly to have amended in this place. I have written thus much, chiefly by reason of this accident fallen between Sir Arthur's men and us; and not unwillingly I laid hold on the occasion, for that I saw the error which I had committed before in making demand of so few men. I beseech your Honour construe it favourably, and pardon whatsoever may seem amiss, for it proceedeth from none other but a faithful and serviceable heart."—The Derry, 1600, August 27. *Endorsed*:—Received at London, 8 September. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

August 28.
Dublin.

94. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Before the general letters which I brought were read in Council, I acquainted the Lord Deputy privately with some observations committed to me by your Lordships, tending to reform some abuses in the government, and particularly to encounter the misdemeanours of the Captains and soldiers. I told his Lordship that these insolencies and looseness passing in the army, the longer they were suffered, the more they would blemish his government. And as, upon those enormities of the army, the Palemen take occasion to collect their books of complaint, which the Lord Howth, &c., exhibited to your Lordships, so Her Majesty and your Lordships, being grieved that the subjects of Ireland should be driven to recur to Her Highness for justice in those manner of wrongs, charged me (besides the public letter) to recommend the care to reform them to his Lordship, which would be a service acceptable to Her Majesty, and honourable to himself. Wherein, to give his Lordship as deep a feeling as I could, I gave to him in writing summary notes tending to the same purpose, the doubles whereof I have sent to your Honour herewith [*wanting*], holding it both duty and reason for me to answer faithfully that part of my charge, howsoever it might be or was taken here. But to keep that these prohibitions should not distaste his Lordship to a discouragement, I told his Lordship withal how much he stood in Her Majesty's good opinion and favour, that no subject could be more bound to his Prince for sundry honourable reports she made

1600.

of him, than his Lordship was; yea, she desired that the service of Ireland might prosper under him rather than under any that had gone before him; and to that end she was careful to have him admonished to eschew his predecessors' errors, which led them astray in her service. Then I acquainted him how careful your Honour was in particular to bear up all his doings, to cross his enviers, and still to be at hand to feed Her Majesty's gracious inclination towards him. I told him how desirous you were that his Lordship should give some honourable blow to this rebellion, that your Honour might make it a ground for you to work his revocation with some honourable provisions at home. This I found to taste better with his Lordship than the other, and yet I saw not but a very inward desire to reform those abuses of the soldiers, and to plant a better agreement between the army and the subjects of the Pale, which humour I doubt not he will hold firm, notwithstanding all contrary workings, for his Lordship is inwardly a lover of justice, and carrieth his authority to countenance the same, and to keep the subjects in contentment.

"Notwithstanding the present wants of money and victuals, the journey into Ulster is to go on the 12th of the next month, where I doubt not to have a garrison planted at Armagh with small resistance. But the victualling of it for four or five months must come from thence, which I hope will be done before we pass thither. I hear no more of the fleet of Spaniards mentioned in my last, which maketh me think it was one of Tyrone's old forged rumours, by which he was wont to abuse his confederates. Yet his priests and other instruments are still sent abroad to seduce both the rebels and subjects of Leinster with this ridiculous hope of the coming of Spaniards. The Archduke sent one Standish [*in margin*:—"or Stanhust" (? Stanihurst)] to Tyrone about 20 days past, whom Tyrone hath returned with reward; but what his business was is not known. I told the Lord Deputy of this, and I am bold to advertise it to your Honour, that you may see how Spain laboureth still to bear up the rebellion of Ireland. And the Archduke, for all his protestations to peace, is an underhand minister for them to trouble Her Majesty in Ireland, though he do use fair shows to the contrary. Tyrone's priests report that before Michaelmas there will be a great army of Spaniards either in England or Ireland. But the Irish begin now to faint in that hope, specially since the late cutting off of Onie McKory in Leix, which was an honourable service done by the Lord Deputy.

"I understand the garrison at Lough Foyle groweth weak by sickness of their men, and late loss of their horses. Your Honour knoweth that that army of Lough Foyle is the main ground to pull down this great rebellion of Ulster, and therefore to be supported and kept in strength by a special care above the rest. It is good your Honour would consider to supply them with men before winter, and to write to the Lord Deputy to use all the care he can on this side to give them help. The undertakers have faulted greatly towards your Lordships in deferring so long their proportion of victuals, which by the contract should have here in good time to answer the journey for Ulster; and they have done thereby as much as in them lay to hazard that service, the same being of as

1600.

great consequence as any that hath been intended since this rebellion. They have not wanted wind to serve their turn, which taketh from them all excuse.”—Dublin, 1600, August 28. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

August 28.
Cork.

95. Allen Apsley to the Privy Council. By a warrant from Auditor Gofton and Auditor Ware in July last, he made his immediate repair to Dublin, since which he received their Lordships' directions, whereby it seems some suggestion has been made against his willingness. Hopes that his importuning for the taking of his accounts, and his repairing twice to Dublin only for that purpose, may satisfy as to his desire to yield his accounts. Hitherto these have been delayed to his great danger and charges in passing this broken time between Dublin and Cork, being 120 miles, besides the damage he is subject to in trusting others to discharge the duty of his place. His accounts have to go from Cork to Dublin, from Dublin to their Lordships, from their Lordships to the President and Council of Munster, and from them, by a new direction, again to Dublin, “and there again frustrate.” Has not near so competent means as the occasions and service continually importune. Begs that his accounts may be taken with all convenience.—Cork, 1600, August 28. [*Postscript.*] Has delivered to the Lord President of Munster the state and remain of the victual in that province on the 26th instant. His Lordship will forward the same in his packet. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

[Aug. 28.]

96. The causes of suspicion against McSwine Ne Doe.

His “very expostulating and discontented fashion.” His desire for a company in the Queen's pay referred to the Lord Deputy. Courtesies of Sir Henry Dockwra to McSwine. Apologies of the latter, and reconciliation with Sir Henry. McSwine's messenger into O'Donnell's country. Return of the messenger with another Irishman, “bearing the habit and profession of a scholar.” Both brought by McSwine to Sir Henry. Reported discovery of three great ships off Ballyshannon. Both men sent to see if these are Spaniards. O'Donnell and the McSwines. News of a composition between O'Donnell and McSwine Ne Doe. The latter charged by Sir Henry with it, and acknowledges its truth. McSwine committed to Captain Fleming's ship. Return of McSwine's messenger to Sir Henry's camp. His examination and confession as to the composition with O'Donnell. Further proofs of the same. Examination of two intelligencers sent into O'Donnell's country.—[1600, August 28.] *Signed by Sir Henry Dockwra. pp. 6½.*

August 29.
Derry.

97. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. “My letters being sealed up and delivered to the messenger that stayed but for a tide to be gone, Captain Fleming's men, into whose ship I had committed McSwine Ne Doe, with special charge of safe looking to him, bring me word of his escape. The manner of it was thus. He kept his bed of a disease, which the surgeon of the army testifieth he was troubled withal in deed, and, having the repair of a lewd

1600.

woman whom he kept (notwithstanding I had expressly forbidden her coming unto him), got knowledge when the boat was gone about other business, and suddenly rose naked from his bed, the woman opening the cabin door at the very instant, and so leaped first into the waist of the ship above hatches, and thence presently into the river. One shot with a great piece was only made after him, and the alarm given of his departure; but all in vain, for in sight of most of our men he recovered the shore on O'Cahan's side, and so away, before any boat or man we sent after could overtake him. The loss, more than the miss of due punishing a traitor, I think not great; for though he should have more credit with the rebel than I am persuaded he shall ever have, we shall yet easily prevent whatsoever he should attempt upon us. I made choice of the ship to keep him in, rather than at land, because I thought it a place of far more security, and had long ere this dispatched him away to my Lord Deputy, with such accusations and evidence as I had gathered against him, but that the tempestuousness and contrariety of the winds hindered the passage of all shipping even to this day, and might well excuse this vessel that carries my letters, but that I press her forth by a kind of necessity for Her Majesty's service. This accident I would not withhold from your Honour's knowledge, having nothing else to add thereunto."—The Derry, 1600, August 29. *Endorsed*:—Received at London, 8 September. *Holograph*. *Seal*. pp. 2.

August 29.
Cork.

98. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. On his return to Cork on the 23rd instant, he received a letter from their Lordships "of an old date the 27th of May," with an inventory enclosed of certain munitions taken out of a ship of war at Waterford that appertained to the States of the United Provinces. Explains how they came into the store at Waterford, and the few things he has had therefrom. Will write further when he has received the certificate from the Clerk of the Ordnance at Waterford.

Another letter from their Lordships of the 25th of May, he received at the same time by the Mayor of Cork, with an abstract enclosed of the petitions made by that city for the enlargement of their charters. As soon as he may have convenient leisure, and the advice and help of others of the Council, he will return their opinions to their Lordships. Received likewise one other letter, dated in July, touching the Lady Sentleger, the examination whereof shall not be neglected.

By their letter of July 13, in the behalf of Mr. Hyde, whose estate deserves no less commiseration than their Lordships conceive, they direct that Hyde, his son, and three servants, shall be put into Her Majesty's pay. Is very willing to do this, and has given Hyde knowledge thereof. But by conference with him, finds that he expects the leading of a company of foot. Cannot do this, as the Lord Deputy has reserved the same to himself. Nor can he increase Her Majesty's charge. But, if Hyde will serve in either horse or foot company as a private gentleman, then he will do the best he can for him. In answer to their Lordships' letters of the 28th of July, for the sending of Apsley the victualler to Dublin to perfect

1600.

his accounts, before the receipt thereof he directed Apsley thither ; who went, and has returned, but the Commissioners had left Dublin before he got there. His trust in Apsley's discretion and honesty. Sends certificate of the receipts and store of Her Majesty's victuals at Cork. As to victuals hereafter to be sent, begs that two parts thereof may go to the river of Limerick, and the third part to Cork ; also, that " somewhat more than the one half " of the portion for Limerick may be commanded to come to an anchor at Carrigohough in Thomond, a safe and very commodious place for victualling the garrison in Kerry, consisting of 1,050 foot and 75 horse. The rest of the portion to be sent to the town of Limerick, to victual the garrison of Askeaton, consisting of 700 foot and 50 horse. To expect any victuals to be provided in Cork for ready money would but deceive the service, which can be supplied only by victuals from England.

The munitions referred to in their Lordships' letter of the 4th of July have arrived, but have not yet been disbarked. By their letter of the 7th of June, the issue of munitions thenceforward was to be defalked (except on days of service) from the lendings of the companies. Is willed by the Lord Deputy to make stay thereof, until their Lordships' pleasure be further signified to him, the Lord Deputy having written to them in that behalf. Arrival at Cork of 10,000*l.* in treasure. Thanks for the same, and hopes that before its expenditure due consideration will be had of a supply.

On the 23rd of July, when he had passed out of Limerick towards Kerry, he received a letter from their Lordships of the 4th of that month, which did not a little comfort him, because of their acceptance of the beginnings of his services. Will continue to use his best endeavour to deserve further confirmation of the same. Hopes that the account of his proceedings, in his letter of 18 July and in this one, will witness that he has been careful to observe their commandments. In the same letter of July 4, their Lordships inform him that they have directed the Treasurer at Wars to pay him 345*l.* 17*s.* 0*d.* for the fortifying of Limerick Castle, but, as he has already advertised, on a more exact view he found it very unmeet to deserve such an expense, and so he has only constructed some platforms and store-houses, to ease Her Majesty's charge of rent. Has no meaning to put Her Majesty to any needless charge therein.

By Mr. Hyde he received their Lordships' letter of the 20th of July, concerning the company of horse to supply the weak troops of Munster. The number of 44 men were to have come ; has received only 36. Sends in proof a certificate under the hand of the Commissary who viewed them. Leaves it to their Lordships to deal with the deficient. " Since when the horsemen sent with them, having understood much of the hardness of the service of this country, have made very earnest suit to be returned ; and because I found here a greater want of horses than horsemen, our horses being most decayed, I did the rather consent to give them licence therein, and with their horses and arms to furnish such as had long served in the troops, and thereby acquainted with the hardness of the country, and more able to endure the burden thereof, than to retain such as I found unwilling, and would not in long time have been made fit to continue the same. Besides, the holding of them against

1600.

their desires would have been in very short time the decay of the horses, and thereby have much prejudiced the service. But if herein I have done anything against your Lordships' purposes, I do pray that you will be pleased to remit it, having (in my judgment) done that which is most beneficial for the service."—Cork, 1600, August 29. *Endorsed* :—Received 6 September at Oatlands. *Signed*. pp. 4.

Encloses :—

98. i. "*The particular certificate of such victual as hath been delivered at the port of Cork in Munster, by the agents of Mr. Wood, unto the Commissary of the victuals there, for the relief of Her Majesty's forces, between the 20th of May and the 25th of August, 1600.*"—1600, August 26. Signed by Allen Apsley. pp. 2.

98. ii. "*The supplies of horse sent from England out of divers shires for the reinforcing of the troops in the province of Munster, as they were mustered at Cork the 25 of August, 1600, and turned over the same day unto several Captains, with the names of the owners, riders furnished, and special marks of their horses.*" Signed by Hugh Cuffe. One sheet.

August 29. **99.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. On behalf of Lord
Cork. Audley, whom he has permitted to repair to England on urgent private affairs.—Cork, 1600, August 29. *Signed*. p. 1.

August 29. **100.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of
Cork. Lord Audley, who is repairing into England on some important private causes. "I do find withal that he hath a purpose to become a suitor to Her Majesty for some estate in the castle and lands of the Glan, a place in itself of reasonable strength, but of no means to incite any man's desire, besides his Lordship's, to make suit for the same, the commodities thereunto are so few. The lands are for the most part wood, mountain, and bog, and no better almost in any place near unto it; so as the reason that moves him most is only to contain the wild neighbours thereof, and to punish them if they should start. The owner thereof followeth the steps of his traitorous ancestors, himself now being one of the most obstinate and rebellious traitors in this province. And therefore, in respect his Lordship hath a special desire thereunto, and may do Her Majesty good service in that place being once settled, I have thought it very convenient to accompany him with my letters unto your Honour in his favour." Lord Audley's good service. He will be found "very respective to merit the increase of" Sir Robert's favourable opinion towards him.—Cork, 1600, August 29. *Signed*. p. 1.

August 29. **101.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Testifying to the
Cork. good service of Captain Richard Greames, and recommending him for the command of a company of foot, in addition to his troop of

1600.

fifty horse.—Cork, 1600, August 29. *In a postscript in his own hand, Sir George states:—“this gentleman is of extraordinary good desert, which makes me to recommend him, and he is worthy of all favour.” Signed. p. 1.*

August 29. **102.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Mr. Alexander Fitton, who is repairing to England. Since the beginning of the troubles, he has followed the service in person, at an extraordinary charge to himself.—Cork, 1600, August 29. *Signed. p. ½.*

August 29. **103.** David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. Is thankful to Sir Robert for his manifold favours, and chiefly for remembering him to Her Majesty. Accepts gratefully the bestowal upon him of a company of 100 foot in Her Majesty's pay. Will never fail to be as forward, ready, and willing as any of his degree or ability. Prays for the dispatch of his servant, who is at Court, and that the Queen would bestow upon himself some horsemen in pay.—Cork, 1600, August 29. *Signed. p. 1.*

August 29. **104.** F[lorence], Baron of Upper Ossory, to Sir Robert Cecil. Received the enclosed letter [*wanting*], as he came towards Chester. It is of “no small comfort” unto him, “in respect that so many of Her Majesty's enemies hath been thus cut off.” Is most beholden to Sir Robert for his honourable favours.—Westchester, 1600, August 29. *Signed. p. ½.*

August 30. **105.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. “In my letter of the 25th of this instant herewith sent [*wanting*], among other particularities therein comprised I did relate unto you a marriage intended, and was (*sic*) near brought to the point of effecting, between the sister of Cormack McDermott, Lord of the country of Muskerry, and James FitzThomas, the counterfeit Earl, which did threaten a strong faction to maintain this rebellion. Since that time I have so diligently pursued the breaking of that league, as I doubt not but that design, which was plotted by Florence McCarthy, is merely frustrated. Donnell McCarthy, base brother to Florence's wife, and son to the Earl of Clancar (who in the beginning of this rebellion was by the country elected to be McCarthy More, that is, to be chief Lord of the country of Desmond, and displaced by Tyrone, at his being in Munster, to erect Florence) hath made his humble submission, and accordingly beseecheth Her Majesty's gracious pardon, requiring no reward but such as his service shall merit, promising faithfully that when I shall intend the prosecution of Florence, with the help of Her Majesty's forces, he hath good hope in a short time to banish him the country. His proffers I entertain, and, according the quality of his service, have promised him to be a means to Her Majesty that she will be pleased to bestow some portion of that land upon him; for the performance whereof, if his deserts shall merit it, I do humbly beseech your Lordships' furtherance.

1600.

“Divers reports are made of Florence, some that he is gone into Spain, others that he will go shortly; and to that effect I have a letter of the White Knight's, dated the 27th of this month, that if he be not gone already, yet he is resolved to go thither. Which makes me to hope (if it be true), that they begin to despair of Spaniards; albeit nothing is more lively in the mouths of all persons of this kingdom, in towns, countries, subjects, or rebels. His errand undoubtedly is to no other purpose than to solicit their coming; and to that end (as I am informed since I came hither), he hath sent, whiles I was in Kerry, one Owen Keggan, a priest, to understand more truly his (*sic* ? their) designs. I have sent to Sir Charles Wilmot, whose garrison neighbours him near, and cannot want good intelligence thereof, and according as I shall be advertised from him (being now more confidently persuaded of his treasons than heretofore), I do intend to prepare for that service. But, before such time as I shall hear from your Lordships again, because I will give no impediment to the garrisons which are now in their harvest, destroying what they may, I shall not be able to look into Desmond, the necessity whereof doth somewhat trouble me, being loath to be engaged in that remote service before these other parts were better settled, especially the time of the year after Michaelmas so ill agreeing for an army in that savage, boggy and mountainous country. In the same letter also of the White Knight's he advertised me that Redmond Burke and Captain Tyrrell with 1,100 bonnaughts are at this present in O'Maughers's country in Ormonde, with a purpose to come further into Munster; but what they intend for the present I do not perfectly know, but sure I am that they have been much laboured by James Fitz Thomas to return hither. I am likewise in the same advertised that John McThomas with three horsemen only is gone into Ulster to procure aid from Tyrone; but I rather think he is stolen away for fear, not daring to abide any longer in these parts, [and am] induced to believe the same because his brother and he in policy do live asunder, for fear of surprising, and these parts about Harlowe (where John remained) have submitted themselves unto Her Majesty, whereby there is no safety for him to continue there.

“Out of Kerry, by report of some of mine own foot company that came from thence (for as yet I have not heard from Sir Charles Wilmot), I hear (and do believe to be true) that the Knight of Kerry hath submitted himself to Her Majesty, and that his brother is the pledge of his loyalty. By my next your Lordships shall of all these be more exactly advertised.

“In June last, a Frenchman of St. Malo in Brittany, called Vicengrave, brought to the Dingle a ship laden with wine and munition, and sold the same to the rebels; himself (returning his ship) stayed in the country (and is yet there) to gather up his debts in such commodities as this country yields, being the payment which he was to receive; and, finding good vent for his merchandises, did take order for his ship's return again to that harbour, laden as before. Who (as I understand) is now returned with others of St. Malo's in her company. For the restraint of such relief, which is no small aid to the rebels, Her Majesty's letters to her Ambassador 'leidge' in France (in my simple judgment) were very necessary,

1600.

to deal with the King in that behalf; but the consideration thereof I humbly leave unto your Lordships' wisdoms.

"Whereas in my former letters I have divers times made suit unto your Lordships that one of the crompters allotted for the service upon this coast might be continued for some longer time in service, which I held to be very necessary, and was very willing to retain, yet [I] was enforced to discharge them both, by reason of inabilities to do any further service. The defects that did disenable them, I do refer unto the reports of the Captains who are returned; and withal do most humbly pray your Lordships to send me such other shipping, of as little or rather less charge, as in my letters to my Lord Admiral by Captain Gawen Harvey I have humbly entreated. The service that shall be effected by them, and the time of their coming hither, is likewise mentioned in that letter, whereunto I most humbly refer you.

"The day I left Limerick, I received from the Lord Deputy (as by direction from your Lordships he was commanded) warrants of entry for the Lord Barry and Charles McCarthy, for either of them to have a company of foot. That for the Lord Barry with the best conveniency I may I will see effected, praying God that his services may prove according to the power that is in him to effect. But the other for Charles is already determined, who died by the time that the warrant came to my hands. The gentleman was of good ability and every way willing to do Her Majesty good service; but whether Her Highness hath gained or lost by his death I rest in doubt, for such was the unreconcilable malice between him and Cormack McDermott, the Lord of Muskerry, his kinsman, about the title of that land, as both they living, the country could never be quiet, which was no little disturbance to the countries adjoining. But since it is necessary that one should be wanting, it had been good for the service [that] the lot had fallen upon Cormack, who is inconstant and ill-disposed, and would (no doubt) be as ill as the rest, if a careful eye were not held over him. But now that his competition is dead (whom he thought the State did more favour than himself, and whereof in truth he was far more worthy), the cause of his discontentment being gone, although his honesty will not be increased, yet I hope to hold him in better terms than heretofore."—Cork, 1600, August 30. *Endorsed*:—Received 6 September at Oatlands. *Signed*. pp. 3.

August 30.
Cork.

106. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "In what sort I found this province of Munster when I first entered into my charge, I need not trouble your Honour with repetitions thereof; [it] being evidently known to all men that since the conquest of Ireland the same was never so much distempered. For no place was free from rebellion, even to the very gates of the cities, and the enemy evermore master of the field, so as Her Majesty's garrisons (being in no better condition than besieged) did but lie in towns for their safety, and the towns so forgetful of their duties, as in them Her Majesty's troops were not well assured. Since which time, by Her Majesty's forces, together with mine own industry, what an alteration is made, both by the common report of those that come from hence and by

1600.

my letters unto the Lords of the Council, is apparent unto you. And, although I do assure myself that in time Her Majesty's army will be able to suppress these proud unnatural traitors, who are not worthy of so divine a princess to be their Sovereign, envied but not imitated by any her neighbour kings, yet the speedy extinguishing of their rebellion, which the zeal of my duty leadeth me to wish and labour to effect, is not like to be performed in so short a time as I desire it should be, except my counsels may be believed and put in execution. Whoso knoweth this kingdom and the people will confess that to conquer the same and them by the sword only is *opus laboris*, and almost may be said to be impossible. And I do verily believe that all the treasure of England will be consumed in that work, except other additions of help be ministered unto it. The fair way that I am in towards the finishing of the heavy task which I undergo, I am afraid will receive some speedy and tough impediment, unless my advice in sending of the young Desmond hither may be followed. The good which by his presence will be effected hath been by me so often declared, as I hold it needless to trouble you with reiterations of the same. The danger that may ensue if he should prove a traitor (which I suppose to be the motive of his detention) is no more than the malice of a weak rebel, who can never be so great by reason of his education, which hath been in simplicity unaccustomed to action, together with his religion, as this counterfeit Earl, nourished in villainy and treasons, and the greatest pillar (Tyrone excepted) that ever the Pope had in this kingdom. And farther, if this traitor were taken or slain, yet the rebellion is not ended; for these Munster rebels will establish another Robin Hood in his room, and so in sequence, as long as there is a Geraldine in Ireland. As soon as the bruit was divulged that he should be sent unto me, I found such an alacrity in his followers, as an immediate sigh of a present quiet did represent itself unto me; but since that time, they having notice that yet he is in some degree a prisoner, and persuaded by the traitorly priests that there was never no intention to enlarge him, and that that which was done was only to abuse the world to breed distractions to ruin the Catholic cause, which they call a just war, they do again begin to decline, and the best I can expect from them is to stand as neutrals, and that but for a time, until they grow farther desperate of his coming. Sir, believe me all the persuasions in the world will not prevail to induce them to serve against James McThomas, much less to do anything upon his person, before they see his face. For this incredulous nation measure the like falsehood in others which they know to be in themselves; and therefore I wonder that stay is made of him, since his coming may do so great good. In all counsels, I hold it far better to receive a present and apparent benefit than to neglect the same for fear of a future harm, which cannot be great, and as I hope will never fall out. At my coming into this province I had some credit amongst them, which now impairerth and groweth weak, because my promise of his coming hither is not performed. I do mightily fear a reuniting, whereof I have daily advertisements, which if it proceed, the difficulty to dissolve it will be desperate and almost impossible. The hearts of princes are in the hands of God, and therefore unto Him I must

1600.

leave it ; but I am infinitely sorry that it was my cursed fortune to fall to be my lot (*sic*) to manage this business, having so little credit to persuade, as it seemeth; and with my heart do wish that some other man had been appointed to this task whose opinions would have been better believed. My desires, as your Honour knoweth, were evermore repugnant to go into Ireland, and if I thought I should be any long time confined here, I should account myself most unhappy. If God be pleased, for the good of this country, to direct Her Majesty's counsels to send him hither, I do humbly beseech you to move her that he may come (or not at all) as a free man, without any mark of a prisoner, and that he may enjoy the name and title of an Earl. What land is most convenient for him to have, and least dangerous if he should be ill-disposed, I have heretofore at large delivered my opinion, and also how easy it is to prevent any harm he may do, if he be inclined to do ill. If Spaniards do not invade us, his coming hither is the readiest way to end the rebellion. If there be an invasion, his presence will draw the greatest force from James McThomas, which should give them most assistance. The zeal I bear unto Her Majesty, whom I serve in all respects as in duty I am bound, moveth me to write; otherwise, as men of my occupation, I would forbear, and let every counsel and occasion pass that might shorten the war."—Cork, 1600, August 30. *Signed. pp. 2.*

August 30.
Cork.

107. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Robert's "nephew and dear kinsman." He "merits more for his continuance in this hard service, wherein he hath ever since his coming into Ireland been a daily labourer without intermission, than any gentleman of his quality that serves in this army." Recommends that Sir Anthony be made a member of the Council of Munster. He "deserves as well as Mr. Cuffe at the least," and it is a "disreputation" to Sir Anthony "to be a stander by where his inferiors do sit."—Cork, 1600, August 30. [*Postscript.*] "All the hawks I have living I have sent your Honour by a servant of my Lord of Thomond's, called Friar." *Holograph. p. 1.*

August 30.
Cork.

108. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "This summer, by reason of continual employment abroad in service, not having leisure to prole for hawks, I cannot make that present unto you as I desired. Yet there was given me by some that favoured me about twelve goshawks and tarsels, of which proportion, for want of a skilful falconer, ten are dead. I have yet one goshawk and a tarsel living, which I have sent unto your Honour by this bearer called Fryer, a servant to my Lord of Thomond, who presents you with hawks from him. They are both very sound and perfect good, and also a tarsel gentle. If you be already stored, I then humbly pray you to bestow the goshawk on Sir John Fortescue, unto whom I did promise one. This next year, if you or any of my friends, I mean your selected friends, will send a falconer unto me in May, to keep those which shall be procured by me, I will defray

1600.

his charges, and furnish you all (this year I pray excuse), and will then satisfy every man. I do not write unto Sir John Fortescue that he shall have a hawk, because I know not your pleasure.”—Cork, 1600, August 30. *Holograph.* p. 1.

August.
Dublin.

109. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. “Before I, the Deputy, entered into my late journey into Leix, I left order with the Treasurer in Council to put in readiness such quantities of victuals, munitions, and other provisions as he could raise by any means, to answer at my return an expedition for Ulster, intended principally to plant a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse at Armagh; a service which I always held of such consequence that, howsoever the present opportunity drew me into Leix for a time (the late 2,000 men being not come over), yet, at my return, I would omit no time to prosecute that intention for Ulster, so as I might in any reasonable sort be furnished with means to carry thither such part of Her Majesty’s army as were meet for such a service. For which purpose, also, I and the Council had given order to prepare the general hosting to assemble at the hill of Tara the first of the next month. But now, being returned hither yesterday, and finding by conference with the Treasurer and the rest of us of the Council, that victuals and money fall out far too short to answer a journey into Ulster so soon, and no ways here to supply those wants, by reason of the scarcity of the country, we are all drawn into no small astonishment, comparing on the one side the consequence of the action for Ulster, and the expectation gathered by Her Majesty and your Lordships (as we find by me, the Secretary); and on the other side considering how I am scant with victuals and money at this present, to carry an army thither; besides, the hasty passing away of the season of the year, which draweth no small weight in a cause of this nature. Yet, understanding by me, the Secretary, that your Lordships had, long before my dispatch from thence, contracted liberally for good quantities of victuals to be sent hither, with limitation of their times, and ports to the which they were addressed, we have presumed, notwithstanding these present wants and difficulties, to hold firm the first project for Ulster, only enlarging the day of rendezvous for the forces, and the general hosting, until the 12th of September, in hope that by that time we shall be relieved both with victuals and money from thence, according your Lordships’ most honourable foresight expressed in the contracts exhibited here by the Secretary, the not coming up whereof in due time cannot be laid to want of providence in your Lordships, who had so long since given order to the undertakers for the transporting thereof at the times prescribed. Touching these wants of victuals and money, I, the Treasurer, in the absence of the Lord Deputy, have lately written to your Lordship, the Lord Treasurer, and now we have sent you herewith not only a true note of the ‘invoyes’ arrived, and what is the full remain of victuals of all natures here, but also a particular proportion calculated by the victualler to serve a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse for three months, to be laid at Armagh. All which are herewith sent to your Lordships under the hand of

1600.

the victualler, being the officer of those affairs. By which it may please your Lordship to see in what hard case we stand, to carry on the journey into Ulster, being so weakly furnished of the two main sinews for an army. Nevertheless I, the Deputy, will, God willing, proceed in the journey at the time now last appointed, hoping that in the meanwhile God will give a wind to bring on the victuals from England, which we cannot but think are long since upon the seas. So as howsoever I find want of means to go through with so great an action, yet there shall not lack a mind in me to proceed in it, hoping that God will not suffer so good a purpose to fall, for want of means to hold it up. For the companies of horse and foot which I mean to take with me, I cannot yet set them down in a confident list, for that a special consideration is to be had, how to divide part of these new men, brought over by the Secretary, into garrison, and draw out others of the old companies to answer the present service northwards. Wherein, if I might have exchanged some of the trained companies in the remote provinces for so many of these that came last, it would have been a good countenance to the service. But that cannot be done, for the shortness of time that the journey is to begin. By my next your Lordships shall have a perfect declaration of the particular companies, and some other matters occurring in this business, which now cannot be certified. Only we most humbly desire your Lordships to press the undertakers to speed away all their several proportions of victuals, to answer this realm according the times laid down in their contracts, and rather before (if it be possible) for preventing of inconveniencies. For in such long voyages by sea, subject to such uncertainty of winds, where the proportions are lingered, and not measured to be at their due ports rather before their time than just with the time appointed, it may hazard the whole estate of a service otherwise laid and intended to the best. But in this case we must lay the failing of victuals at this time to the improvidence of the undertakers only, for that we understand by me, the Secretary, that your Lordships had finished your contracts with them in time sufficient to be here at the days agreed upon, if they had used a faithful diligence to send them away in time.

“I, the Deputy, have sent your Lordships herewith a summary journal of my proceedings in Leix, in which service as God hath blessed me to cut off the archtraitor of Leinster, Onie McRory O'More, and destroy most of the rebels' corn, besides taking of some of their cattle, so we hope that this blow so happily stricken upon the head of them, will scatter the members, and make them think of some other course for their safety. Another man touched in the journal and slain there, called Callogh McWalter, was (as it were) a second person to Onie, and more bloody and dangerous to the subjects than any of the rest, being the man that laid the first hands upon the Earl of Ormonde at his taking. Besides, a nephew to the traitor Tyrrell, who was Captain and Commander of all his forces, was likewise cut off in this service.

“We have read all the despatches which I, the Secretary, have brought, together with your Lordships' letter written on behalf of the causes of the Pale, and delivered here yesterday by the Lord of Howth and Sir Patriek Barnewell, to whom we have prefixed a day

1600.

for a further hearing of them and the rest upon Tuesday next, after which time your Lordships shall understand further of our proceedings with them, and of our answer to some particularities brought by the Secretary, which we cannot do at this time, for the multiplicity of business which groweth upon us, specially to manage the preparations for the journey for Ulster, which can suffer no deferring."—Dublin, 1600, August. *Endorsed*:—Received at Oatlands 6th September. *Signed*. pp. 3.

Enclose:—

109. i. "*The invoyes of victuals brought into Ireland upon the late contracts,*" between 1 January, 1599, and 30 August, 1600. Signed by Robert Newcomen. p. 1.

109. ii. "*The journey into the Queen's County.*"

"*Before the Lord Deputy's departure from Dublin, his Lordship left order with the Treasurer and the rest of the Council to expedite all things in his absence for the northern journey, to dispatch all victuals and munition, as they should arrive, to the Newry, and to send unto all parts letters for the general hosting and for beeves. The northern borders his Lordship left as strong, both of horse and foot, as might guard them from any incursion.*

"*The 12, being Tuesday, his Lordship went to the Naas, having before given order for the victuals and munition to meet him at Castle Dermott. The next day to Moone, where the forces met, being about 800 foot and 100 horse. From hence his Lordship wrote to the Earl of Ormonde, that his and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence[s] companies, both of horse and foot, should fall into Leix by Idough on the Saturday night following, and on Sunday night to meet his Lordship at Culinagh. The 14, his Lordship marched the direct way towards Donnell Spainagh's country, and in the evening turned to Catherlogh. By the way his Lordship left Sir James FitzPiers and Sir Henry Folliott with 400 men to fall into Leix another way, that night, for some prey. The 15, his Lordship commanded the horse to draw out early in the morning, to meet Sir James FitzPiers and Sir Henry Folliott, who returned without any prey, partly through the extreme rain that fell that night, and partly because that morning before day they fell upon Keating's house in the midst of his fastness, where Onie McRory was with 100 kern, who entertained them with skirmish, to the loss of some 24 of the rebels, of whom one [was a] principal leader, and five or six of our own; whereof some killed with the sword on both sides. The same day the Lord Deputy removed from Carlogh to the foot of the mountain into Keating's country, burning and spoiling both it and the corn thereabouts.*

"*The 16, the Lord Deputy, early in the morning, sent 600 foot under the conduct of Sir Oliver Lambert, knight, who marched through all the fastness of Slemarge, spoiling their plots of corn within the woods, and burning their towns, with some skirmish in the passes, but no loss. His Lordship, with his horse and his own company of foot and the carriage, coasted along the plains, spoiling and burning likewise, passing quietly over a ford between two woods, where the Earl of Ormonde, entering*

1600.

into Leix heretofore with 1,500 men, was soundly fought with. At evening the forces met together at the camp, where a boy came to his Lordship from Onie with a letter, desiring that some gentleman might be sent to him for conference. The letter his Lordship would not receive, but caused it to be delivered to one Neale Moore, an Irish fool which attends him, to send an answer to Onie, which was done to such effect as in the letter appeareth. Here, about the river where the army was to water, there was some skirmish between our men and the rebels, both this evening and the next morning, because the river lay somewhat near unto a wood, whereout they were both times beaten, and the river cleared with some loss of their side.

“The 17, the army encamped at Ferney Abbey. In the way, the army marching along the valley, the rebels coasted along the mountains, and a little before the quarter where that night we resolved to encamp, they mustered themselves upon a mountain, from the which to the army there was a glade between two roads; and his Lordship being with the vanguard of foot, having sent the Marshal before to make the quarter, made an halt till the rest of the army might come up. And being alighted to rest himself, divers of the rebels came from the hill, waving us to them with their swords, and calling to us, as their manner is, with railing speeches. Whereupon his Lordship sent for Sir Oliver Lambert, and willed him to send out 100 men, and to appoint a good second to go fire certain houses close by the gross of the rebels, and not to entertain skirmish with them, except they were forced to it; which his Lordship did to answer their braving with a scorn. Sir Oliver himself drew into this glade upon the mountain with some few horse, and the rebels came down in gross to the rescue of the houses. Our men presently charged them, beat them back, and fell into their greatest fastness with them. In this skirmish Onie McRory was mortally wounded in two places, whereof he died that night, and Callogh McWalter, one of the most stirringest rebels in Leinster, and the most bloody, was killed in helping of Onie, who for a time was in a sound [swoon], and left till night hidden in a bush. Callogh's head was presently brought to the Lord Deputy. This man, besides the killing of Captain Boswell and Sir Henry Dockwra's Lieutenant the last year, and divers famous murders in these parts, was, as it is reported, the first man that laid hand on the Earl of Ormonde, when he was taken prisoner by Onie.

“The report was for the present that Onie was only hurt, but the next day by divers which came from the rebels it was known he died the same night; and, as it [is] said, fearing his head should come into the Lord Deputy's hands, willed it to be cut off presently after his death, and buried, and appointed Onie McShane, a man of no spirit or courage, to be O'Moore.

“Upon the death of Onie, the Moores dispersed themselves by six and ten in a company, every man seeking to save his own. This night were sent out two parties to search the woods for cattle, who, going contrary ways, returned the next day, being the 18, with some six or seven score cows, and great store of

1600.

sheep and goats. For, by reason the rebels had driven the greatest part of their cattle into Ossory, upon intelligence of the army's arrival, the prey could not be very great; but a base son of the Earl of Ormonde's met with some four hundred head of them by the way, and took them. This day the Earl and Sir Christopher came to his Lordship with above 300 foot and 120 horse.

- "The 19, the army passed the pass of Cashel to Ballyroane, and so the next day to Kilgighy in Ossory, passing thereunto by the castle of Gortenele, where the Earl was kept sometime during his imprisonment. By the way the Earl of Ormonde received letters from Donnell Spainagh, who was now come into Leix with some 200 men, and from Redmond Keating, craving his Lordship's means to be under protection and safe-conduct to come to the Lord Deputy. All the way we burned all their houses in their fastness and woods. In one of them was found the Queen's picture behind the door, and the King of Spain's at the upper end of the table.
- "This night Sir Christopher went into the woods for cows, and took a prey of some seven hundred, besides sheep and goats; of which seven hundred there came to the camp but few; the rest, as it is said, were shifted into the county of Kilkenny and the countries near adjoining. His Lordship was persuaded to draw down into Ossory, being ever the nursery of the rebellion in Leix, partly to burn their corn, and partly to see the country being so near; the rather for that the Earl was of opinion that, upon the army's arrival, the chief rebels of that country would give in their pledges. This day, being the 21, we encamped by Teig FitzPatrick's castle, the Lord of Upper Ossory's son, but in rebellion, who, upon the approach of the army, set his own town afire. And here Redmond Keating submitted himself with condition to deliver the Earl of Ormonde's pledges which remained in his hands.
- "The 22, the army marched in extreme rain over the Nore, having first spoiled the corn about the castle, which, if it had been omitted that night, could hardly have been done afterwards, by reason of the great fall of rain, which continued for 48 hours without cease (sic), so as the camp could not remove. This day the Kellys and Lalors were protected for a month, upon condition to bring in the Earl's pledges, which were in their custody, within ten days, which they were afterwards sworn to perform. Redmond Bourke at the same time made complaint to his Lordship by letter of wrongs done to him, and of service he was willing to do.
- "The 23, the Lord Mountgarrett's sons, Richard and Edward, took their oath to be true subjects, as by the act thereof may appear.
- "The 24, recognizance of 2,000*l.* was signed by the Lord of Mountgarrett and his sureties for the redelivery of Ballyraggett upon twenty days' warning. This day the army marched, with expectance to fight in the pass of Cashel, which was said to be possessed by 2,560 of the rebels, according to a list delivered to his Lordship by the Earl of Ormonde the night before, and to

1600.

his Lordship by one that affirmed on his oath he had seen so many mustered in their camp. A little before the entrance of the pass, Donnell Spainagh, who was to have maintained fight on the right hand, where they had entrenched the passage, came to the head of the army, and fell down on his knees to the Lord Deputy, and desired protection for twelve days, till he might come to Dublin, which was granted, for in that time his Lordship could do him no harm, and thereupon his men quitted the trench, and drew up to the mountain, to see the event of the fight.

“The rebels being already possessed of the pass of Cashel next to the great bog, we turned with our carriage through an upper pass near adjoining unto it, in the midst whereof they began to skirmish with a great cry, charging home. Our men beat them presently into the lower pass, and from thence into the bog, where they beat them into the wood beyond it, to the loss and hurt of many of them, and Captain William Tyrrell shot into the reins, of the which it is said he is since dead. Whereupon the Lord Deputy called them off, gave order to the army to march to Stradbury, and with some twenty horse went to see the fort of Leix, and came that night to the camp.

“The 25, the companies being sent to their several garrisons, his Lordship came to the Naas, where he found 700 of the new men placed, and, the 26, to Dublin.”—[1600], August. Unsigned. pp. 6.

August 31. **110.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “Neither in the whole course of my life hitherto, nor in respect of the success of my government here, nor of my years, that are now almost forty years old, I deserve so little belief or reputation as to find myself believed in nothing concerning this estate or my own particular, while I am here, and every idle projector, or poor false discontented informer, to prevail in your judgments against me. I dare not write thus much to you as you are a Councillor, but as to one that hath given me leave to deal freely with you. I knew and looked for the uttermost that malice could do against me. My trust was in the Queen, in you as a chief minister, and in my own sincerity. I must confess that herein my hopes have failed me, and I find it is not enough to mean and to do well. God is my witness that I do not accuse myself, having examined all the imputations laid upon me, to be faulty in any one; and so I am sure I can make it appear. But to conclude, Sir, I will boldly affirm that hitherto, for so much time as I have governed this kingdom, I have done the Queen better service than ever any Deputy did unto Her Majesty. From henceforward you have disabled me to serve her here. My own heart and the heart of my endeavours are broken, and therefore, Sir, I desire you, even for humanity’s sake, to deliver me of this burden, which you know how violently it was thrust upon me; and my own conscience knoweth how much I am wronged in it. I shall by my return do the Queen more service than even now I can do here, for I will undertake to deliver her truly the estate of this kingdom which, believe me,

1600.

was never it done (*sic*) unto Her Majesty. There is no one thing objected against me, but Sir Geffrey Fenton could have answered, if he had been as he should be. But, if I had known anything amiss in my proceedings, I would never have sent him over. Pardon me, Sir, if I am in passion to meet such a packet, after so many labours and dangers and good effects thereof, and now to be tied by your expectations to a journey, which in itself is most miserable and dangerous, and to have neither money nor victuals to go forwards with it. Notwithstanding, if I should not, I am sure you will not lay the fault upon yourselves; and therefore, God willing, you shall find no fault in me, if you will measure my endeavours, and not the success, the fear of which in those that have and do govern here hath spent her so many millions, and I am afraid will spend her so many more before this country be reduced; although I will boldly say and prove that this war was never so near an end, if you do not mar all yourselves. Sir, if you think my letter will do me more hurt than good to the cause, I pray read it and burn it; and although I perceive you suspect that I use not your letters as I should, yet if I think it fit, or to be your desire, I have power in myself to make them as reserved as you like.”—August 31. *Endorsed*:—1600. Received at Oatlands 6 September. *Holograph.* p. 1.

August 31.
Dublin.

111. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Has received their Lordships' letters of the 28th July and 8th August. By the first, he was directed to send over to England his ledger book, with the warrants and escripts incident thereunto, and a person sufficiently instructed for answering and following the same. Has not received Her Majesty's letters for the sending over of this book and the said warrants, &c. Prays for her warrant to that end, as his predecessors had, and that he may have leave to go to England himself to answer his great and weighty account. By the second letter, he is directed to discharge the officers of the regiment assigned to Ballyshannon. Has acquainted the Lord Deputy, and will take the necessary steps with his paymasters at Lough Foyle. The Commissaries of victuals for Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, have perfected their books, but Mr. Travers neither comes nor sends, although often written to. Has told the Lord Deputy of the concordatums their Lordships mislike, and he says he will satisfy them therein. Does not understand their postscript touching the increase of 2,000*l.* for extraordinaries. For these, by the last establishment, a limit of 4,000*l.* for the year is appointed. The charge for extraordinaries, up to the 20th of July last, comes to 7,441*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*, over and above the extraordinaries for Munster and Lough Foyle. "I grieve that the charge doth grow to so great an height, and yet I know not how to restrain them, humbly beseeching your Lordships to consider how dangerously to my poor estate I wade in this service, except Her Majesty by your Lordships' good means be gracious unto me." Again prays for her warrant for the passing of his accounts, and for leave to go to England.—Dublin, 1600, August 31. *Endorsed*:—Received at Oatlands the 6th of September. *Signed.* *Seal.* pp. 2.

1600.

August 31.
Dublin.

112. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Asks for the Queen's warrant, as in the preceding. Then he will send over Charles Huet with the ledger book, warrants, and escripts. Prays that he himself may have leave to go and answer his account, as it is his first.—Dublin, 1600, August 31. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

August 31.
Cork.

113. Sir Anthony Cooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Knows not how, after so long a silence, these lines will be accepted. Has small hopes ("by means of" his present hard estate and fortunes) to reap any benefit by the greatness of his blood. Begg Sir Robert's favour in the following cause. An express warrant from the Privy Council to Sir George Carey, bearing date 3 November last, lately came, commanding him to detain Sir Anthony's entertainment for the payment of 40*l.* borrowed by him from the Earl of Bath, to be repaid at the end of six months. This sum was borrowed for no vain or idle expense of his own, but only for the speedy furtherance of Her Majesty's service.

"I was, by extremity of foul weather, driven with Sir John Brooke to put in from sea into Ilfracombe, where most unhappily (as by my former letters then sent from thence to the Court to your Honour I made particularly known), I had one bark cast away upon the rocks at her going forth the harbour mouth, wherein I lost nine of my best horses with the bark, and as much furniture for horse and men, with other necessities of mine and my followers, to the value of 200 marks and better. Neither was it unknown both to his Lordship and to Sir Thomas Norreys, then Lord President of Munster, that I bestowed all that money then borrowed, and much more, in the hiring and furnishing another ship for the better and more speedy performance of my duty expected in that service; finding withal that, if I had made my stay there with the remainder of my troop, until from your Honours I had received order for my supply, I should not only have spent the country much more than that sum, but also have lost the opportunity of that long-expected wind, and so consequently have hindered that good service, which by my speedy landing here was shortly after very happily performed: besides, the danger I then stood in of receiving a grievous check from your Honour and that most honourable Board, as supposing some great fault or negligence in me. For these respects only (Right Honourable) did I borrow this money, simply and only upon mine own bond. Since which time, may it please your Honour to understand, I have been credibly informed by the several letters of both my honourable Lord and Lady, which they sent me with my bond cancelled, that your Honour (both in love to me, and favour of my great loss sustained then and since) had kindly repaid the same to his Honour again. Besides that, it may please your Honour to understand, I have lost by good service, and have had killed in good fight (since my coming amongst this ungodly nation) twenty-eight tall men and fifty-six good horses, all which (until the receiving of this late small supply from my Lord President, which I know his Lordship hath made known unto your Honour), I have from time to time fully supplied upon mine own cost and charges, to my no little hindrance. These my wrongs and losses,

1600.

besides many others since my being in this place sustained, which (without your Honour's greater favour and good furtherance) [I] am likely still to undergo, I have now thought very fit to make your Honour acquainted with, that so I may rather receive some recompense than still to stand charged with this bond of 40*l.* sterling as yet I do, which I had been far better and more for my ease according to my first intent to have paid in England, than now in this place of the sudden to be detained from me, where I am to live upon my bare entertainments, such as they are, and poorer and barer though they be, and far less than any man's of my quality that hath continued here, whereof I humbly pray not only your Honour's kind consideration, but also to make known your further pleasure and direction therein."

Refers Sir Robert to the bearer, and encloses a letter on his own behalf [*see No. 107 above*] from President Carew.—Cork, 1600, August 31. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

August.

114. Petition of Lord Barry to the Queen, referring to his former good services and his great losses in the rebellion, and praying for a grant of the castle of Conehie and the lands of Kynnaltalowne, lately in the possession of James FitzThomas, and also for entertainment of such companies of horse and foot as Her Highness may give him, to enable him to do her service, and for the maintenance of his own estate. *Endorsed:—1600, August. Unsigned. p. ½.*

[August.]

115. "A particular of the Lord Viscount Buttevant's humble requests." [Almost a duplicate of the preceding.—1600, August.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

August.
Kilmallock.

116. [?Hugh Cuff] to [Sir George Carew.] "Although I doubt not but as you have (beyond all expectation to your exceeding great honour) in so short a time brought this province almost to her former quietness, so your Lordship will, the same being once settled, take such a course that the fire now suppressed shall never, to our great prejudice, return again to his former flame, myself (as one zealous for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, and having some particular interest therein, as also thereunto tied by oath as a Councillor), am moved to set down my opinion herein, wishing the like from all the rest, whereby your Lordship might discern in your wisdom what is fit to be chosen and followed, and what to be disallowed and rejected. Wherefore (under correction of your better judgment) in my opinion, seeing the best course, I mean the prosecuting of them with the sword, whereby her Highness by their lands should both have strengthened her province and added to her crown a great revenue, is, as well in regard of the time as for saving infinite charges, and other considerations best known to your Honour, not thought fit to be followed; now, since the case stands thus, what hope remains, but that upon every light occasion (there having been few examples yet made either by loss of life or land upon any of the better sort), but that they will be ready to fall

1600.

again unto their accustomed villainy; for the prevention whereof, under hope of your Lordship's good acceptance, I will adventure to declare to your Lordship my conceit for the next best means to retain them in their due obedience and loyalty.

"1. First, I could wish that as soon as conveniently it may be, that by little and little, their swordmen should be drawn away to be employed in Her Majesty's foreign wars, as well those that have served Her Majesty (I mean the idle men) as others; for that otherwise you shall find them in the end to become rebels, as always they have done heretofore.

"2. Secondly, that while our forces are remaining here, the rest should be disarmed, and for ever hereafter prohibited to bear arms, upon such pain as shall be thought fit.

"3. Thirdly, forasmuch as the strength or safety of the English inhabitants must arise out of the weakening of the Irish, and that few chieftains in this province possess their territories without some competitors of their own family, as the McCarties, the McDonoghs, the O'Sullivans, and almost all the rest of any name, I hold it necessary (under the reformation of your Honour's better advised judgment, to which I subject all my own opinions), that now, upon the resettling of this disjointed province, their variances may rather be pacified than ended, to the intent that, when this rebellion is quieted, they may spend their strength and malice one upon another; for seeing their natures are to be in action, it will be agreeable to policy that the factions kindled and grown amongst themselves should be on the weaker part secretly nourished and supported by the State, lest their humours should be otherwise spent upon the English subject.

"4. Fourthly, that whereas they have been contented, of their own wild motion, to allow and maintain upon their lands and followers 3,000 soldiers to make war against Her Majesty, they should be enforced to maintain to Her Highness['s] use the sixth part of so many, which is but 500. Those, with other Her Majesty's forces here, might serve to keep them in their due obedience and loyalty, without which strait course let no man expect any good of them, for they in nature do resemble the nettle, which, being softly handled and gently touched, will sting and prick, but, if hardly and roughly, they never hurt.

"5. Fifthly, as every undertaker is bound for a full seignory to have in a readiness 20 foot and 10 horse, and so every one proportionably according to the quantity he holds, to follow any service within thirty miles for thirty days at their own charges, and not otherwise, may it please your Lordship, the number of the undertakers are 36, some holding full seignories, others half, and some less; howbeit they all amount to twenty full seignories, the which according to the rate above specified arises to 400 foot and 200 horse, which, upon any occasion being added to the 500 aforesaid, makes in the whole 900 foot and 200 horse, which (in my judgment) will be sufficient for the country (the same being reduced to the form before-mentioned) to keep it without any further disbursements from England, or impairing of Her Highness['s] revenues here.

1600.

“Now there may be objected against me in this article two things; the first, what trust shall there be reposed in the undertakers, having heretofore failed in the performance of their duties; and secondly, that it is too great a burden suddenly to be imposed upon them, considering their great rents, and that they are now altogether unsettled.

“To the first I answer, that true it is there was a great imputation to be laid to their charge in general, although some did their parts, and deserved both commendations and rewards. Nevertheless, in that the better sort, as Sir William Courtney, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Edward Denny, with divers others, who had scarce any English upon their seignories, but rather for their private gains inhabited their lands with the relics of the rebellious Irish, the which did not alone destroy and waste their own lands, but others also that endeavoured themselves in all earnest and dutiful manner to perform the effect of the conditions whereunto they were tied. This was the cause that brought the scandal upon our heads, which may easily be prevented for the time to come, and this plot made good, if there be an officer appointed in nature of a Commissary, who four times in the year shall take musters of every particular man’s rising out, as also to see that every full seignory (and so the lesser quantity) be furnished with so many English inhabitants and families, as by their patents they are enjoined to have, by which means there would be no failing of the numbers aforesaid.

“To the second I say, that where it may be thought too great a burden for them in regard of their rents, it may be eased in this manner, only to tie them to have their companies always in a readiness, and when they shall be commanded upon any service more than two or three days, that then Her Majesty shall allow them entertainment, to be defalked out of the rents of those seignories from whence they are taken; and for the re-establishing of them there may be a time limited, with a strait command both in England and Ireland, and that upon some pain within that time they do not fail to perform their inhabiting according as by their patents they are enjoined, and to have some favour for toleration of rent, as may be thought fit, until they be again settled.

“6. Sixthly, for the reformation of the cities and towns which have been the roots of all these mischiefs, as in sending into Spain their sons, whereof some have been brought up as seminaries and such like other paltry priests, who have returned with their lessons to seduce Her Majesty’s subjects from their due obedience; others, more fitter for the war, have been trained up therein, and so likewise returned to be leaders in this their wicked action. Moreover, there is not one of these principal late rebels but hath in their next bordering towns either a Christian gossip or a fosterer, and what a band of assured friendship this doth draw even to the adventuring of their lives in furnishing them with all kind of munition and other necessities. Of all which I marvel not, they being addicted to a contrary religion, and sworn both to the Pope and King of Spain, whereof there will be good proof made, and yet they are not ashamed (as men of great desert) to sue unto Her Majesty for enlargement of their privileges, whereas it is well known unto all men that they have not had their powder or shot from any place elsewhere but from

1600.

them, without which they could not have maintained their rebellious wars. Furthermore, we can never rise so secretly out of any of these towns to do service, but before our men be drawn together some one is dispatched, either on horseback or foot, to give speedy intelligence to the rebels of the coming of our forces. The which argues a confirmation of that which I have written as concerning their disloyalty; and therefore, in my opinion, it were fitter to recall their charters and grant them new upon submission with more fitter conditions; not themselves to be customers, comptrollers, vice-admirals, as also not to reap the profits of fines and amerciements, with other such advantages as our best subjects in England have not the like. Wherefore these things being taken from them, it will not only abate their pride, but also be sufficient to maintain a garrison in every of the towns, in some citadel or castle already built or to be built, with some Captains of understanding, both to prevent them in their undutiful dealings and to keep them in their due subjection. For as long as they have the privileges themselves, and especially the fines and amerciements that may be imposed upon them, by virtue of any high commission, for contempt in religion, what hope is there of any reformation, but a severe course to be taken with them, when time shall serve, for the advancement of God's glory? And to begin with them, there should none bear office but such as were known to be well affected in religion, which would be a principal means to draw others to conformity; and so having good teachers, with severe punishment for offenders, I would not doubt but in short time, to the benefit and endless honour of Her Majesty, here would be a flourishing commonwealth, where contrary it is dreadful, to any of a good conscience, to live here under the hazard to participate with them of the plagues which God in His justice will send for such unnatural and abominable offences as are daily here committed. To conclude, seeing there is no other assurance but by strong hand to contain them in their loyalties, for that they hold themselves damned to do otherwise than hath been here recited, necessity therefore from henceforth must enforce us to give over to pamper them with favours and rewards, as hitherto they have been, but rather to hold them down, both with word and sword, as hath been heretofore expressed, and as the King of Spain and all other princes in the like cases do. The which being performed as well in this province as in the others, and every of the said provinces to maintain Her Majesty's forces, all of English birth, this I say truly effected, Her Highness from henceforth shall receive both honour and profit, instead of troubles and consuming both of her treasure and subjects."—Kilmallock, 1600, August. *Unsigned.* pp. 4.

[August.]
Whitehall.

117. Letter, unsigned and unaddressed, telling of negotiations with a Scottish gentleman born in the Out Isles, for a force of 4,000 Scots to be employed in Ireland. Provision of victuals. Post-bark to convey letters "betwixt you and Dublin." Many flying bruits of losses and perils in Ireland. Sir Arthur O'Neill's position and

1600.

complaints. "We did signify both to the Lord Deputy and to you" Her Majesty's pleasure to favour him. Desire to know "what you have bestowed upon" Sir Arthur. Great care needed in the treatment of such as he. "For we do see it a common thing now-a-days, that when such a one as Sir Arthur O'Neill or O'Dogherty is a rebel, they are able to live and infest the Queen, but when they come in, the Queen is put to an extreme charge, as though she did command no country beyond the trenches."—The Court at Whitehall, 1600, [August].. pp. 2.

VOL. CCVII. PART 5. 1600. SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER.

1600.

Sept. 1.
Cork.

1. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. About August 10, the bearer came to him at Carrighologhe in Thomond. Has had no time since to dispatch him back. Recommends the bearer for his good service.—Cork, 1600, September 1. *Holograph.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Sept. 2.
Derry.

2. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "On the last of August is Captain Hart arrived with the supply of 50 horse, whereof there are yet two ships (containing 11) missing. By him and sundry others coming with the same passage, I have received divers letters both from your Honour and the rest of the Lords. In one I do specially observe that it is Her Majesty's pleasure to impose the charge of rendering an account of the musters upon my head. How gladly I do undertake the execution of any her princely commands, my conscience shall (to myself at least) bear sufficient witness; and I would to God the fruit and success of my labour and zeal in this point might as well testify the same. I have ever from time to time acquainted your Honour with the true strength of the forces, so far as mine own knowledge could reach unto in general, but that in particular I have not touched any man, it hath partly proceeded from want of knowing the means of every man's deceit, and partly that (I must confess) I have not willingly intruded myself into so burthensome an office, although I were never ignorant but that in all points whatsoever, tending to the good or hindrance of Her Majesty's service, my duty bound me (all office of calling and authority set apart) to be an informer. And yet again, how much it would be prejudicial unto me in the love and estimation of the Captains (which is not a point merely to be neglected, either by me or any other serving in like place) I am not also ignorant; but Her Majesty's command shall now enable me (against all private respects) to undertake whatsoever mine own nature, or the force of politic reason, might have forbidden me.

1600.

And therefore, from henceforth I assure your Honour of as true and perfect advertisement in these matters, as my direct knowledge, or the compass of my wit, shall be able to reach unto.

“Another point in the same letter I observe, of the most honourable care which is generally taken for the furnishing of this place with all things needful, even beyond the provisions allowed or demanded at first; wherein, though the benefit redound wholly to Her Majesty’s service, yet I cannot but make myself a party that am bound to acknowledge all humble thanks for the same. I know it may seem strange that stowage for munition or victual should be not only scanting but were almost deficient, considering the numbers of men we have had to work, the provisions to work withal, and the time we have had to attend nothing else; but I beseech your Honour, whatsoever opinion be superficially conceived by others, that you will be pleased to weigh these things with a deeper and more serious consideration. I am not ashamed to acknowledge an error, for who in the world is free from many? But that I have in any point committed a gross one from the beginning to this day, I dare justify myself out of the testimony of my conscience, and the account I am always ready to give of my doings. What time would be required to build a fort, to make a town, to run over a strange country, the situation whereof I know not certainly, and what numbers of men would perish in the doing of these things, I confess I was to seek; and though I aimed at it with some reasonable judgment, yet cannot deny but I struck somewhat wide of the mark. To make amends, I have used all possible diligence, both in the labour of my body and mind, and how far these labours have prevailed, I had rather another indifferent man should be the reporter of than myself. Only this I will say, as answering to another point of the same letter, that of whatsoever nature the sickness be which hath visited our men, no man living could have put them to more than I have done, nor hardly (I dare affirm it) have effected so much. For the provisions we have had, it is true I have of late received 2,000 deal boards from my Lord Deputy, not as an increase but a making up of the number first ordained, for so many came short with the first shipping. Now I understand, here is arrived within the Lough 2,000 more, which is indeed beyond my proportion. But little use can we make of boards only without timber, wherewith to support the work, which I can see neither Dublin nor any other place (what care soever be taken) can afford. Only these parts of the country itself would give us best help, if our men were not already tired out with labours, and the unseasonableness of the weather (in a manner continually) such as by no means they can nor will endure the pains of fetching it. And whereas it seemeth your Honour was of opinion that we had received some help by the provisions ordained for Ballyshannon, it is far otherwise, for rather have they consumed of ours than we of theirs. For the planks and poles, and such like materials for building, came not along with the men, but were appointed to have met them at Ballyshannon from Galway.

“Another main impediment we have had to our works, which hath been sickness and mortality of our men, and that such, as of

1600.

the masons and carpenters, which were at first above 40, I have not had any time this month four and now not one, save five of each which came lately from Dublin sent by my Lord Deputy. The cause of this mortality I know will be required. I can ascribe it to nothing but the distemperature of the air, which I assureth your Honour exceedeth all credit to such as feel it not. Their victual, though it hath not at any time been scant, hath not been such as a man once fallen sick could well take relief by. I know it will be again demanded what has become of the hospital. To that I answer; upon my landing it was the first thing I took care of, and the rather for that I used it as a policy to get the men to work, thinking the pretence of their own good would the rather have incited them to a willingness to undertake the labour. Yet I was deceived in my opinion, for with as much difficulty did I bring them to that as if they had no ways been interested in the matter. With much ado, notwithstanding, it was finished, and within the walls of an old church a place made fit and commodious to contain twenty-eight beds, with a kitchen and other rooms, such as of necessity must belong to it. The charge of governing the house was committed to an overseer and other officers, a contribution of 4*d.* a month allowed from every man's pay to maintain it. For so much as all this cometh unto, I dare undertake the poor men have been relieved, and what hath wanted within the house hath been supplied without, by lending forth of beds, and carrying forth of provisions to the hurt and sick, of whom the hospital hath not been capable. But yet, how small a drop of water all this hath been, in respect of the seas of sick men that daily increased, some by wilful idleness, some by mere counterfeiting, some by hurts and other casualties, and others by the hand of God, it is hard to conceive to one that hath not seen it. For mine own part, I have borne the burthen, to feel, to see, and to hear that which, God is my witness, hath divers and sundry times made even my soul to grieve; yet, the burthen being upon my back, I have stood up, and would not yield to throw it down in the way. I desire no more but my doings may be truly and thoroughly examined, whether I say true or no. If I be found false, shame and punishment shall worthily apprehend me. If I say true, it is but my duty; I would to God I could have done more.

“For the course of my proceedings touching the managing of the war, I know it may worthily seem strange that O'Dogherty should pass to and fro at his pleasure into his country, whereof (I must confess) I thought myself wholly possessed long ago (*sic*). Your Honour might perceive, by a letter written of the death of Sir John Chamberlain, how (beyond that I thought might have been done) he was got in with some numbers of horse and foot. Upon knowledge whereof, I made head to meet and intercept him upon his return, in which Sir John lost his life, and they by the commodity of the night, and perfect knowledge of the country, which was large to hide themselves in, escaped our hands. To prevent the like against another time, I had sundry speeches and conferences with divers of the best experienced in these parts without planting another garrison upon the Lough Swilly. No man was of opinion it could be done. In that course was I therefore

1600.

resolutely determined, but in the meantime, so necessarily must our works go forward at home, as no benefit of other service could countervail the damage which I saw apparently would follow if they were intermitted; and therefore first beset myself thereunto, thinking the other might conveniently enough be done about the time of their beginning of harvest. Wherein I was not deceived, save only in this, that I foresaw not what strange and unspeakable sickness would seize our men; for by this time were our forces grown exceeding weak. Our English men as well as Irish daily ran to the rebel, and not only disclosed our weakness, but even encouraged and incited them to take the advantage, by giving upon our quarter, to which sundry of our nation offered themselves to be guides. McSwyne, not unacquainted withal, wrought likewise his turn upon the opportunity offered. Sir Arthur O'Neill, whether honest or no, I cannot yet say, but strangely and doubtfully he carried himself in all his actions, though now he be dangerously sick, and seemeth to bear an honester mind. Upon these concurrences (*sic*) divers consultations were held, and all things thoroughly weighed. Our resolution was, to attend wholly to the fortifying of what we had, and making it sure and habitable against winter; which the rebel was so hardly persuaded we were able to do, as to an assured victory he had assembled all his forces with a resolution to assault our quarter. Which notwithstanding I think he dares not attempt, nor can though he do. His forces are not yet dismissed, but affront us close with his camp, consisting (as our common intelligence goeth) of near 2,000 men.

"Neale Garve, I wrote unto your Honour a good while since, was grown to terms of submitting himself; with what conditions I also acquainted your Honour. The messenger that negotiateth the business is not since his last going forth returned, but hath sent me another, that only required I would send an answer to his demands signed with my hand; which I did in manner as your Honour may see by the copy thereof. What his resolution will be in the end I know not, as not trusting too much to men of his nation. But for certain, Sir Arthur O'Neill and all the agents of the business assure me he will come, and I think it too, if once our supplies were but arrived. About which what I have lately written in my last letters I do perfectly remember, and am not ignorant but that my demands will seem unseasonable and displeasing, and perhaps be subject to worse constructions. The reasons, notwithstanding, that moved me to make them were these. I have, after long enquiry and debating of the matter with sundry men of experience in these parts, learned that there are two places, one over against Dunalong, another bordering upon the very innermost part of all Lough Swilly, both to be supplied with all things by water, which being kept with 100 men in one and 300 in the other, will include all O'Dogherty's country, part of McSwyne Fanaght's, and ten or twelve baronies of O'Donnell's own land, so that no horse nor cattle can pass in nor out, but of necessity by one of these two ways. The places are called, one the Cangan, the other Colmackatreyn. These two places I am resolved on to possess, and therefore have not unwillingly (though to say truth, if I would, I could not well have prevented it), suffered

1600.

O'Dogherty's people to steal into the country and gather their harvest, which is mine own together with the people, whensoever I shall be of force able to set forward to those two places. And to the end no time nor opportunity should be lost for doing it, I have provided all things in readiness to accomplish it withal, and shall, God willing, with great facility perform it, if the desperate and irresistible disposition of the weather or weakness of our men prevent me not. That done, I can likewise invade and spoil O'Cahan's country at my pleasure, whose brother I have already wrought for my turn, against the time our strength shall be come to attempt our designs. Moreover our weakness already being such as it is, and by former experience to be conjectured what it will be hereafter, I was thoroughly persuaded it was most needful to desire so large a proportion of supplies as might well serve our turns till the next summer. If I have ministered occasion of dislike by this course of plain dealing, I humbly crave pardon. If my Prince command either mine own life or the hazard of her people, with hope of better success by a more venturous and speedy course, if I fail to put it in practice, let me find a dishonourable death at home, which seek to avoid so honourable an end abroad. This I have written, not out of great leisure, but upon occasion of the return of the ships which brought the horses, whose masters give me little rest till they be dispatched away. I beseech your Honour my faithful intent may be measured with a favourable, not with a rigorous, construction."—The Derry, 1600, September 2. *Holograph. pp. 8.*

Encloses :—

2. i. "*The demands of Neale Garve to me the Governor of Her Majesty's forces at Lough Foyle,*" with Sir Henry Dockwra's answers thereto.
 1. That he may have Tyrconnell in as ample manner as his grandfather Callogh O'Donnell held it, or as Sir Arthur O'Neill holds Tyrone.
 2. That he may have liberty of conscience.
 3. That he may have 500 foot and 150 horse in pay of such as he shall bring with him, to continue during the war, and afterwards half that number.
 4. That he may have liberty to make choice of the sheriff of his own country, promising to choose one "so near as he can" to the Lord Deputy's liking.
 5. That he may have free pardon for himself, his own particular followers, and for those whom he shall procure to come in from Fermanagh or any other country adjoining his.
- Sir Henry Dockwra agrees to the first, assures Neale Garve he shall not be molested in his religion, says that the 500 foot and 150 horse shall have entertainment in victual (to be converted into money as soon as Sir Henry hears from the Lord Deputy), and agrees to the fourth and fifth demands. Endorsed by Sir Henry Dockwra, "*The demands of Neale Garve, and the answer I made thereunto, and sent him, the 27 of August, 1600.*" Copy. pp. 2.

1600.
Sept. 2.
Dublin.

3. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. "I ever rest most bound unto your Honour for remembering me by your letter to my Lord Deputy, the copy of which I received here at Dublin, being come at this instant with two gentlemen of Munster, which I took near my house as they were passing into this country; who are called O'Sullivan More and Donnell McCarthy, whom I delivered here to my Lord Deputy, who is very thankful. His Lordship committed them to the Castle, until he [should] send them to my Lord President of Munster. I hope the death of the traitor Onie O'More will shortly end the wars of Leinster. I am continually employed, and yet [? have] least means of any of my sort. I hope by your honourable favour and by my deserts to be in the end enabled, though it be my hard fortune to see it so long a coming. And whether I be or not, I will ever bend myself, as in duty I am bound, to do my Sacred and Royal Majesty any service I may, whose life I beseech the Almighty long to preserve, to see the end and destruction of her enemies.

"Twenty days past, the rebellious Burkes, the O'Kellys, and others of their confederates, came from Tyrone to the barony of Athlone, plashed and made scontes [*sic*, sconeas] in the great pass betwixt Athlone and Roscommon, meaning not to suffer any of Her Majesty's subjects to pass that way, using their wills. Sir Arthur Savage, being then at Athlone, sent to me, letting me know thereof, willing my present repair to him with as many men as I could. I repaired to him as he desired. We marched out of Athlone having but 230 foot, with some 26 horse of our friends', towards Ballinasloe, where we met my Lord of Clanrickarde with some 300 foot and 60 horse. We presently agreed to draw towards their camp, being seven miles off, hoping to come upon them. They hearing of our passing to Ballinasloe, they (*sic*) dislodged themselves, and marched to meet us. We suddenly met them, being very late. Our horse charged them, and the vanguard of our foot seconded us with great speed, as we put them to flight. The woods and bogs were so near, the night being so dark, as we did not in the woods know one another. They were so separated, as they will not meet in haste. We had the killing but of six of them, hurt many, took three colours of them, four barrels of powder, twelve pieces of lead, great store of match, with all their baggages. We received no hurt but one of my horsemen, who will I hope recover, and a horse of a gentleman of my Lord of Clanrickarde's shot. We encamped that night in the town that they were to besiege, and the next day, the third day, the Earl went to his country. Sir Arthur, with that small number he had, went to a house of mine called Gallie, within three mile[s] of Roscommon, giving out that he would stay in the country to prosecute such of them as stayed; where we stayed three days, having no means to stay longer, and that their forces were broken. We marched through that pass which they plashed and made their scontes [in], we burning their villages; in which pass such as kept the same made some thirty shot at us, being breaking (*sic*) of their scontes. We made the pass clear, broke their scontes, and came to Athlone without hurt. Nevertheless, one villain, Dagh-dalie O'Kelly, joined with O'Connor Roe, and others of the county of Roscommon since, who are now keeping of the Justice Dillon's

1600.

corn and mine ; but I hope I shall within this (*sic*) few days come to the caring of it. In truth, Right Honourable, there is no good order taken for Connaught as yet." Is sorry to trouble Sir Robert so often. "I am also sorry that I cannot have my will for one three months, assuring your Honour, unless there be a light army afoot to be still going abroad for one two months, the villains will use their wills this winter. I think your Honour did not thoroughly read my last tedious letter. God is my witness this course must be taken afore any great good may be done, and in doing of which (*sic*) your Honour shall see that all the kingdom shall be made quiet. I beseech your Honour let mine advice be required here, and, if it take no effect, let me be heard no more. If this course be held but for two or three months, I will undertake that Her Majesty may discharge three thousand of her army ere [it] be long." If the Queen's service be not brought to good pass in her sacred life time, there will be no dwelling for him or his in Ireland. The Lord Deputy has promised that according to Sir Robert's letter, the writer shall "be respected." At this instant is to depart for Connaught on special service, and whatever means he gets during this rebellion, is bound to Sir Robert for the same. Prays that the bearer, John Coulie, may receive such small sums of money as are due to the writer.—Dublin, 1600, September 2. *Holograph.* pp. 2½.

Sept. 3.

4. "Memorial to the Lords of Her Majesty's Council, on the behalf of the Treasurer of Ireland, by Thomas Hibbotts and Thomas Wattson, his Agents."

That the commission for the taking of the Treasurer's first year's account may be in the form "that hath been accustomed to all his predecessors, time out of mind, and not according to the commission brought into Ireland by the late Auditors, whereby his account was to be taken according to law and justice." He desires that it may be taken according to equity and conscience, as all other great accounts have passed. If the Treasurer shall be enforced to make his account according to the strict course of law, he must fall into Her Majesty's mercy, for that no part of his proceedings in his reckonings have been according to the course of law."

Touching the book of the issue of extraordinaries and imprests. More money wanted for extraordinaries, "for that my Lord Deputy's long lying in the field will make the extraordinaries many and [they] must be paid at his Lordship's return." Concerning Captains who pretended that their leasehold lands were waste. That Travers, the late Commissary of victuals, have no money imprested to him, as there are overcharges in his accounts ; and also that, owing to the imperfectness of his book, payment be suspended to any Captains or pensioners who are suitors for money, "pretending the same is due." More money wanted for the payment of the officers who are to be discharged on the Lord Deputy's return, and for use during the coming absence of the Treasurer.

To acquaint the Council that the companies of such Captains as have been slain, since the Lord Deputy's journey into the north, have reinforced other decayed bands, whereby Her Majesty's army was lessened, on the 20th of October, by 500 foot and 50 horse.

1600.

“ He humbly beseecheth your Lordships’ resolution in the case of Mr. Justice Saxey, who holdeth in Munster the place of Chief Justice, and hath 100*l.* entertainment per annum. He likewise is Second Justice of Her Majesty’s Bench, where he never cometh, nor hath no Deputy to execute the same, and challengeth 100*l.* per annum for his entertainment for that place. The Fathers of the law at Dublin are directly of opinion that it is against the law for one man to hold two such places. Sir Nicholas Walsh, his predecessor, being removed from Chief Justice in Munster to be Second Justice of the Bench, the ancient fee thereof being but 36*l.* per annum, made humble suit to Her Majesty in the year 1587 to have that fee increased. Her Majesty was graciously pleased, in regard of his good services, to increase the same to 100*l.* per annum, which increase of 64*l.* was granted by a concordatum, to be paid quarterly out of the fines and casualties of that time, and to continue no longer, but until the then Lord Deputy shall provide a place of better maintenance for Sir Nicholas Walsh. Mr. Saxey can make this no precedent for himself to challenge both entertainments, because Sir Nicholas held but one. Mr. Treasurer thinketh it no reason that Mr. Saxey should be gratified for Sir Nicholas Walsh’s service.”

That imposts hereafter made to Captains, and such payments as shall be made in England to towns for cess of soldiers or otherwise, by direction from their Lordships, may be paid by the hands of the Treasurer’s agents in England, for they belong peculiarly to his place, have been formerly paid by the agents of his predecessors, and must always pass in the Treasurer’s accounts.

That order be taken for the building of a convenient storehouse at Lough Foyle. Through want thereof, they are enforced to hire a great ship, to contain the provisions for the army.

That whereas order was given for the sale of Her Majesty’s pinnace the Popinjay, lying at Dublin, as it was very old and unserviceable, the Council at Dublin are informed that the pinnace, being in that condition, belongs to the Lord Admiral. Their Lordships’ resolution on that point is desired. If the Popinjay does not belong to the Lord Admiral, a commission is prayed for to two or four of the Council to effect the sale.

Touching a surplusage of suits and arms delivered to the late reinforcements of the army in Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1600, September 3. *Unsigned.* pp. 3.

Sept. 6.
Chester.

5. H. Hardware, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Yesterday Captain Yorke drew all the companies to muster. Had search made “in the streets and other suspected houses” for idle and vagrant persons. Divers were apprehended, fourteen of whom he impressed and put into pay. Had further search made at night, “but yesterday’s work so feared them, as that all those idle fellows that before loitered here were fled away.” As to Sir Henry Dockwra’s statement that fifty horse lately shipped at Chester had not, when he wrote, been landed at the Derry, the owner of the bark that carried Sir Henry’s letter assured him that at the very entrance of Lough Foyle, as he came forth, he met Captain Hart

1600.

with all the horse entering in, except Blundell's bark, with some ten horse, which the said owner found in the Isle of Man, waiting for a prosperous wind.—Chester, 1600, September 6. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Sept. 7.
Dublin.

6. Captain N. Dawtrey to Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Feels bound to unfold unto him matters that nearly touch Her Majesty and her service.

“My Lord Deputy is a marvellous temperate gentleman, and very affable, but I fear me that Tyrone's faction here have gotten a strong possession of him, and that they do abuse him with their cunning, whereby the rebellion will stand long, and put Her Majesty unto great charge; more than she need to be at, if right courses were taken. Owen O'Neill hath laid down some of their names in England in the first articles he delivered in, who if they be not removed and sent for, according unto his laying down, every honest man that is towards the service shall be cut off by device. For my part I am as well welcome unto the faction as water into the ship. They do maintain Sir Arthur O'Neill against Owen McHugh McNeill More, not for the ability that Sir Arthur O'Neill hath towards the overthrow of the capital rebel, but because they would have the service of Owen McHugh McNeill More destroyed. They give out underhand that Sir Arthur O'Neill shall be made Earl of Tyrone; which underhand dealing doth not only discourage Owen O'Neill to do service, but also it causeth his followers and friends that would forsake the rebellion, to stand off, saying they see no credit he hath with the estate. They persuade that Sir Samuel Bagenall is the fittest to be Governor of the garrison of Armagh, and myself to be a private Captain under his command, because they know that the Bagenalls have been so ill beloved for their extortions, that none of the chief men of Ulster will come at him. And myself is appointed to serve there under his command, because I might be sent out upon wilful roads (whereof he is full of them (*sic*)), to small purpose, for to destroy my band of horse (which is the best band in Ireland, except that which was last sent to Lough Foyle), together with my person, to the end that I might not live to do Tyrone any further harm. So as Owen O'Neill is stricken out of heart, that in my soul and conscience hath dedicated himself wholly to spend his life in Her Majesty's service. And for my part I [get] but small encouragement; but obedience is better than sacrifice, and the first point that a soldier ought to learn is obedience. Therefore I will obey whatsoever is commanded me to do, and more will I not meddle withal.

“Since my arrival, neither myself [n] or Owen O'Neill were called, [n] or one question moved unto us, touching the service of Ulster; notwithstanding my Lord Deputy is now setting forth unto the northern journey. As I remember, my Lord Treasurer and your Honour told me that it was Her Majesty's pleasure that I should have the government of the garrison of Armagh, and that I should give my Lord Deputy counsel for the war, and especially for that of Ulster. My Lord Deputy telleth me that your Honour's letters have these words, that it is Her Highness [s] commandment that I should lie at Armagh and give counsel unto the war there

1600.

of Ulster. Which his Lordship understandeth, that I should lie there as a private Captain, and give counsel unto the Colonel that shall lie there. And it seemeth that it is Mr. Fenton's opinion also, that came lastest (*sic*) from your Honours. I think it shall be but a folly in [me] to give counsel unto him that can nor will take counsel, for his old faults hang upon him till this day; which faults your Honour have heretofore well noted in him. Neither did the Bagenalls and I ever agree, which is well noted by Tyrone's faction here, who by their counsel have pinioned my arms behind me, with purpose to cut me off from all ability to be able to do any service to purpose. There be some Councillors of the Estate that bite the lip at this choice of this Colonel. There be others, [who] are near unto my Lord and wise, that tell me he is appointed Colonel out of England, and that my Lord is commanded to place him there. But howsoever it be, the service is clearly out of joint, and Her Majesty continually surcharged.

"Further, I am credibly informed that there is order come out of England to discharge some 1,000 or 2,000 men now against winter, for that Her Majesty would be eased of some part of her charge here. I beseech your Honour to have regard that I be not blamed for my opinion, which I will deliver, taking God for my record that I do it for Her Majesty's best service. The counsel that hath been given to have men discharged against winter (the rebellion standing in that strength as it is, not being abated yet to any purpose) hath been very ill counsel. And if it might be well examined to that purpose, it will prove to have sprung from Tyrone's faction, or otherwise of mere ignorance and want of experience. For one year's strong war from August to June doth damage the rebellion more than ten summers. The reasons are, because that the nights are long, which covers Her Majesty's army or garrisons, when they draw night drafts upon the enemy, which the short nights of the summer cannot do without discovery. Then for March, April, and May, when the nights begin to grow short, the garrisons lying upon the frontiers of the enemy, they pen their cattle in the woods, where they will starve and cast their calves, which is as strong an overthrow unto the rebellion as if they had been all overthrown in battle. But concerning a discharge, it will stand well with the estate of the army here, that some part of it were discharged to fill up the rest of the companies that are sunk, to make them full companies and strong, and to supply the army out of England, to fill the greatest list that Her Majesty hath heretofore allowed for this rebellion; so may she have the rebellion of Ulster well overthrown by the end of May, if money and victual be provided for the same service, [and] if a right course be taken in it.

"I know when I speak of expert Colonels, it is thought that I speak of my own particular; wherein Her Majesty is no small loser, and her service not a little cast backward. But yet I must deliver truth, although I know it hath undone me in ability of living. And without such expert Colonels for the service of Ulster, all cost is lost; let the regiment of Lough Foyle be the example. Although the Colonel were well chosen for a gallant gentleman, and a reasonable good soldier for the Low Countries, yet here, for want of experience, he having 4,000 footmen and 2[00] or 300 horsemen,

1600.

all are sunk to nothing without any service done worth the speaking of. The report here is, that he is not above 1,500 footmen strong; and for horsemen, I think not twenty more than the 50 now sent. And for Sir Samuel Bagenall his horse, he had come to nothing; and his foot, were it not for many supplies that he hath had, they were sunk to as little a matter; and yet the old soldiers tell me not a day's service done worth the speaking of. And yet he hath many a heady road to no purpose towards the abating of the rebellion, or harming it to purpose. On this fashion Her Majesty shall be driven to keep up an army to the world's end. The way to overthrow the capital rebel is easy, but his faction even in this Estate is so great in persuasion, that a right course shall never be taken until they be taken away. And they will never be all taken away, until that there come a commission unto sound Commissioners to examine the borders of Ulster, especially the county of Louth, for there will be tales told that will touch some unto the quick. Let those that Owen O'Neill laid in his first articles at the Court unto your Honours be sent for away, and especially Weston, and well examined and racked. And he will tell you sound tales, if he be well handled. He can never be apprehended at any turn to have matter wanting to hang him, if it be but one ten days after his last pardon, for he hath daily want of new pardons. For he daily and almost hourly doth send or receive from and to Tyrone, and letters are interchangeably sent between Sir Geoffrey Fenton and Weston. Perhaps Sir Geoffrey Fenton will say that he hath great intelligence from the capital rebel by Weston; and that I believe to be true. But that intelligence (I will warrant) tendeth more for Sir Geoffrey's particular than for Her Majesty's service, or else [there would be] some fruits of all this intelligence so long used. Neither is it possible that Weston should deliver anything hurtful, considering that Weston is the Earl of Tyrone's officer for all his accounts. He is his steward, auditor, receiver, paymaster, intelligencer, treasurer, mustermaster, and all other kind of offices he executeth. Yea, and he is the manager of his bribes also, which I think is very great. Can a man of this trust, that is so absolutely without account, betray his master? And that in five or six years Her Majesty can hear of no service done by it, I fear me our mistress is rather deceived than his master in the least matter.

"I stand in a very ill case in the service here, if Her Majesty be not gracious unto me, for my estate of living there is engaged, as your Honour knoweth. And here I have but four shillings a day, without I should sink my company, as others for the most part do. Which I had rather eat my fingers than do, because I would be an example unto others. Here be that have both hor[se] and foot, that are but mean Captains for carriage and experience. My entertainment for my horse company will not defray my charge of rent for two chambers in Dublin; and never speak of horse meat and man's meat, such is the dearth of all things. Besides, if your Honour be not good unto me for any charge that I have or shall have, to move Her Majesty that Her Highness would be pleased to give commandment hither that I may be continued with my charge, whosever be cashiered, so long as Her Majesty holdeth an army, or garrisons of horse and foot, as one of the old army, except that

1600.

my behaviour shall deserve the contrary, for now I am entered into this army again I would gladly live and die in it; and without doubt, if such a letter come not for me, at the next cashier some one gallant or other will be in love with my company, and procure my discharge to get himself into it.”—Dublin 1600, September 7. *Holograph.* pp. 6.

Sept. 7.
Dublin.

7. Captain N. Dawtrey to Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Arrived at Dublin on the 22nd of August. On the 23rd he mustered his company before Mr. Birkinshawe, the Comptroller of the Musters. By the opinion of such as beheld them, they were “the fairest company of horse that came into Ireland since the beginning of the rebellion. But before they had been here twenty days, they were (in my conscience) 200 lbs. worse than they were at their arrival, through the change of air and the great want of horsemeat that is about this town, and consequently in all the Pale throughout.” All things are very dear. Horsemen can hardly live on 18*d.* a day, yet some have only 12*d.*, but these “never front the enemy, and hardly can they be brought together.” It is more profitable to Her Majesty to give 18*d.* a day. The Lord Deputy has laid down 15*d.* a day for the writer’s company, which contents them not, though his Lordship says it is 3*d.* more than his instructions warrant. His company petitioned, without his privity, for 18*d.* *per diem*. Wanted to have them punished for example’s sake, but the Lord Deputy forgave them, because it was their first error. Prays, however, because of the dearth of all things, and because his company is nearest the enemy, and is as well horsed and furnished as any in Ireland, that his men may have 18*d.* a day.

The late successes in Leinster. “Only this is necessary to deliver unto your Honour, that I perceive the army here are grown too delicate for the service of this realm, for that I have seen of it, for few of them do wear their arms; which for my poor opinion is the diminishing of half the strength of the army, and the glory of the whole army utterly taken away.”

Mr. William Fortescue is very well and in health.—Dublin, 1600, September 7. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Sept. 7.
Dublin.

8. Captain N. Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Copy of preceding.*] —Dublin, 1600, September 7. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

Sept. 7.
Dublin.

9. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. “I make bold to put you in mind of Captain Blage’s letter, because it imports greatly the furtherance of Her Majesty’s service, and the utter overthrow of that traitor Tyrone, if it be performed as it is undertaken. And if it please you (as your Honour determined), to let Captain Blage know by your letter that I have acquainted you with the offer of the service that McWilliam hath caused him to send unto me, and that you like of his offer, and, in such sort the service being by him performed, he shall have all his demands performed, and have you to be his sure friend, and so Blage’s for furthering of it. And, because he shall be sure that all his demands shall be performed

1600.

unto him, you would have Blage bring over with him a special man from McWilliam, with whom he will trust his life, that he may be a witness with Blage to satisfy McWilliam concerning the assurance which your Honour doth give him. And if he hap to be a man out in action with McWilliam whom he shall send, that his name be delivered to the bearer of your letters, and he may with your Honour's direction get him protection, with further direction to the Treasurer there for delivery of money to bear Blage's and others' charges; for so they have need, for they are most beggarly. I will undertake this much to your Honour that, if Captain Blage come over, and after his return with assurance from your Honour to McWilliam, the service will be performed as it is offered, or I will pay the charges Her Majesty shall be at for them. My Lieutenant, who hath long followed the wars with me, is now here in the country with me, and is a man of great secrecy, whom (*sic*) I beseech you may be the messenger of your letter, and he shall know nothing, but secretly and faithfully deliver your letter, with such money as shall be sent to Blage, and come away with them, when they have assurance of McWilliam his resolution. The secrecy of the handling of it, and the expedition, is all. It will also in my opinion be fit that McWilliam be not named in your letter to Blage, but only described as you shall think best."—Wookstock, 1600, September 7. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 7.
[London.]

10. Earl of Desmond to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have received this morning by John Power certain letters forth of Ireland, which in regard that you may see by their advertisements what benefit may grow unto Her Highness['s] service, and what obstacles to the contrary, I thought fit to have presented unto you." Has not been furnished with the horses appointed him by Cecil.—"From my lodging," 1600, September 7. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Sept. 8.
Oatlands.

11. Warrant of Queen Elizabeth to Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, granting him leave to repair to England for the passing of his accounts, and to bring over all his books and papers incident to the same.—Oatlands, 1600, September 8. *Sign manual.* *Seal.* p. 1.

Sept. 8.
Derry.

11A. Neale Garve's first demands, with Sir Henry Dockwra's answers thereto.—Derry, 1600, September 8. *Copy.* *Latin.* pp. 2.

Sept. 10.
The Court.

12. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir John Bolles. "Having received a packet at one time, as well from Sir Henry Dockwra as from yourself, I acquainted Her Majesty with the contents of both, wherein I found Her Majesty very ill satisfied with the desperate advertisements from the place itself, and no way contented to see such likelihood of other inconvenience, if the particular mislikes between you the principal Commanders should go forward. For answer whereunto, it hath pleased Her Majesty to give me this direction.

1600.

First, for his demands (which are to have 1,500 or 2,000 men), that they are such as upon this sudden Her Majesty cannot supply them; for it is as much as she can do to provide victual to maintain those numbers till the spring that are there already, neither is she willing to charge her countries with more levies, having so lately exhausted them, especially when it is likely to raw men such a place will rather serve *now* for a grave than a garrison. But Her Majesty is rather now determined to cause that garrison to be reinforced hereafter out of some of those soldiers that are already in Ireland (whereof there will be some abatement after the harvest, when my Lord shall have planted his garrison at Armagh; before which time, if Her Majesty would make her levies, it would be long ere they could be transported). Nevertheless, I have thought good to desire you to consider how by any means possible you could procure any voluntaries to go over with you, to make those numbers as many as you can that are to pass over at this present passage, to whom there shall be given both apparel and arms. I pray you also, let me be certified whether the last supplies from London be arrived, and how you find those 100 to stand that you are to carry over; and thus much for the present concerning the public.

“It remaineth next to make you some answer concerning your own particular. There is no authority conferred upon Sir Henry Dockwra, but it is derived from the Deputy, which being the rule whereby he is guided, Her Majesty cannot in particular give any direction immediately without him, for that were derogatory to him, of whom all we that are Her Majesty’s ministers are, and mean to be, very respectful. But my Lords will not fail to write to my Lord Deputy that he do seriously expostulate with Sir Henry Dockwra the breach of any order in your particular, and to command him precisely to reform it. But, Sir John Bolles, let me say plainly this unto you, that if you will consider what a confusion it will be to Her Majesty’s service if you two shall not there agree, and what a touch it will be to you to put Her Majesty now to a new choice of one in your place, in regard of any your private occasions (considering with what trust and good opinion she sends you), and that indeed the accidents in that place make Her Majesty apt to condemn any man that by the sway of any particular respect of him gives her occasion to take new cares and orders for her service, surely I am of opinion it would give you a greater blow in her mind than I could wish you should adventure. For it is true that particular emulations, *nay open injuries*, must be suspended (in persons that love the Queen and her service) in causes of extremity wherein the public is interest. I pray you, therefore, although I write not this as particularly directed by my Sovereign, who useth not to descend from commandment to persuasion, yet think not that I speak myself altogether, but know that what I do write both is and will be judged by Her Majesty in this case, and therefore I beseech you use all possible means to carry your troops as full as you can, and go with this resolution, rather to digest humours of others than to draw back from the place where now (as things stand) you cannot be spared. And do not doubt this that you shall have liberty to return after things be settled there, if you find not yourself thoroughly righted, wherein you shall find that I will deserve your profession of goodwill, as far as shall lie

1600.

within my power. But if, before you make trial, *you shall*, upon apprehension of particular unkindnesses (and before you have given Her Majesty satisfaction that you will prefer her service before your particular), put *her* to new cumber with placing and displacing, I do confess I shall have little ground to persuade Her Majesty to continue her good opinion, especially considering that this is the instant when the Lord Deputy is to march to the frontier. And when you see that if Sir Henry Dockwra should do otherwise than well, there is none to hold any correspondence, nor to take such a charge as this, but yourself, neither can any other be provided now who could arrive in any time, if these reasons do not move you, then write back again what you will; but because I will not deceive you, I pray you promise yourself of me no more in this particular than this, that Her Majesty shall see your letter, but shall receive from me no other mediation nor excuse; for even in truth I confess plainly (things standing in so extreme terms for Her Majesty's service as they do, and of which the time affordeth no other opportunity of reformation), I shall in *pleading for you* seem more careful of my friend than of her service, *which I will never be, God willing, although* in their true order I trust no man shall find me less respectful of *both public and private* than agreeth with the duties of an honest man. Wherein, because you may perceive whether I write without ground, you shall understand that he professeth to find such weakness in the troops, as he wisheth these 100 were 1,500 more. He seemeth also to note in Sir Arthur O'Neill discontentment, *and says he will send him to Dublin*. He describeth also some errors in his own in not taking in some places which might be kept with a very small charge, which now he will amend; and to make the matter worse withal, having discovered McSwyne Ne Doe his treacheries when the sixty horses were lost, and being directed to send him to Dublin to be executed, he hath suffered him negligently to escape. All which things laid together, though I like not to judge altogether by success, yet I am afraid that his nature is a little too formal to deal in the Irish services and Irish humours."—The Court, 1600, September 10.

Sir Robert Cecil has added :—"Concerning your request for your son, if God should call you, although I hope it shall never come in question, yet assure yourself I will stay it from those whom you appoint." *Unsigned, with corrections and additions in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.* pp. 3.

Sept. 10.
Dublin.

13. Gerald Young, Mayor of Dublin, to Sir Robert Cecil. That the Corporation of the city may be paid certain sums of money due for the dieting of soldiers. Their agent, Alderman Nicholas Weston, has been authorised to spend the money in procuring a supply of Dansk rye and Newfoundland fish, for the relief of the garrison and of the inhabitants of Dublin. Losses of Weston's own shipping.—Dublin, 1600, September 10. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 10.
Ardbraccan.

14. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The remembrance of such informations as I hear are presented to Her most excellent Majesty and their Lordships against me (in

1600.

regard the offences are so heinous which are laid to my charge), doth in some sort discourage me from writing to your Honour; but the knowledge I have of your Honour's disposition, and the testimony which I carry of a clear conscience in these injurious imputations, doth embolden me at this present to trouble you with this letter. Wherein I see just cause to bewail my hard condition above the rest of this Council, who, living here in a place of daily danger, subject to the incursions of the rebels, and yet continuing my zealous services to Her Majesty, by the malice of some wicked detractor, have been made the mark whereat he hath aimed, to steal from me the favour of my Sovereign and the good opinion of their Lordships, the only recompense I did expect and hope for of all my endeavours. And so much more grievous is my case, in that I see myself, as it were, overborne with untruths, and overladen with such crimes as, if they should prove true (as God forbid), instead of a bishop and of a Privy Councillor, which places I hold by Her Majesty's grace, I might justly be accounted an irreligious creature in the presence of God, and an unworthy varlet in the judgment of my Prince. In consideration of which imputations, I protest unto your Honour I stand amazed and astonished at the impudence of the informer whosoever he was; that howsoever his malice towards myself did not restrain him from charging me wrongfully with these shameless untruths, yet the regard of the excellency of Her Highness['s] sacred person, representing on earth the majesty of the eternal God, nor respect to their Lordships' authority, did bridle him from using this unseemly office. I humbly crave your Honour's pardon for using this vehemency, remembering how deeply both my conscience, credit, and reputation are touched. For a bishop, of Her Majesty's creation, to maintain a friary for particular profit, against his knowledge, conscience, and profession, I hold it an offence impious and abominable before God, and worthy of detestation in all good men. And for a bishop so far to neglect or forget his calling as not to shew himself careful to see churches repaired, is an offence that bewrayeth rather atheism than Christianity. In the first of these imputations, I call God and His angels to witness with my conscience that I am altogether innocent. And for the second, although I have not been thoroughly so careful as I should, yet that I have not been in any measure so careless as is informed, I pawn my credit with your Honour for the justification of my answer now sent to their Lordships; and besides, for your Honour's particular satisfaction, do send unto you the inclosed particular note, under my hand and my Register's, of the several churches within my diocese, which (so far as my remembrance upon this sudden can reach) are at this instant, upon my credit, in good reparation. And I do promise your Honour I will be more careful in this behalf, especially if I may be authorised from your Lordships to sequester the tithes of the impropriate churches in my diocese (reserving to Her Majesty her accustomed rent). I might inform your Honour how that some churches upon this border, as mine own church of Ardraccan, of Kells, Clongell, and other places, where garrisons have been placed in the winters past, are decayed and in a manner quite pulled down by the soldiers; but, in regard I have taken order for the

1600.

rebuilding of them in a convenient time, I will not trouble you with excuses. But now I do appeal to your Honour's censure, how injuriously I have been dealt with by this informer, who hath sought thus maliciously to work my disgrace. I will not hide it from your Honour that I have a shrewd conjecture who is the man that hath done me this wrong. For there is a gentleman in this kingdom, who indeed doth bear me an inward malice, for crossing sometimes his corrupt and dishonest shifts whereby he liveth. And I would to God the dealings of us all were thoroughly known unto your Honour; then might you see the difference between such as serve Her Majesty with zeal and with a good conscience, and others who do respect their own privacy. For very true it is, that not every one that saith he serves Her Majesty in this realm doth serve her simply, without other respects. The store of goods which have been gotten indirectly doth witness this. Thus much I thought good to write unto your Honour to satisfy yourself (whom above all others next to Her sacred Majesty I am desirous to satisfy), being known in a manner only to yourself, and resting much bounden unto your honourable favour towards me when I was in distress in England (which I will during my life most thankfully remember). If this my letter do satisfy your Honour, then my humble suit unto your Honour is to vouchsafe me this favour, to be a mean to satisfy Her Highness, that I may recover Her Majesty's good opinion, which by my faithful services I have and still will endeavour to deserve, and without the which I do not desire to live. And if any scruple or doubt, either by reason of these or any like imputations, doth rest in your Honour's breast, then I beseech you to vouchsafe me your private letter to the Lord Deputy to grant me leave to come unto yourself, and to prostrate myself at Her Majesty's feet, with my purgation from these or any other matters that are laid to my charge, and with justification of my loyal and faithful behaviour to Her Majesty, and honest carriage in the world, against any that hath or can accuse me."—Ardbraccan, 1600, September 10.

[*Postscript.*] Warns against one Walter Brady, a merchant of Drogheda, who is a suitor for a pension. He did procure a castle to be built at the Cavan, but has aided the rebels. He received into his house the traitorous Primate Magawran, who was killed in Connaught, and whose goods were begged by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Brady also conveyed out of Drogheda the traitor Owen O'Reilly, a rebel of great account, and expectant successor of this old O'Reilly, by Tyrone's promise. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

14. i. "*A note of such churches and chancels within the diocese of Meath as are at this instant in good reparation, most of them being in East Meath,*" seventy-nine in number, "*and divers other churches in my diocese are in good reparation for the bodies of the churches, the chancels are in decay, being inappropriate, &c.*" Signed by the Bishop of Meath and by Richard Conan, Register of Meath.—1600, September 10. p. 1.

Sept. 12.
Dublin.

15. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "Since our last despatch, we have been continually busied

1600.

to put in order the preparations for the northern journey, wherein the more toil and time we do spend, the more are we drawn into grief to find so small means to put on so great a service, and so little help of the country in so great a want of all things. For, of ourselves, we have only men to carry into the north, and yet not so many as are requisite for so great an action, considering what forces must of necessity be left behind for the guard of the frontiers, and to hold a prosecution against the rebels in Leinster, until the return of me, the Deputy, from Ulster. But for victuals to sustain all these companies, as well in Leinster as for Ulster, we are exceedingly destitute, having received none from England since our last to your Lordships of the 28th of the last month; at what time we sent you a certificate, under the victualler's hand, of the poor remain of all natures then in the store, and for how many days it would serve the army for the north only, without dividing any part to the companies for Leinster. And for money, as we wrote then how much we fell short therein, and no expectation of help by the country, of whom was borrowed before so much as our credit would reach unto, so since, our wants increasing, and the wind continuing contrary, whereby the treasure at the seaside is not come, our necessity in both is grown now to extremity, for that both the aids of the country and Her Majesty's store can help us no further. Yet we have proceeded in the preparations for the north so far forth, as I, the Deputy, have given order to the companies to rise, and to answer the rendezvous at Dundalk the 15th of this month, where (God willing) I will be at that time, and so march to the Newry, and from thence to Armagh, holding still our first hope that, before I come thither, God will alter the wind to bring victuals from England for a garrison to be left there; otherwise your Lordships are to consider in what case I stand to plant forces in so remote and barren a place, having neither money nor victuals to sustain them. And touching that garrison, which I wish should consist upon 1,000 foot and 100 horse, as hath been before projected to your Lordships, and is expected by you, if God shall turn the wind, and send about victuals and money in reasonable time, I will do my best to plant it according that proportion. But if those aids shall not come in due time, then I have no other choice but to leave a far lesser number there, only to possess the place till greater means do come; which is all that can be done, if I shall be able to do that; having no other ways to victual that small number I shall leave there than to draw it out of the ordinary proportion appointed for the army, and so to pinch the whole body to give sustenance to one of the members. And yet, even in this course, I have reason to doubt that the quantity to be plucked from the army will be so small, as it will greatly incommode them, and give small succour to those few that shall be left there, and for a small time. These be our necessities, and this is my purpose, nevertheless, to extend the service as far as I can, till God shall turn these great wants into further means to do more; humbly desiring your Lordships to consider what an opportunity is like to be lost, and the whole state of the army hazarded, only by the failing of the undertakers with their proportions of victuals. For the archtraitor Tyrone, having drawn together all his forces to stand

1600.

against us in the Moyerie, where he hath entrenched himself, as we hear, and we put under the danger of so many wants and necessities, your Lordships may judge how hard it will be to avoid a disaster.

“Concerning Leinster, this is the state of things there. The Earl of Ormonde, having been here with us in consultation three or four days, and being Lieutenant of the army, I have committed to him the charge of that province during my absence, and have assigned to his Lordship twenty-three companies of foot, containing in list 2,600, and horse, both to serve to guard the frontier towns upon the borders and to answer a prosecution, as his Lordship shall see occasion. But, touching means to sustain these companies, they are in the same predicament the northern army is, save that we have dealt with the five shires of the Pale, to see if they can furnish some small portion of lendings till the treasure shall arrive, wherein we are not as yet assured what they will do, though we think that in good consideration they will strain themselves to advance some money for lendings, rather than the soldiers shall be driven to break upon the country for their victuals; for, to contain them without money or victuals, they have reason to know that there is no law nor discipline can do it. So as we humbly submit to your Lordships to think what may be the issue of the services in these two provinces, when the armies for both places have no means certain to help them, but are carried on with a bare hope of the changing of the wind, which is a most uncertain comfort to preach to soldiers who are every day to be exposed to the bullet. Yet, God willing, there shall be no want in us to put on the service, though the remissness of the undertakers hath done enough to overthrow it. And here we make bold to put your Lordships in mind how requisite it were to have money aforehand to prevent inconveniences, and particularly to relieve the urgent wants of the soldier, who for lack of that help we are driven oftentimes to lay in garrison, not in places where he may do best service, but where he may live, losing thereby many opportunities to do service. And for the Treasurer to have money in store, as haply may be conceived by some, he hath and doth make so many vehement protestations to the contrary, that, being a Christian, we have reason to believe him.

“Donnell Spainagh hath been here and passed his oath to be a subject, and to put in his pledge, at the return of me, the Deputy, for his loyalty and his followers. In whose well-meaning although we stand not confident, till we see a more confirmation, yet for respects, to keep things peaceable in those parts till my return, we have given him a protection for twenty days, and dismissed him for this time. And for the offall of Feagh McHugh, the Earl of Ormonde is to parley with them now in his return to Kilkenny, and with some of the O’Connors, of whose proceedings your Lordships shall be advertised, so soon as the same shall be certified to us by his Lordship.

“We have often heard the Lord Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell, with others of the Pale, for the Pale causes, with whose privity and consent we have at last digested certain ordinances to contain the soldiers and preserve the country; which orders we have published, to the end that as well the country as the army should take notice thereof. And the better to see the country grievances heard and

1600.

redressed, we have given commission to Sir George Carey, Treasurer, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary, to receive their complaints, and give them remedy, according your Lordships' direction in your letter brought by me, the Secretary. So as those two have authority from me, the Deputy, to hear and censure all informations produced and followed by the country, and being thoroughly proved, to inflict punishment upon the offenders, according the measure and quantity of the crimes committed.

"I, the Deputy, have sent to your Lordships herewith two lists of horse and foot, the one containing the companies appointed for the north, the other for Leinster, and have given to the Earl of Ormonde the best advice and direction I can for the ordering of his charge in Leinster and the Pale during my absence; having likewise written to the five shires of the Pale to attend his Lordship with their rising out, for the better defence of the country until my return; the same being the cause that I spared their personal services at this time into the north, for that I had care to leave a strong guard upon the country, and have only appointed a proportion of their carriage-garrans to serve the turn of the army, the victuals, munitions, myself, and the officers of the field, as they are bound by their tenures to every general hosting. But of these carriage-horses as the country hath not sent in a fourth part, though they had sufficient time and warrant for the same, so the want of them cannot but greatly distress us, specially in the transportation of our victuals from the Newry to Armagh, where is no other help of carriage-horses than such as we bring with us out of the Pale. Lastly, we find great lack of a post-bark to pass to and fro between Lough Foyle and Dublin, not having heard from thence these four or five weeks, which we think groweth by want of a bark to serve that turn. In which respect, considering the importance of that garrison, and the care we have to bear it up as far as our means will stretch, we have adventured to erect a passage boat for that purpose, at the rate of 10*l.* *per mensem*, as the other post-barks have, and to continue no longer than there shall be necessary use of her, and then to be dissolved, or before, if your Lordships shall signify your dislike of the charge. But for our parts, we find that, without the service of such a bark, we shall not be able to give and receive intelligence and correspondence touching Lough Foyle, so frequent as is meet."—Dublin, 1600, September 12.

Endorsed :—Received the 19th. *Signed.* pp. 5.

Enclose :—

15. i. (a) "*The list of such as are appointed for the northern service, September, 1600.*" Horse, 375; foot, 3,450.

(b) "*The list of such forces as are left under the command of the Earl of Ormonde in or about the Pale.*" Horse, 157; foot, 2,700. Unsigned. pp. 3½.

Sept. 12.

16. "The monthly charge of Her Majesty's army in Ireland, 12 September, 1600," being 16,284*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* sterling, exclusive of "divers Irishmen in Her Majesty's pay, as Sir Arthur O'Neill and his followers;" also, "the yearly charge of the officers of musters in Ireland," being 1,730*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* sterling. *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

1600.

Sept. 13.
Dublin.

17. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, to Queen Elizabeth. "The reports which here are spread abroad of your Highness[']s great dislike conceived against me, do oppress my heart with grief and sorrow, and enforce me to bewail mine unhappy estate, that, after my long and faithful services in these thirty-eight years, wherein I have served your Majesty as a Privy Councillor, I feel my credit to be impaired by some detractor unknown to me, without desert, such is the condition of many in these days, to seek to grace themselves by disgracing others.

"In this distress and perplexity of mind, I have none other refuge to fly unto but your Majesty's wonted grace, before the which I do most lowly prostrate myself and my white hairs, with my most humble submission upon the knees of my heart, confessing your Majesty hath great cause to be offended with us all that your service hath had no better success; and yet affirming, upon my duty and credit, that my counsel and advice hath been unfeignedly bent to further the same howsoever it hath been followed. What suggestions have bred this alteration in your Majesty's royal breast I cannot so much as conjecture, but rest most ready and do not doubt to satisfy your Highness in any particular, that is or can be laid to my charge; being revived with this only hope, that your Highness in your princely grace will not condemn your ancient and faithful servant, who always hath been and yet is willing even to lose his life in the furtherance of your service. God Almighty bless and preserve your Majesty with long life and prosperous reign, to the benefit of His Church and comfort of all your true and loyal subjects."—Dublin, 1600, September 13. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 13.
Dublin.

18. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I understand (to my exceeding great grief) by every one almost that come[s] hither from Court, that there are great and grievous complaints and informations given both to Her Majesty and your Lordships against me, and that in regard thereof I am held in great disgrace, and in a manner condemned. My recourse in such like cases heretofore was to your honourable father, who still protected mine innocent and just carriage against all malicious detractors; and, since it is my greatest unhappiness now to want him, to whom I was best known even from my youth, I know not where to cast myself but upon you, who (by the general report of all men) doth most truly inherit all your most noble father's virtues; and, if you forsake me, I shall be, as the prophet saith, like unto them that go down into the pit. My desire only is, since I am now grown old, and that I have spent the greatest part of my life in Her Majesty's service (and by my faithful carriage therein purchased much envy) I may not carry undeserved infamy to my grave, but that, by your honourable means, I may be charged with some particulars, whereunto I may answer (if there be any other than were contained in that last letter of your Lordships whereunto I have, I hope, sufficiently answered), and such further course [be] taken for my trial therein, as shall be thought meet for a man of my sort. I have written to the Lords, the double whereof I have thought good to send your Honour hereinclosed, and if I shall not, in any due

1600.

course of trial, acquit my doings from all dishonest dealing and deceit, I renounce all favour.”—Dublin, 1600, September 13.
Signed. Seal. p. 1.

Encloses:—

18. i. *The Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, to the Privy Council. Has very seldom troubled them with his letters. The grievous informations against him. Prays that his accusers may be compelled to charge him with some particulars. Is ready to acquit his doings thoroughly of all dishonesty and corruption. His unhappiness to have overlived those noble Councillors, who had known him from his youth up. Has many writings under Her Majesty's hand shewing her acceptance of his services. If on trial he does not free his whole life from blemish, he renounces all favour. Desires by the bearer, whom he has purposely sent, some signification of their Lordships' pleasures. His trust in Her Majesty, to whom he has written. Is resolved to adventure his whole estate, to go and throw himself at her feet. Has preferred her service to his life, and is thus “now unworthily brought into this obloquy and slander.”—Dublin, 1600, September 13. Copy. p. 1.*

Sept. 13.
Dublin.

19. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “The journey for Ulster is thus far advanced, that to-morrow the Lord Deputy draweth towards Dundalk, from thence to pass to the Newry and Armagh, but with so many wants and impediments as I grieve to write them, having summarily represented them in the common letter sent herewith. And as the want of convenient means may cross the good success of that great service, so in reason there are none so justly to be charged therewith as the undertakers, who have not observed so much as one time prefixed in their contracts for their victuals to be here; against which they have nothing to reply but the contrariety of winds, and yet in that case their objection is not so certain as suspicious. For, since July, which was the time of their last contract, it is known here that the wind hath favoured them enough to bring up their victuals of that month's bargain, if they had been ready to take the wind. My reason is, that since that month sundry vessels have arrived here from the south and west parts of England, and out of France, and the same wind might have brought along the victuals hither, if the undertakers had been fitted for it. And therefore, under your Honour's favour, it were good they were called and charged, letting them know that, in their default, this honourable service northwards is like to receive blemish, if not more dangerously crossed. And likewise the service of Leinster, being now well entered into, is by the same destitution of victuals in the like danger, for the want of means to carry it on as it ought. So as in effect, the whole affairs martial of the kingdom, and the stopping of the present storms thereof, is put to a plunge by this unhappy failing of the undertakers. Want of money also is one cause of this calamity. But that we know proceedeth merely from the contrariety of the wind, being assured that the treasure hath remained many days at the seaside. Yet I doubt not

1600.

but both the expedition of Ulster and prosecution in Leinster will proceed, notwithstanding these wants, which by a favourable turning of the wind cannot but be relieved, when it shall please God to give it. And in the meanwhile, as much shall be done for the sustentation of this cause as is possible in this bare country, where aboundeth nothing more than a want of things that are needful. The matters of Leinster are committed to the Earl of Ormonde, having a good part of the army to answer that service, besides the rising out of the country being left at home to attend the borders. But, if the Earl would in person follow this prosecution in Leinster, as the Lord Deputy doth personally undertake that in Ulster, I durst hope of a good reckoning, and yet I see not but it must prosper under a mean industry, for that the late cutting off of Onie McCrory hath stricken a terror into all the rest. But that which grieveth me is, that if victuals come not up in time to answer the plantation at Armagh, his Lordship must either forbear to plant there at all, or at the most must leave but a handful to possess the place only, which will not yield that correspondence to Lough Foyle, and consequently to the whole service of Ulster, which is looked for both there and here.

"The Palemen have been heard divers times, and at last an establishment of good orders set down, to hold contentment between the soldier and the country, whose grievances and the redress thereof are referred to Mr. Treasurer and me in the absence of his Lordship. The Earl of Ormonde's pledges are all restored except two, which I think will not be long detained, and I hope the late killing of the capital traitor that held him prisoner, with two or three of those that first laid hands on him, will quicken his Lordship to pursue the revenge of the rest."—Dublin, 1600, September 13. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Sept. 13.
Court.

20. Milerus [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The experience which I made of your honourable inclination towards my relieving, by remembering and declaring my poor and decayed estate to Her sacred Majesty, and procuring means for the repairing thereof, emboldeneth me to show unto your Honour how unprofitable and dangerous unto me, though chargeable to Her Highness, the manner prescribed would prove. For, where your Honour intendeth to write to the Lord Deputy or the Lord President, or both, for allowing unto me of some proportion out of checks or dead pays, I have your Honour's letter of the last March allowing me a like proportion as to the chaplains or the Dean of Limerick, the which (though little and unfit it might seem in some men's judgments, in respect of my place and calling, which, well-supported, should afford maintenance to chaplains and preachers), I could not as yet receive. In regard whereof, and that my necessity may not bear with delays, my humble request is, that whatsoever Her Majesty shall be pleased to bestow upon me may (by your honourable procurement) be appointed to me here in England to be received, and not in Ireland; the rather for that I may with greater speed and less danger send hither than either to Dublin or Cork. And as concerning the prebenday (*sic*), or other ecclesiastical living, to be given me here in England, I would thankfully

1600.

accept thereof, if it might be soon had, but the time being uncertain when any shall be void, and when they are void, others like to speed before I may learn the vacancy, my means to continue here being none at all, I may (with the fox expecting the fall of grapes) sooner starve than speed. And for my return into Ireland (my enemies there, both open and private, already being many, and daily increasing by the setting on of seminaries, and my means to resist them being none), I know not to what purpose, if not willingly to deliver myself (as a long-expected prey) into the hands of God's and Her Majesty's enemies. For the avoiding of which inconvenience, and that my poor endeavours might be employed to the furtherance of Her Highness['s] service there, I humbly beseech your Honour to be a mean to Her Majesty whereby I may obtain a competent company of horsemen in pay, as well to safeguard my person in resisting the fury of my malignant adversaries, and serving upon them as occasion shall serve, by direction or otherwise, as in going to and from the Governors for the furtherance of the service. These means for my safety being granted, and some reasonable allowance towards the discharge of my debts, I shall rest contented. And yet in the behalf of my two sons, lately endangered in Her Highness['s] service, I humbly beseech your Honour (your honourable word passed unto me by direction from Her Majesty being the stay whereon they built for their considering), to procure unto them in regard of the said service already performed, and in hope of their dutiful services in time to come (for which I will engage my credit), two companies in Her Highness['s] pay, answerable to all directions within Munster; the which granted will be a sufficient contentment unto them, and an encouragement to others, and a great help unto me for the effecting of divers services, to which others might neither reach nor be trusted with. These things, not so chargeable as they will prove profitable for the furtherance of Her Highness['s] service in Ireland, in respect that some must be employed, and they (it may be) not so willing nor apt to serve there, if your Honour think good to procure for us, I beseech your Honour that with this proviso, to enjoy the said companies until by special direction (unto us namely) from Her Majesty, they be removed from us. For Her Majesty's private enemies being too many, and the service to be done so effectual, I doubt not to find enough, who will work all means for my disabling to the performance thereof. These my requests if they seem unreasonable, and that my painful services these thirty years attempted and performed, to the no less loss of my moveables than of my dearest blood, my kinsmen, tenants, and followers' lives (as by several extant letters from all the Governors, who have from time to time been in Ireland during the said thirty years, may at large appear), merit not such recompense, I will rest contented with the prebend's place here in England, and live without fear of violence, though never so poorly, rather than wilfully deliver myself to my enemies' hands; humbly beseeching your Honour at least to procure some maintenance for my sons, either of concealed lands or otherwise, the which not granted, they must try strange countries, from whence I fear never to see their return, *et sic canos meos ad*

1600.

sepulturam accellerabunt.”—Court, 1600, September 13. [*Postscript.*]
 “Assuring your Honour that the 1070* has not *unde prima nocte*
alimenta sibi suisque providere posset. Fodere non valet, et (nisi a
principe) mendicare erubescit.” Signed. p. 1.

Sept. 14.
 The Naas.

21. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. “This bearer, Robert Leicester, is sent over instructed to answer my Lady Burgh’s demands for the corn supposed to be due unto her. At the return of my servant Sherewood from thence, I understood that by your good means Her Majesty was pleased to remit the rents of such lands and possessions as I hold of Her Highness, which by this rebellion are utterly wasted, and that the same was to be signified hither from the Lords there to my Lord Deputy and Council. For which I think myself greatly beholden unto you, and pray that it may be dispatched with as convenient speed as you may, for that Mr. Treasurer hath made stay of so much as the rent thereof cometh unto of my entertainment, till Her Majesty’s pleasure be signified hither touching the same. My Lord Deputy now upon his repair northward committed the charge of Leinster to me during his absence, having no means for the companies appointed to attend me, but a letter written from himself and the Council to the Mayor of Waterford for the loan of 1,000*l.* till the arrival of the treasure, which I doubt will hardly prevail. The companies assigned to me are for the most part new men, and the weakest that arrived; notwithstanding (God willing) I will not fail to bestow my labour and travail amongst them for the advancement of Her Majesty’s service.

“At the entreaty of young Tibbott Butler (son to my brother Sir Edmond Butler), now prisoner in the castle of Dublin, I have been a suitor to my Lord Deputy and the Council for his enlargement, being about four years past committed thither by myself (he being then a scholar with the Bishop of Ossory), fearing lest, by the enticement of wicked and lewd people, he might be drawn to rebellion, as his brothers were. And although my Lord Deputy and the rest do find no cause why the young man should be any longer restrained from his liberty, yet seeing he hath continued prisoner in so many changes of Governors, his Lordship thought it not fit to enlarge him till he shall receive some directions for the same from Her Majesty or the Lords and you there. Therefore I earnestly pray your help and furtherance to procure warrant for his enlargement, not doubting but that he will serve Her Highness faithfully and truly, to the uttermost of his power.”—The Naas, 1600, September 14. Signed. p. 1.

[Sept. 14.]

22. “A brief of the state of the cause between Lady Burgh, plaintiff, and the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Ormonde, and Sir Robert Gardener, defendants,” with reference to the port-corn claimed by her Ladyship.—[1600, September 14.] Unsigned. pp. 1½.

Sept. 14.
 Dublin.

23. N[icholas St. Lawrence, Baron] Howth to Sir Robert Cecil. “Having delivered the Lords’ letters to my Lord Deputy soon upon

* The Archbishop himself.

1600.

his return from Leix, his Honour limited us a time within some few days to attend him, to possess himself of the truth of those matters for which, at the entreaty of the nobility and principal gentlemen of this country, we were drawn to undergo our last journey into England. And, forasmuch as your Honour, peradventure, or some other of the Lords, will be informed from hence of the proceeding, we humbly beseech your Honour to receive this from us as the very truth of what passed in the handling of that business. Some Barons, together with the principal gentlemen of the English Pale, and numbers also of the inferior sort, every man stirred with a longing desire to know what good our travail into England had procured them, understanding his Lordship had appointed a time for discussing our public cause, repaired to this town; where his Lordship, after some speech made by him of his own zeal unto justice, and purpose to deliver the same in equal measure to all Her Majesty's subjects indifferently, descended to this particular of an instance given by us in England."

Poor compensation granted in this case of "outrageous and barbarous disorders" committed by the soldiers. This was "a course of satisfaction used by 'the Commissioners' in all like causes," as in that of one Richard Nugent. Complaints as to the conduct of quartermasters. These men are now "said to be furriers, an usual word in the Low Countries, but never known to any here, whose breeding stretcheth no further than England, before this instant, as though the variety of the name should alter the nature of the matter. And for the particular proof of the generalities exhibited to Her Highness, we wished what articles were thought fit might be insisted upon, or all successively which we were ready to prove by infinite numbers of instances, wherein was no great difficulty to be feared, the files of the office of the Clerk of the Council being laden with matters of this nature. But being moved by some there not to recall the memory of things past, we could not so much contradict ourselves as not to condescend to that law of oblivion, being a course so correspondent and agreeable to that your Honour knoweth we desired to hold in England. Howbeit there needed no further matter for the proof of our assertions than the proclamations and laws themselves, wherein notice is taken of infinite heinous complaints made, provisions laid down to inhibit extreme disorders, as littering of horses with corn by the soldiers, exacting of money not only for themselves present, but [for] such as they affirmed to be absent, demanding of wine and aquavitæ, taking of distresses, and abusing and beating the poor people at their pleasures. All which, with other infinite enormities, are confessed to be done in the constitutions themselves, whereof the public instrument doth remain in the Council book. But now that it is thought convenient to quit all former scores, we nothing doubt but this Her Highness['s] gracious care to relieve her subjects, which we assure your Honour hath wonderfully contented all sorts of people, will henceforwards be more severely observed, a good magistrate being more necessary than good laws themselves, to repair the ruins of this torn and broken estate."—Dublin, 1600, September 14. *Signed. Seal. pp. 3.*

1600.

Sept. 14.
Westchester

24. Captain Henry Hilton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has brought to Westchester the two hundred men he was appointed to conduct from London. By reason of their bad behaviour on the way, the number he delivered was not above 130 men. No care wanting on his part. Acknowledges Sir Robert's favours, and begs for a continuance of the same.—Dublin, 1600, September 14. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 15.

25. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am this day beginning my journey into the north, with as many difficulties and as few helps as ever a journey of so great consequence was undertaken. Tyrone in his uttermost strength, as I hear, hath possessed the Moyerie, and doth strongly entrench himself against our passage. God willing, we will march over him, for by him we cannot. What grief soever I do suppress in my own heart, *spem vultu simulo*, to give as much life as I can to this poor army, and to last as long as I may to do my mistress service. I confess my discontentment is great, though humble and obedient, to find so contrary success to my endeavours as to find myself taxed for all things wherein I did confidently look for approbation, if not for thanks. If you require from me that I should bring an army to perfection in so small time, you do impose upon me an impossibility, for even the church militant is full of faults and ever will be. But if in every kind that you complain of, I have brought it to better than it was, I have done much, and more in many things than I hoped for myself. The eternal God is my witness that if in anything I have been remiss to this army, it hath not been to bind it to any private mark of my own, but unto hers whom I serve; and, as I think, if in anything I have erred, it hath been in carrying too sparing a hand in those things I am counted too prodigal. But, if you will *gerrere* (sic) *bellum*, it is not in my power *parcere aerario*. Sir, the event of the wisest counsels are (sic) uncertain, and the counsels of the wisest are many times imperfect. What shall I look for, when out of my weakness, though free from wilfulness, I shall happen to commit any error of great consequence, seeing that I am now charged with so many that, neither as matters of fact or right, belong unto me; and as in all that I am charged with, I find but two instances for the abuses of the country; Sir William Warren's cause for continuing and ruining the Queen's charge, [and] the office of the Quartermaster. For the first, the abuse was committed before my time, yet in my time I referred it to be heard by a Bishop, two judges, the Secretary, and all these of the Council. The matter was compounded by the plaintiff and defendant between themselves, and their agreement confirmed by the Committees; and I, hearing no more of the accuser, had no reason to take any further notice of the offender. For the office of the Quartermaster, you may see how truly you are informed of things from hence, for there hath never been any since my coming; and where you command me I should not use him but when the army marcheth, I never did either use or see any in any of my journeys, except when I went first into the north, and only for that time, an allowance to Captain Hansard, that then

1600.

had no other entertainment, for executing the charge of the munition, Sir George Bouchier being absent, the place of a trench-master, because we went to fortify, and this place of a Quartermaster. And for all this he had but the pay belonging to one of these places. If I do not make all my imputations as clear from me as these, let me lose her favour, which of all things I hold most precious. And if I do, then think, I beseech you, what reason I have to complain that have so much to do before me, and yet so much more to answer behind me; seeing whatsoever any man informs you, it is concluded as done by me. Although it be now my case, yet I speak it without any private end, and as I believe, that the chief cause that the affairs of Ireland have prospered so evil, and the Queen lost therein so much time and treasure, hath been because you are content to hear every man against and before the chief Governor here, who in the end discouraged is driven to sit still and save himself, and not to care how matters go, so he may lay the fault from himself. And this could I do ever, I were not true to the vows of my heart that, all respects omitted, I will go on while I live to do her faithful service, unto whom I do owe and have given myself. God prosper this work I have now in hand, for *agitur de imperio Hibernie*. If it succeed, I beseech you, Sir, that my reward may be to have leave to kiss her royal hands, and to spend the rest of my life in quiet but earnest prayers for her.”—1600, September 15. *Holograph. pp. 2½.*

Sept. 15.
Dublin.

26. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “The Lord of Howth having behaved himself there, as your Honour knoweth, without giving offence in the informations he followed, either to the Lord Deputy or the State here, hath likewise held the same course in his proceedings here, and hath been a good instrument to temper the wilfulness of others of the Pale, who otherwise would have insulted too much over the soldiers, being driven sometimes to commit slight misdemeanours against some of the country. Upon this occasion, I acquainted the Lord Deputy privately with your Lordship’s good inclination towards the Lord of Howth, to think him fit to be called to be one of the Council here, being in all our knowledges a nobleman of great worth, and sincerely affected to Her Majesty and her government, such a one as of his rank there are few his like in the kingdom. I told his Lordship also, that Her Majesty was pleased to concur with your Lordships in your good opinion of the Lord of Howth, whereupon his Lordship said he would now write to your Honour to move Her Majesty for a warrant to swear the Lord of Howth here. Which if it please you to procure, it will greatly stead Her Majesty’s service, considering what good use may be made of him, being faithful and discreet, and also it will satisfy the country to see one of themselves called to the trust of Her Majesty’s weighty affairs. And for my part, having long time observed the Lord of Howth, both in his private and in his many employments in the public service, both martial and civil, I make bold to your Honour to make this particular testimony of him, that I have known few of this country birth

1600.

to acquit themselves so well toward Her Majesty and her government here, even in most dangerous times, as the Lord of Howth hath. In which respect I humbly leave him to your honourable consideration, and would be glad his Lordship should receive this grace by your means only, and none other['s], for the which your Honour shall find him, and many others in him, to bear to you a faithful dependency."—Dublin, 1600, September 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

[Sept. 15.
Dublin.]

27. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "The Earl of Ormonde hath been earnest with the Lord Deputy to have his nephew enlarged upon sureties. He is son to Sir Edmund Butler, who hath been by former letters described to your Honour for an use to be made of him to stop a troublesome descent of the Earldom, if the now Earl die without issue male. It cannot be safe for Her Majesty's affairs in this realm to have him set at liberty, and therefore I wish him to be either detained where he is, or sent for thither to be contained within the Tower. He hath continued prisoner here almost three years, without so much as an overture made before for his liberty, so far as I know; and now to press his enlargement upon no other ground than that he hath been sufficiently punished, savoureth of a mystery, which though it cannot be discerned, yet I wish it to be prevented. If means be made there for his enlargement, your Honour may do well to remit the matter hither, where are best known all circumstances considerable in this cause, and that course will best satisfy the Earl, and prevent inconveniences to Her Majesty's affairs here.

"It is hard to judge what will be the issue of this journey into Ulster. The army is poorly answered with money and victuals, and the season of the year far spent. The enemy braggeth that he is strong, but his strength is of himself and not from the foreign (*sic*), whereby for my part I hold him more terrible in opinion than in deed. If the victuals come not in time, a garrison of 1,000 foot and 100 horse cannot be planted at Armagh, and there is lost the fairest opportunity that ever was to cut through this rebellion; besides, the commodity is taken away to resettle Leinster, which could not but have ensued in short time, if the forces had there continued, and not [been] carried into Ulster. All which groweth from the undertakers, to whom in reason no excuse is to be allowed. It may please your Honour to move my Lord Treasurer to command the undertakers to haste away the four months' victuals for Armagh, which being here by the midst of October, we doubt not to make a shift to have it to serve the turn, though the time of the year be unseasonable; otherwise I see not but Armagh will remain still an empty eggshell for this year, and no way to serve the Queen's turn.

"I am of opinion that Tyrone will not offer to fight with the army in their passage to Armagh; but in their return, when they are diminished and weakened, it may be he will lay for them in the Moyerie, and that rather to cut off stragglers, then to come to a gross fight. But in these matters there can be observed no certainty till [? they] have brought forth the event.

"Here is great want of the two Judges, the Chief Baron and Master of the Rolls, for, though the public terms do as yet

1600.

discontinue, yet there is daily proceeding in poor men's causes at the Council table, which for the most part contain title of land and matter of law, which causes (through the absence of those two Judges) are referred to the judgment of one man, from whom cannot be separated infirmities and affections, though he carry an outward opinion of uprightness. Besides, now that the service is on foot, and the realm in question, it ministereth cause of murmur to the Irish subject, to see those two shun the danger, which others do stand by, being of meaner place.

"McSwyne Ne Doe is revolted to O'Donnell, and is now become a betrayer of the garrison of Lough Foyle, as much as is in him. Her Majesty hath lost nothing by his revolt; she hath saved his pension of 6*s. per diem*, and may see by his experience and many other like examples of the Irish that neither her great liberalities, nor her continual clemency, can make them sure in obedience and duty to her. It is austerity, and not mildness, that must bend them. Sir Art O'Neill is sick of a burning fever, which is all the news I have from Lough Foyle, my messenger being returned from thence as I was ready to perclose this letter. Sir Henry Dockwra is thoroughly recovered of his wound, and in very good health."—*[Dublin, September 15.] Endorsed:—"1600. Sir J. F., private."* *Unsigned, but holograph by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. pp. 2½.*

Sept. 15.
Dublin.

28. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. This day the Lord Deputy departed for the north, and has taken with him all the forces he could, reserving fifteen companies to be disposed of by the Earl of Ormonde. Of these, five attend upon the Earl, five are with Sir Edward Herbert in Offally, and five with Sir Henry Power in Leix. Is in Leix until Sir Henry's company comes out of Munster, and then it is said that "I and another company shall go thither in their place, the which I shall be very glad of, to be near my Lord President, hoping my deserts shall deserve his love." Understands that there is a speech given out, that, at the Lord Deputy's return, many companies will be cassed. Hopes to stand as well as any of his place. His trust in Sir Robert's goodness.—*Dublin, 1600, September 15. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Sept. 16.
Castletown.

29. D[avid, Baron] Roche and Fermoy, to Sir Robert Cecil. Finding so fit a bearer as Mr. Henry Pyne, thought good to signify his affection and estate; "being such during my late father's life as (partly by his hard hand borne over me, and partly by other sinister crosses) I was not able, by doing any great exploit, to make known what great desire I had to do Her Majesty good service. Yet I failed not above my ability from time to time, by attendance upon the late Lord President (who was my honourable friend) and all other means, as since I conveniently might, to manifest my loyalty and earnest zeal and duty devoted to Her Highness. And now, Right Honourable, so it is that my father lately departed this life, and that, by such course as he took (which without extreme grief I cannot remember), and by many adverse chances of this wicked and rebellious time," the little inheritance descended from him is for the most part all wasted, and the inhabitants thereof are

1600.

in great distress and poverty. Although by his father's death he has had some advancement in dignity, and his followers have joined themselves under him in perfect loyalty to Her Highness, yet neither he nor they can furnish any competent company for her service. "Your Honour is held chief patron and reliever (next under God and Her Majesty) to all Her Majesty's well-affected subjects of this province." Begs for some entertainment for such company of horse and foot as shall be thought meet. Doubts not therewith to demean himself so well, that Her Highness shall think the favour very well bestowed upon him.—Castletown, 1600, September 16. *Endorsed*:—"By Mr. Pyne. Received 9 October." *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Sept. 17.
Cork.

30. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Lord Roche to his favour. Finds him no less able to deserve well in Ireland than other Irish Lords, and as willing as any of them to bestow his whole endeavours therein.—Cork, 1600, September 17. *Endorsed*:—"By Mr. Pyne." *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 17.
Cork.

31. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Before the departure of this bearer, your Honour's servant Mr. Smith, I have received two letters from Captain Richard Greame, who, since my Lord Audley's departure, commands the forces at Kilmallock; by the which you may see how God blesses our action with almost an assured promise of a present reduction of Munster. For this late service, especially, done by Captain Greame, hath in my judgment so dismayed and weakened the rebels, as that I know not how they should long subsist. For James McThomas is no better than a woodkern, maimed with extreme wants, as well of men as all things else, to maintain his rebellion. All his contributions and Leix fails him. Hereafter he must live upon spoil of all men, which will make him odious, and in the end, as the last Earl, he will be slain by his own followers. The loss which this poor gentleman hath received in horses he cannot endure. I do wish that some reward might be bestowed upon him, to put him and his poor men in heart that have so well deserved, and to encourage others to serve as they have done, which they will be loath to do if these men be not relieved. Of the last supply he had eight horses, but now his loss is far greater. Of the booty taken, he nor his horsemen have anything, for the footmen that were not able to come to the fight, came timely enough, while the horse was in fight, to take the spoil, whereof being once possessed, in an instant it is embezzled, and can never be gotten together to make equal division. But I will do the best I can to recover some part of it for the horsemen. If the thousand pounds limited for extraordinaries were not almost exhausted in necessary disbursements, I would be bold to reward him out of the same; but now do humbly beseech you to obtain a commandment unto me from the Lords to bestow so much upon him as in their wisdoms they shall think meet. The gentleman is of long continuance in the service, and in my opinion the best horse captain in the kingdom. I beseech you

1600.

for my sake to get a reward for him in recompense of his losses; and the rather because, while he hath followed the service here, he hath been spoiled by the enemy in the English Pale, where his dwelling is. One hundred pounds out of the extraordinaries, to house him again, will give him some contentment, but I dare not be so bold with the Queen's money without special direction. Thrice within this month James McThomas hath run for his life; once, chased by Captain Harvey, and twice by Captain Greame; and every time with loss. The garrison which lay at Askeaton I brought of late to Adare, commanded by my Lord of Thomond, who, as it appears by Captain Greame's letter, is now joined with the forces of Kilmallock, and are all in the woods of Arlo, where James McThomas lies sick in an ague. I hope in God he will be found, if he slip down into Sir Walter Raleigh's woods of Dromfynin. Captain Flower will be ready to receive him with the garrison which lies at Killbree hard by Lismore. He hath no castle to shroud him in but Glanwhymme in Connello, under the foot of the mountain of Slewlogher, or Castlemaine; but my hope is, that he will be never able to return unto them; for our garrisons (if your Honour doth examine them) lies as fitly as may be to intercept him. His base son, which was his only son, was a gallant young fellow and of great reputation amongst them. I hear also that one Brian O'Kelly, who was amongst them as Colonel of the buonies, is also slain, but Captain Greame did not know of it when he did write to me. If supplies of buonies do not come into Munster within these ten days, I do hope by that time he will not have a buonie left with him; for never poor men were more weary of a service than they be, in following this counterfeit Earl. I do hourly expect to hear from our forces with exceeding great hope of more good news. Our men of late have taken new spirits unto them, desiring nothing more than to be brought to fight, and to say truly (for so many) I do not think that they can be bettered."—Cork, 1600, September 17.

[*Postscript.*] "I have not yet heard from Florence. If he do not presently come and submit himself, I have sent him word that I will prosecute him as a traitor. For I am resolved not to bear with his temporising any longer, being now better enabled than I was to follow him; which I was not able to do while James McThomas was strong. I have gotten good blood hounds of his own country birth to hunt him, out of natural malice they bear him, and make no doubt but to send the Queen his head for a token, except he do presently submit himself.

"This day I am going towards the garrison at Killbree, to expect James McThomas[s] coming into those parts; from thence to Youghal, to take order with the country of the Decies, the Lord whereof is dead. The last of this month I have appointed to be at Kinsale, to settle Carberry, where all the traitors of those parts have promised to make their submissions. Thus your Honour may see I am not idle." *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Encloses:—

31. i. *Captain Richard Greame to Sir George Carew.* "I went on Friday morning, having intelligence where Desmond his camp lay, went with my own company of horse, and came on their scouts, where I unhorsed two horsemen, and took two

1600.

horses with certain hackneys and many garrans. And my whole intent was to take the scout, and then some of them escaping from me gave the alarm to their camp, whereby I lost my opportunity of that. And there resting awhile, to see how they would have raised from their camp, and they coming in battalion wise, with their colours displayed, in number three hundred and fifty, not ten over nor above (sic), as by my sight I did see them; and having heard great bruit of the strength of their camp before, I would not carry the foot companies no further than Knocksowen. Which when their battle came (sic), I charged their loose shot and their horsemen unto their own battle; and then Desmond himself alighted himself from his horse, and led the battle; and Piers Lacy lighted also, and led the forlorn hope, whereby I had no opportunity to charge them the second time. But at my first charge, a very good killing I would have had, were it not [for] a great ditch cast by McCuffe, named Garie MacGawrie, which unto me was a great let. But a great running I brought both out of Desmond and Piers Lacy, until I was interrupted by the said ditch, and went over but myself and five horsemen. But I thinking to make a second charge, they sent to me a parley, which I will certify to your Lordship hereafter at large. But I would not come under their danger to their parley, but stood a distance off; and treacherously coming off, they gave me a volley of shot of thirty or forty shot, but, God be thanked, did me no hurt. The Captains of the garrison moved me to bring them to fight with the enemy, in which time I think the enemy will be very circumspect in foreseeing thereof. The Captain of the bonnaughts and divers of my own soldiers which served me in foot company would have parleyed with me, but Desmond would not suffer them in no sort, but beat them back again with a cudgel in my own sight. And yet, nevertheless, the bonnaughts sent a boy to me, which certified me that they would do me all the service they could; which entere love above all English Captains in Ireland they are ready to perform."—Kilmallock, 1600, September 12. [Postscript.] "Mr. Suppell is here, ready at all time to do his uttermost endeavour; for which I pray your Lordship to remember him with some few lines of thanks for his diligent shewing herein." Holograph. pp. 2.

31. ii. Captain Richard Greame, and other officers, to Sir George Carew. Giving further details of the above engagement near Arlo. Sixty of the chiefest rebels slain, besides many churls and boys; eighty wounded; 150 pikes and pieces taken, besides swords, targets, skeans; also 300 garrans laden with stuff worth 500l., 40 hackneys and horses, and all the enemy's sheep and cows, save a few of the latter that ran into the woods. The enemy, by their own report, were full 600 men. Greame had not above 36 horse; his foot arrived after the overthrow. Lord Audley's serjeant was killed. Encamped that night at the Abbey of Galballye, and there remained until twelve of the clock the next day, "hoping the country would come in, but they never came near us. Only Morris Hurley and Patrick Purcell went with us. Donnell McOwlhny came presently to us after

1600.

the overthrow, and offered to be the guide himself, if there were any more, to make two ways upon them. In the morning before I left Kilmallock, I willed Mr. John Verdon to write to my Lord of Thomond at Knockanye. I wrote to McBrian O'Gownough and the White Knight, but hitherto saw none of them. At my return back again, I met my Lord of Thomond's man in Kilmallock and his Lordship's letters that I should meet him at the Bruff. Myself and Captain Dillon took two fresh horses and followed him, but failed to overtake him until we came to Knockanye, and there we did agree to follow Desmond to-morrow, being Wednesday.

"I have sent to your Lordship Desmond's son's head, and the Captain of the bonnaughts' head, with the names of the gentlemen of best sort amongst them slain, hereunder written. My losses at that charge was sixteen horses hurt and slain, six men shot, but none I hope in danger of death. Forty-five I had on Monday morning, but now cannot take 21."—Kilmallock, 1600, September 17.

[Postscript.] *"Captain Hugh O'Reilly served with myself on horseback very gallantly. A nephew of mine struck down him that bore Desmond's colours. I, stooping down myself to have taken up the colours, was stricken with the stock of a piece in the reins of the back, and six pikes took away the colours from me. If staves and one mile more of ground had served, the wars of Munster had been ended at that time."*

The names of some of the slain were Maurice FitzRedmond; Ulick Cassie's son; Teig O'Kelly and Hugh O'Kelly, Captains of bonnaughts; and "divers other gentlemen."

Endorsed by Sir George Carew:—"The copy of Captain Greame's letter, and the other Captains and Officers, to the President of Munster, 17 September, 1600." Copy. pp. 2.

Sept. 17.
Dublin.

32. Mr. Justice Thomas Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. Has served as Chief Justice of Connaught for upwards of twenty-three years. Now, in his declining years and in a very low ebb of his ability, there is due to him of his entertainment the sum of 150*l*. This grew due when Sir Conyers Clifford was Governor of Connaught. Begs Sir Robert to favour his suit for payment of the same, as Lord Burghley favoured the suits of Sir Lucas Dillon and Sir Robert Dillon, deceased, "in matters of greater importance." Has received very great loss by this rebellion, "not only in my goods, but also in my servants and sons, whereof one was slain the 20th of June last at my house of Curraghboy in Connaught, being brought up in England seven years; and the other son, being touched and visited with sickness, by extreme watching and warding of the said place, died some two years past." As divers "of better skill and capacity" have discovered to Sir Robert "the state of this broken commonwealth," he omits it.—Dublin, 1600, September 17. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 18.

33. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Mr. John Crosby for "the poor bishopric of Kerry, being now void, which, although it be a thing of small or no value

1600.

at this present, yet I hope in time it may be some help of living unto him.”—“At my lodging,” September 18. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Sept. 18. **34.** P[atrick Plunket, Baron] Dunsany, to Sir Robert Cecil. “Still do I long to have some matter worthy your advertisement, upon which design my soul doth plod. But so unlucky I am in being scanted my due, or at the best not seconded with favour, as my purpose in that true point of service can hardly be set on foot. Yet have I therein plotted what I hope you may hear of ere long to your content.

“I will at this time omit my own services and grievances, because I will not seem to labour for thanks for myself, nor for blame to others. Yet this much I must desire, that I may without Her Majesty’s dislike repair to England for two months, my health, being much impaired, requiring it greatly.

“The present revolution is such, the country agents do hold themselves highly righted, proclaiming Her Majesty’s goodness, whereby the whole country in their own hearts are so well pleased as all rankling humours and festering sores of old oppressing wrongs are well recured. For which gain they have lost the hearts of the Council here, which both seem to threaten, and thereby they fear mightily the shipwreck of their whole estate.

“Now after this long and great flood of rebellion, there is a still, or rather an ebb, so as, after this week of labouring years, we look for the Sabbath. God send it us. Munster is at a gaze in such sort as, with the faithful proceeding of young Desmond, the old undertakers, having courage in the least proportion to their wealth, might without Her Majesty’s charge replant themselves. Leinster is quite dismayed, because their principal heads are cut off, or as laid upon the block. For first in Offally, challenged by the Connors, called the King’s County, beside the destroying of their corn, Redmond McOliver Lynagh was taken by me, beside seven of his brothers and foster brothers slain, beside four [? wounded], which, with Captain Tyrrell’s coming in, who sueth to be received, leaves that shire to the old English inhabitants. Next, Leix, called the Queen’s County, and challenged by the Moores, is, by the destruction of their corn also, and by Onie McRory his death, quite overthrown. The counties of Wexford and Catherlagh are secured by Donnell Spainagh’s coming in. The county of Kildare, having but degenerate petty slaves, as the bastard Geraldines, the Breminghams, the Delahides, is cleared, they being on their knees. So as Leinster, consisting of those shires, is meetly well. For Connaught, beside the bare keeping of the Castle of Athlone by Sir [Arthur] Savage, there is not one halpworth of good done to Her Majesty; and, were it not that I would not put my hook into other men’s harvests, I durst justify that that province might be quieted with that charge Her Majesty is now at, notwithstanding the many dangers there propounded, and the great demands made.

“Now we attempt Ulster, where, their hope of Spaniards being fallen, their hearts are failed withal, and where, to tell truly, Lough Foyle, Knockfergus, the Newry, Dundalk, and Ardee, are, with

1600.

such forces as Her Majesty pays in those garrisons, being as they are in the midst, and frontering (*sic*) his country, sufficient to root out the Traitor, if the numbers of men allowed were forthcoming, and had correspondence in service, and will end it, which being not the end of the most, but to help themselves, the cure is prolonged thereby.

“Here Ormonde is put for assured. There are many that do desire to submit themselves, so they may have pay for their men; as Dermott O'Connor, who sometime upheld Desmond the usurper, and after took him, who will bring one thousand men. Teig O'Rourke and Burke of Leitrim do offer to bring as many. O'Connor Sligo with sundry others will bring out these northern parts, among them all, five thousand soldiers. Beside, there will be had as many more out of all the other parts to receive pay. For whom I would Her Majesty would find some vent, by sending them to the Islands or Continent, according as I moved my Lord Deputy much to his liking, and therefore likely therewith to acquaint your Lordships. So should this country be rid of a fury, and much honour may thereby be acquired to the Crown of England, being a course not dreamed of by the foreign enemy, without hurt or dishonour whatsoever befel them, and more to our advantage than any pompous voyage yet made. Forty Flemish bottoms, with four of Her Majesty's ships, under colour to victual Lough Foyle, may take us in at Smerwick; our Commanders must be English; etc. (*sic*).

“If any private matter might consort with these things, I would humbly entreat your honourable regard of the Justice Dillon of Connaught in his suits, who hath a long time demeaned himself like a faithful and careful servitor to her Majesty in that province, and being besides my kinsman, I cannot but wish him well, as one that would be very glad, if he might, at my request, receive favour by your honourable means.”—1600, September 18. *Holograph*. pp. 2.

Sept. 20.
London.

35. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I have hereinclosed sent you a draft [*wanting*] of a letter from your Honour and the rest of the Lords to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, wherein I have included all the substance of such directions as I thought necessary for me to have in Her Majesty's name to the Governors of that realm, hoping that therein is nothing displeasing to your Honour, they being neither chargeable to Her Majesty, offensive to her laws, or hurtful to any good subject, although necessary for mine own present estate, presuming, if your Honour will be pleased to acquaint Her Highness therewith, in her wonted clemency the same will not be rejected. And if it may please your Honour to subscribe thereunto, the rest of the Council (I doubt not) will do the like, for which I will take pains, if so please your Honour to begin. I made the one letter to be twice written, of one effect, that one may be directed to the Lord Deputy and Council, and the other to the Lord President and Council of Munster. For although the most part therein contained might be effected by the Lord President, yet some thereof, being within the liberty of Tipperary and other places not directly in his jurisdiction, I thought necessary to have several directions,

1600.

which I humbly beseech your Honour to effect accordingly. The points which only must be from the Lord Deputy and Council, and under the Great Seal, I left them out of the letter which shall be directed to the Lord President; in the rest they agree verbatim. And for Her Majesty's direction concerning my relief, I leave the ordering thereof to your own honourable consideration, who knoweth better than many what I have done, and may do, in Ireland, when and where soever pleased Her Majesty to make trial thereof. Yet I earnestly pray that the means of my relief, if your Honour may, be appointed rather in England than in Ireland, for I may with less danger come or send hither than to Dublin or Cork; and for a rectory or a prebend to be had under the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lord Bishop of London. They being not at Court, your Honour may signify Her Majesty's pleasure to them in one or several letters, for whose answers I will labour to your Honour with as much speed as I may. And as being more willing to be sent where I might further Her Majesty's service without respect to any, than to be here, I humbly take leave."—London, 1600, September 20. *Signed. p. 1.* [*This letter is remarkable as being signed both with the Archbishop's ordinary signature and with his cipher one, viz. "1070."*]

Sept. 20.
Dublin.

36. Robert [Grave], Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to Sir Robert Cecil. His gratitude for Sir Robert's favours. By "the unconscionable dealing" of the Bishop's predecessors, not so much as a house has been left for the Bishop to dwell in. The greater part of the diocese has been wasted by the rebels, and, during these desperate troubles the rent of the whole has not amounted to threescore pounds. Would rather come within the tax of presumption for troubling Sir Robert with the reading of these unpolished lines than within the censure of forgetfulness of him, to whom he has resolutely addicted himself and absolutely devoted his best endeavours.—Dublin, 1600, September 20. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 20.
Dublin.

37. Robert [Grave], Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my coming over I have been in visitation in my diocese of Ferns, where I find the churches for the most part ruined; the livings though in time of peace not much inferior to any other diocese in this land for goodness, given either to laymen or children, held by dispensation from the faculties here, or else in the hands of such ministers, for the most part, as are not only ashamed, but obstinately refuse, to do the duties of their calling; the people generally, but especially within the five English baronies, neither speaking nor understanding the Irish language, whereby they are more capable of instruction of (*sic*) their duty to Almighty God and Her sacred Majesty than other parts of the kingdom, which are mere Irish. If these idle drones and unprofitable members were removed, and in my shallow conceit there is nothing that hath brought so much fuel to this flame of rebellion, as the negligent carelessness of those that have had the government of the Church, who have not used their best endeavours to plant a learned ministry within their several dioceses, but permitted, yea

1600.

and placed many, in whom there is not so much as a shadow of any likelihood that ever they would do good in the Church. And until there be order taken to reform the ministry, I will never look to have the laity long retained in good order. Which hath moved me according to my poor means to begin and resolve (the Lord assisting me) to the uttermost of my skill and ability to persevere in the reformation of that diocese. And forasmuch as in the doing hereof, I shall be sure to have many oppositions by some great ones in this land, as I thought it my duty to acquaint your Honour both with the estate of my diocese and my proceedings therein, so I humbly entreat you that, as you have been the only mean of my preferment, so you would likewise be pleased to afford me your honourable favour and furtherance in this business from time to time, so far forth as you shall perceive my proceedings warrantable both by the law of God and the laws of the land."—Dublin, 1600, September 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 20.
Dublin.

38. Captain William Yelverton to Sir Robert Cecil. Advertises Sir Robert, as commanded, of the present state of things in Ireland. The Lord Deputy is now on his journey northward, and at or near the Moyerie, where it is thought that the traitor Tyrone will attempt to impeach his passage, being drawn up thither with his forces some few days past. The Lord Deputy has committed the service of Offally against the Connors and Tyrrell to Sir Edward Herbert. Is appointed with his company to go thither, and would hope to give a good account of their service, if they were able to make 400 good men. But the soldiers are raw, and their strength but three bands as yet. Trusts they will do somewhat, for those rebels have been prosecuted lately by the Lord Deputy, and, if he had continued, he "had undone those villains." Donnell Spainagh with some others of Leix have been at Dublin and submitted themselves to the State. Greatly doubts how they will stand in their obedience, knowing them so often to have broken out after such submissions made and their oaths taken. Yet it is like that many of them begin to wax weary, as foreseeing their ruin, which he hopes will in the end fall upon them. Has not since his arrival been further than Dublin, because his company was garrisoned there "at the mountain foot." As occasion shall happen, when once he is abroad, he will write to Sir Robert. Hopes to do some acceptable service to Her Majesty and him, for he desires nothing in the world more. As Sir Robert procured him his company now, so begs that he may not be discharged, as it is supposed that most of the new companies will be, after the northern journey is ended. Has lost all that he ever had in Ireland by this rebellion, and has no other means to live by but his service. Hopes he will be found as able as any other of his place, and in willingness he will give place to none.—Dublin, 1600, September 20. *Holograph.* *Seal.* pp. 2.

Sept. 22.
Youghal.

39. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "I acquainted the Lord Deputy how necessary a thing it was there should be one appointed in this Province as principal Commissary of the Musters,

1600.

to whom the other Commissaries should send their books and certificates, that by him the general check of the Province, both in lending and apparel, might be collected every half year, and perfect books thereof sent both to Dublin and to your Lordships. Which the Lord Deputy allowing of there, hath appointed that charge to William Jones (a gentleman of good skill, honesty, and sufficiency for the discharge thereof). According to which order of the Lord Deputy's, I have directed my letters to the other Commissaries to send their books and certificates unto the said William Jones. Which course as it will be a ready means at all times for myself, to know either the strength or weakness of the forces, and so to certify your Lordships thereof; so might the service here not receive such want as it doth often times by the absence of the Captains at Dublin, for the making up and perfecting of their half year's accounts there, where they are sometimes forced to stay four or five months, sometimes more, to their great charges there (which the Captain will seek by some extraordinary means to save himself in), and to the great hindrance of the service here. For redress whereof your Lordships may be pleased to give authority to the said Jones to perfect and make up the Captains' accounts here, without having any reference to Dublin, which I do assure your Lordships would greatly advance the service here and breed a great contentment in the Captain. I am the more willing (besides the continual presence of the Captains I should enjoy by that means), to move your Lordships therein, Mr. Treasurer concurring in my opinion of the benefit to the service and ease thereof to the Captain. By whom I likewise understood that your Lordships' pleasure is, the soldiers' arms shall be answered out of their lendings; which though it will be grievous to the soldier, yet seeing it is your Lordships' pleasure, I will see it performed here in this province."—Youghal, 1600, September 22.

[*Postscript.*] "The bearer hereof, James Spenser, was recommended unto me for the place of a Commissary of Musters in this Province from the Lord Deputy, but Mr. Cuff, Norcott, and Elmer being already sent hither by your Lordships, I could not well place him without displacing some of them; which otherwise I would willingly have done in regard of the good report I hear both of his honesty and sufficiency." *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 23.
Cork.

40. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I wrote unto you by a servant of your own, called Thomas Smith, five days past, who being at sea was by foul weather enforced to return (as I hear), and is not yet out of the harbour of Cork. I wish those letters were with you, for by them you should know how all things have fallen out in this Province since John Power's departure, with other things worth your understanding. If they be not with your Honour as soon as these, yet immediately after you shall receive them. By this bearer, Mr. Pyne, you shall understand the estate of this country, which is in a fair way of a peace, and like enough for a good time so to continue, if the Spaniards, whose coming is both wished and laboured, do not disturb us. I know not any man of English birth better able to serve Her Majesty than Mr. Pyne, but personal service for want of men in pay cannot be expected from him; but such as

1600.

is in his power to perform he doth not spare to demonstrate, for by him I do gain more true intelligence of the inward disposition of those which be subjects than by any man else, for with the Lords of the country he hath more credit than any Englishman whatsoever. I beseech your Honour to confer with him, for he is well able to give you satisfaction in all things, and, as far as I can discern, he hath done as much as may be required from him towards the advancement of Her Majesty's service, yet notwithstanding he hath been notably scandalized many ways, and lately for making of a fortification about his house, which was reported to be invincible but by a royal battery. Upon which report I went purposely to view it, and do assure your Honour upon my credit that, unless he do more than I suppose he intends, it is but a defence meet to resist an Irish enemy, and not of such strength as hath been reported. The spreaders of this report either do not know what fortifications are, or else malice too much abounds in them. The seat of his house is meet for the service, and in the same he is well able (and I think as willing as able) to perform all that he may. Wherefore I beseech you to have consideration of it, and aid him with your honourable favours, which he can and will merit at your hands. The good which your Honour shall do him at my request, I must and will acknowledge it done unto myself.

"This evening I received a long, tedious, humble letter from Florence, and [he] prays to be admitted to speak with me. He now stands upon no titles of Earl or McCarthy More, renouncing his desires to have them, but humbly prays to be assured of his life, liberty, and living, with infinite protestations to be even more a true servant to the Queen; and to demonstrate his loyalty by his service the first of October I purpose to be in Carberry, at which time or before either Florence shall yield unto me such assurance for his loyalty as I shall think it meet to be received, or else I will presently fall to the prosecution of him. The pride of his heart is abated, and protests that if your Honour or Sir Walter Raleigh would have vouchsafed (as in his letters unto you both he promised and prayed) to have written unto him to have gone into England, that long since he had been there; but, receiving no answer from either of you, and Sir John Stanhope's letter did but admonish him only to subjection, without promise of life, liberty, or living, for these considerations he held himself neutral. But, if he may be assured that his offences shall be remitted, he will then endeavour by his services to recover his lost reputation. By the next I shall be able to certify your Honour more of him, assuring you that if he be reduced by my next, the greatest part of the Queen's charges for Munster may be well spared, but not before, for fear of a relapse, whereof Mr. Pyne can give you satisfaction. For as nothing but fear hath made them to stoop, so nothing but the continuance of the forces can contain them in subjection, until they be better settled. James McThomas is now no better than a wood kern, and gone I know not whither. For, since his last overthrow, no man can tell me what is become of him. I am sure he labours for aids, but I hope his suit will fail." Again recommends Mr. Pyne.—Cork, 1600, September 23. *Endorsed*:—"A private letter, by Mr. Pyne." *Holograph. pp. 3.*

1600.

Sept. 24.
Bristol.

41. Patrick Arthur to Sir Robert Cecil. Received Sir Robert's letter yesterday. This morning, the wind beginning to be fair, he shipped the companies, leaving behind a few sick men. Mr. Harris, by whom he sent the letter to Sir Robert, "came this morning unto me, on the shipping of them, and told me that Mr. Willis your Honour's secretary, reported unto him how that I chopped and changed the men, and pressed very rich men only, for benefit or commodity's sake." If he has done so Sir Robert will understand thereof by the certificates. Is not a little grieved by these speeches, considering his honest endeavours to perform that which was expected at his hands. What he has done the Commissioners have always been privy to, and he has their hands to shew for it. The Mayor, Mr. Northon, and Mr. Snigges, "would not, I think, for a little benefit be counted base, or their names brought in question. There were many simple impotent men brought hither, and (upon their discharge) what they gave was unto others to serve as supplies for them." The rich men, reported to be pressed, were put in place of the runaways, except one who was discharged without the writer's privy. If the like pains had not been taken, the companies would have been weak. Desires Sir Robert to take notice of any making speeches like the above, that the writer may answer them on his return, which will be shortly. If a fair wind comes now, he will take over with him a strong company.—Bristol, September 24. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Sept. 24.
Barry Court.

42. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. The bearer, his neighbour Mr. Pyne, repairing to England, he sends these few lines craving Sir Robert's resolution concerning the requests to be solicited on his behalf by the bearer.—Barry Court, 1600, September 24. *Holograph. p. ½.*

Sept. 25.
Chester.

43. H. Hardware, Mayor of Chester, to the Privy Council. Embarcation of the soldiers for Lough Foyle. Hopes they will speedily land there. Six horse could not be shipped, but are following in another bark. To-morrow four loads of munition shall be shipped for Dublin. "Whereas in our last muster there appeared to be 754 soldiers remaining, with such supplies as were gotten in this city, now, upon the shipping, there is very few above 600, so many runaways and sick are fallen out since our last view, which at large I will make known to your Honours in the certificate of the musters. I caused a further view to be taken yesterday for the finding out of the handicrafts [and] trades, the numbers whereof, and of what sciences they be, are expressed in the schedule enclosed." Although there were divers muntinies for apparel, "yet (in regard of their forwardness) we packed up the whole suits of apparel, and so shipped them, without delivering to the soldiers either shoes, shirts, or stockings, or any other part of their apparel. And although (as I was informed) one of the companies this day

1600.

made a stand for their apparel, yet, by the good persuasion of our Sheriff and the Commissary, they were appeased, and so embarked.”
—Chester, 1600, September 25. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

43. i. “*Artificers of all sorts in the several companies, as they appeared upon view, taken the 24th day of September, 1600. Captain Yorke had charge of the companies. Signed by the Mayor of Chester. The London company had 61 artificers.*”
p. 1.

Sept. 25.
Chester.

44. Captain A. Yorke to the Privy Council. Concerning his embarkation of the soldiers at Chester. Sends a note of the whole number of the men [*wanting*].—1600, September 25. *Endorsed :—*
From Chester. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Sept. 26.
Youghal.

45. Commissary William Jones to Sir Robert Cecil. “The Lord President, finding it fit the Captains’ accounts should be made up in this province, without any reference or controulment at Dublin, hath written unto your Honour how much it will further the service here. Of the necessity whereof if you be pleased to be more particularly informed, I have appointed this bearer (James Spenser) to give attendance on your Honour therefore, and further to acquaint you how Her Majesty may save 20,000*l* sterling by the year, to the contentment of the Captain and benefit of the soldier.

“By the last instructions from Dublin the Captains of 100 had liberty to entertain into their several companies twenty Irish, whereas before they were allowed but six. By which means the rebel oftentimes is furnished both with arms and munition, and of leaders trained up by ourselves against ourselves; of which your Honour may vouchsafe there may be a restraint, Her Highness so royally sending supplies of English into this province, that the companies need not be stuffed with Irish.” Beseeches the continuance of Sir Robert’s favour.—Youghal, 1600, September 26. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Sept. 26.

46. A check book of Her Majesty’s charge for her army in Ireland for 214 days, from 1 March, 1598-9, to 30 September, 1599. [*Although the account is thus only to 30 September, 1599, the certificate at Sir Ralph Lane, the Mustermaster-General, and by James Carroll, his Deputy, on September 26, 1600, nearly a year later.*] *Total :—*158,751*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* pp. 109.

Sept. 27.

47. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “If it please Her Majesty any longer to continue me in this charge, I must of necessity sell more land to enable me to live here; if not, I must sell land to pay my debts. The bonds I have entered into to her Majesty for the money lent me to furnish me in this journey will make men unwilling to deal with me; which makes me become an humble suitor unto their Lordships to be a mean unto Her Majesty, since it was for her service, that it might please her to

1600.

remit them unto me. I beseech you, Sir, give it that furtherance which I presume you may do, and for the which I will ever rest thankful unto you. I have sent this bearer, my servant, to that purpose, unto whom, I pray, Sir, give credence herein.”—1600, September 27. *Endorsed* :—By his Lordship’s servant, Mr. Mychell. Received at London 15 October. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Sept. 27.
Sligo.

48. Donogh O’Connor Sligo to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. “I have been a long time suitor unto Her Majesty, whom I found most gracious and willing to yield unto my desire. Howsoever I was crossed, and Her Highness letted by others from granting my suit. And when I thought to recompense her princely bounty toward me with my faithful service, I fell most unfortunately into the hands of O’Donnell, a great rebel against Her Majesty, and the ancient enemy of my house, which hath been from the beginning ever possessed by dutiful and loyal subjects. And for my own part I never minded nor meant to be the first undutiful branch of the same house. Now I am in the hands of mine enemy the aforesaid after a sort, for I might, as I think, come away. But that I hold not to be the best course, for that I am inhabiting my country the best I can, and do keep as many men as I may together, who and myself shall be at your Lordship’s command to do the Queen any service I can, whose servant and subject I confess myself in heart to be, although I converse amongst men of other minds, whose company I cannot refrain, until I may be more able to withstand them. There is a faithful honest gentleman, Mr. Lynch, Recorder of Drogheda, who knoweth my mind, and what your Lordship will direct me by him to do, I will perform. There is another, called William Lynch, of Galway, bearer hereof, may find means to bring me your Lordship’s pleasure; and if your Lordship shall think good that my brother-in-law, Tibbot Ne Longe, who hath Her Majesty’s pay, may be employed with forces to assist me, the castle of Sligo may be made wardable, and, between us, I hope we will keep the same, and stop O’Donnell from coming into Connaught; and I trust I shall bring O’Rourke to be a subject. My good Lord, keep this very secret, for, if it were known, I should be either killed or besieged, to be again in miserable captivity. I commit it unto your Lordship’s honourable care and discretion, and would have written before this unto your Lordship, if I had not feared interception of my letter in the way.”—Sligo, 1600, September 27. *Signed*. p. 1.

Sept. 27.
Galway.

49. Myghell Lynch, Mayor of Galway, to Sir Robert Cecil. “The continuing roads used by the Malleys and Flaherties with their galleys along our coasts, where they have taken sundry ships and barks bound for this poor town, which they have not only rifled to the utter overthrow of the owners and merchants, but also have most wickedly murdered divers of our young men, to the great terror of such as would willingly traffic, the let and-hindrance of our trade, and no small weakening of Her Majesty’s service,” have driven them to be suitors to the Privy Council, and especially to

1600.

Sir Robert, to grant entertainment to the bearer, Captain James Blackcaddell, for 200 foot, to be employed "as well by sea to suppress the insolency of these roving rebels, as also to prosecute the Joys and other bad members, that keep upon Lough Curb, where they let and hinder our town from firing timber and other necessaries." The said Captain has recovered by his own forwardness a ship laden with wines, bound for Galway, which the Malleys had had in their possession for a month. The ship is very meet to be employed for Her Majesty's service as before. The Captain shall be well assisted.—Galway, 1600, September 27. *The signature of the Mayor is attested by Stephen Lynch, public notary, and by Christopher Lynch and Patrick French, bailiffs. Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 28.
Coldbrooke.

50. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Here is a scholar and a preacher, one Mr. Edward Hargrave, that is desirous to be my chaplain, and to receive the protection of that dignity which Her Highness in her mercy hath allowed me. I beseech you in my absence that he may receive that benefit and acknowledgment, and I, in the love that I am ever bound to you, will acknowledge it."—Coldbrooke, 1600, September 28.

[*Postscript.*] "This letter I was loath to write, because I know not what exception might be taken, in regard I had not my patent, neither could I tell you how to put it off, in regard I was urged by my very good friend, Mr. Blount, except I should discover that which your Honour wished me to conceal. Therefore I thought good to advertise your Honour, whom I beseech to answer any reconstruction (if there be any made of it), and to be favourable to this bearer according to the nature he desireth to serve me [in], and who is ignorant of this postscript." *Holograph. p. 1.*

Sept. 28.

51. "Neale Garve's last demands, the 28th of September, 1600." These are addressed to Sir Henry Dockwra, Governor of Lough Foyle, and to Sir Arthur O'Neill. They refer chiefly to a full pardon for himself and his followers; to the government of O'Donnell's country in like manner as Neale Garve's grandfather, Calbach O'Donnell, had it; to full liberty of conscience; to having 800 foot and 200 horse in the Queen's pay during the war, and 500 foot and 100 horse afterwards; to the appointment of officers in these bands; and to the treatment of prisoners and spoil. *Latin. pp. 2.*

Sept. 29.
Cork.

52. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Chief Justice Saxey of Connaught for his good services. He has been seven years Chief Justice. Has no means of giving him satisfaction and begs Sir Robert to reward him. The Chief Baron in Ireland, Sir Robert Napper, has a purpose of vacating his post. Recommends Saxey for it.—Cork, 1600, September 29. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Sept. 29.
Derry.

53. Sir Henry Dockwra to Neale Garve O'Donnell. Cannot reply to all his last demands now, but will do his utmost to satisfy him. Commends his frame of mind. Will stop the raids of the

1600.

soldiers. Sends him, in token of his love, a hat, a piece of kersey, and another of khaki (*lutioris pumis*). When Neale Garve comes in will bestow a greater honour upon him, so that neither he nor any of his men may regret their submission. Desires him to give credence to Cormack O'Neill.—Derry, 1600, September 29. *Latin. Copy. p. 1.*

Sept. 30.
Dublin.

54. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Arrival of a small quantity of victuals. The camp still near Dundalk. Hopes the remainder of the victuals contracted for are on the sea. If they come in any reasonable time, they may answer the plantation at Armagh. But if they be lingered beyond "the midst of October, at what time the sharpness of winter beginneth in that climate of Ulster," it will be hard to sit down at Armagh. Prays that a purpose so well intended for the taking down of the proud Archtraitor may not fall to the ground.

"I understand from the borders of Dundalk that the Lord Deputy with a regiment of foot, seconded with some horse, set upon one of Tyrone's sconces made to impeach his Lordship's passage over the Moyerie, and guarded with 800 men. His Lordship, after an hour's fight, forced the sconce and defeated the guard, of whom were slain above 100, and the rest put to running.

Has the above by report, but is assured a blow has been given in that manner, "though not in so large measure as the report carrieth." Has sent up one of his own messengers to learn the whole discourse of this service, and when the camp is to pass over to the Newry. Desires that the Lord Treasurer may be acquainted with the enclosed invoice [*wanting*] of the victuals. The passage boat is going away, so cannot write any more now.—Dublin, 1600, September 30. *Signed. p. 1.*

Sept. 30.
Kilkenny.

55. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Council. "Before the receipt of your Lordship's and the rest of the Council's letter of the 24th of this instant, I was ready to draw thitherwards, and being now upon the point of my journey, it hath pleased God to visit my wife with that extremity of sickness, as the physicians are hopeless of her recovery, unless God miraculously restore her to her health; which will be the occasion of my stay, till I see how it shall please God to dispose of her. In the mean time, for the better strengthening and defence of those parts, and to stop the incursions of the mountain rebels into the Pale, I have dispatched from hence Sir Francis Rush with 400 foot to the Naas, and to be disposed of as your Lordship and the rest shall think fit, till my coming thither (praying you, Mr. Treasurer to see them furnished with means), besides the assistance of the risings out of noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale, unto whom I have now written to draw where your Lordship and the rest of the Council shall direct them; and to [*sic, do*] pray you to do the like with all the earnestness you may, for that I know their slackness will require the same; having reserved only, to go down with myself, but my own companies and Captain Marbury's

1600.

“Though I have protected Phelim McFeagh and his known followers for a time, as I formerly wrote to your Lordship and the rest, to stop them the best I might from doing mischief, yet are they not, under colour thereof, to oppress or annoy any of Her Majesty’s subjects, which if they or any of them do, it may be lawful, without breach of my protection given them, to serve on them. Hopes shortly to see his Lordship.

“Has appointed the risings out to bring with them for the present twenty days’ victuals, and has required them to supply the same for a longer time, if the Council think it fit. Knows not which nobleman is chiefest in Meath, and worthiest to command the risings out of the county, so has sent his letter hereinclosed [*wanting*] without any superscription, that it may be directed by the Council.—Kilkenny, 1600, September 30. *Copy. p. 1.*

Encloses:—

55. i. *The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Francis Rush. Commission to proceed, as stated in the foregoing letter, with the companies of Captains Morris, Rotheram, Lindley, and Rooper.—Kilkenny, 1600, September 30. Copy. p. 1.*

Sept. 30. 56. Extraordinaries granted by Lord Mountjoy and the Council from 20 July to 30 September, 1600. Among the items are the following:—

“Balthazar Patrick, for transporting of sick and unserviceable soldiers from Carrickfergus into England,” by concordatum, 22 July, 1600 - - - - - 60s.

“Walter James, the Lord Deputy’s servant, for his Lordship’s carriages into Leix journey,” by concordatum, 3 August, 1600 - - - - - 24l. 4s. 6d.

“The said Walter James, for so much by him laid forth in extraordinaries, and for apparelling Sir Arthur O’Neill’s son and his foster father,” by concordatum, 10 August, 1600 - - - - - 33l. 17s. 6d.

“Margery Paine, widow, in respect of her poverty, her husband being lately slain in Her Majesty’s service,” by concordatum, 11 August, 1600 - - - - - 40s.

“Mitchell Geare, widow, late wife to Æneas Dolaghan, one of Her Majesty’s pensioners, lately slain in Her Highness[’s] service, for her better relief,” by concordatum, 12 August, 1600 - - - - - 6l. 13s. 4d.

“Thomas Reynolds, a maimed soldier, having lost one of his hands in Her Majesty’s service,” by warrant, 4 September, 1600 - - - - - 40s.

“Christopher Hunsworth, a maimed soldier, having lost his nose,” by warrant, 11 September, 1600 - - - - - 20s.

“John Wilson, a lame soldier, for his charges to London, from whence he was pressed,” by warrant, 15 September, 1600 - - - - - 40s.

“Sir Geoffrey Fenton, for his riding charges to Court, over and besides 80l. formerly imprested unto him, and certified in the last precedent certificate,” by concordatum, 28 August, 1600 - - - - - 100l.

“Maurice Croft, a maimed soldier, for his relief, being in great distress,” by concordatum, 13 September, 1600 - - - - - 66s. 8d.

1600.

[Sept.]

62. Captain William Yelverton to Sir Robert Cecil. "After the delivery of my uncle's letter in my behalf," is unwilling to seem importunate. The company he had in Ireland was cassed by the Lord Deputy, on the Queen's direction that the 2,000 then sent into Ireland should all be cassed. Is thus destitute of any means to live by, the living he had being possessed by the rebel. Appeals to Sir Robert for help. If there be any present employment for Ireland, or the Low Countries, or other place, desires it; if not, that he may obtain a grant of lands attainted, or concealed, or forfeited leases, to the value of thirty or forty pounds by the year, in Ireland. Has served Her Majesty there these thirteen years and upwards. Is now banished from his living, and has lost all that ever he had. His two brothers have been slain by the traitors.—[1600, September.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

[Sept.]

63. Patrick Crosby to Sir Robert Cecil. Had Sir Robert read the enclosed letter from the Lord President [of Munster], which, and not any private business, was the only cause of Crosby's coming to him, he would have forborne to have disgraced him so publicly. Has never given him just cause of offence. Never stated that he was Sir Robert's man. Has done, and will do, his best endeavour. Acknowledges the benefits he has received from Sir Robert, and begs that he may speak a few words to him before he goes to Ireland.—[1600, September.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

Encloses:—

63. i. *Sir George Carew to Patrick Crosby. Protesting against the way in which Sir Henry Power has endeavoured to turn Sir George's poor kinsman, Philip Harvey, out of the command of the fort of Leix. Gives details. Has written to Sir Robert Cecil, and prays Crosby to solicit Mr. Secretary in the matter. If questioned whether Harvey should be put out of his command, to answer that when he was appointed Constable of the fort, he was thought sufficient to govern the country.*—[1600, September.] Signed. Seal. p. 1.

[Sept.]

64. "Note for Mr. Secretary touching Leinster."

"Although the killing of Onie McRory be the only best service in Leinster, and that upon his death I doubt not but most of the greatest rebels of that province will come in, yet we have found by experience that, upon every such alteration or fall, a new rebellion hath been hatched by the Archtraitor Tyrone in the north (whence all mischief comes), which not only doth foster a rebellion in Leinster, but also giveth life to the rebels in Munster. Stop the passage of this issue, and then the principal cause will cease, which is, by shutting the gap between the Barrow and the Shannon, the common way that they have ever passed, or can pass, between Ulster and Munster. The matter is but small, if it be carefully looked unto, for the distance between them is but fifteen miles, which is no great scope, if the charge thereof be laid upon the Lords and chieftains of that border joining thereupon, which are, McCoghlan, O'Molloy, O'Dempsey, O'Doyne, O'Carroll, Upper Ossory, and Hugh

1600.

Boy McCallough. These gentlemen joining together, and cutting the passes and passages of their countries, which indeed are wonderful strong, and so fast as, if they list, Tyrone with all the force in his country cannot pass through them (without such loss as he were never able to recover), much less any smaller number. For as the rebels have ever taken those countries, by reason of the fastness, to be always an advantage against the English, so now would it turn as much to their disadvantage, if the owners of that fastness would man the same against them. I moved this to some of the best of them, viz., the Lord of Upper Ossory, Sir Terence O'Dempsey, O'Doyne, and Hugh Boy, who not only liked of the plot, but also yielded that, if they had means from Her Majesty, they would undertake it, victual both the forts from time to time, and keep all those countries and the borders quiet without any further charge to Her Majesty, than only 500 foot and 60 horse, besides O'Carroll's 100 foot, that is already of the list. Sir Terence hereupon sent to O'Molloy and McCoghlan to join in it, who have also undertaken it by their letters."—[1600, September.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

Oct. 1.
Dublin.

65. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Further arrival of victuals. Hopes they, along with those that arrived in September, will serve 1,100 men for four months, if the Lord Deputy plants that garrison at Armagh. Never doubted but that the victuals would arrive in time, considering the great care bestowed by the Privy Council. Is confident that the remainder of the victuals, contracted for whilst he was in England, will be at Dublin by the end of October.

"I understand nothing as yet from the Lord Deputy of his proceedings in the camp; but to-morrow or the next day I look to receive some certain advertisements from my own messenger, for out of other means I can give you no light of those northern affairs, for that nothing is written hither, which I may transmit with credit. And for reports, they are so variable, and cast out to serve turns, as they hold no manner of certainty, nor so much as savour of truth. But I hope this day and yesterday, having been fair and dry weather, which cannot but abate the waters upon the Moyerie, it is like that his Lordship will not lose that opportunity, but will cause the camp to march, and put for his passage, though haply it may cost broken heads. Mr. Treasurer and I have this day signified to his Lordship the arrival of these victuals, praying his Lordship's direction to what port we shall send them, and the time. For if it please God that he make his passage good, and march to the Newry, I doubt not with God's help but we shall be able to answer him with victuals, unless very extreme contrary weather do cross us. I can advertise your Honour nothing of the doings of Leinster, for that, the Lord Lieutenant of the army lying so far off, the prosecution languisheth. Only the companies are laid upon the borders, rather to defend incursions, than to invade the rebels and seek them in their fastnesses, which is a manner of war, in my understanding, more apt to consume men and treasure than to cut through the rebellion." Begs for secrecy in the above.—Dublin, 1500, October 1.

1600.

[*Postscript.*] “After the perclosing of this letter, I received two advertisements from Munster of the well prospering of the service there, namely Kerry, Connolough, and the county of Waterford are wholly reduced; the county of Cork in a good way of recovery, for that, about eight days past, Her Majesty’s forces have banished the supposed Earl of Desmond [and] slain his son, with eighty of his best followers. Himself is now come into Leix, accompanied only with Piers Lacy, seeking to reinforce themselves by raising some bonnaughts of the Leinster rebels. Now is the time to prosecute him in Leinster, at least not to suffer him to have succour there, being thrust out of his own province.

“I have sent your Honour herewith the double of the Lord Deputy’s letter, sent from the camp to the State here, which is all we received from his Lordship since his departure.”

Sir Geoffrey Fenton adds in his own hand:—“Florence McCarthy stands aloof, but doth no hurt, other than to steal cows for his men, and the Knight of the Glynns doth the like. They cannot stand long in this condition, but must either be suppressed or banished. I see the Lord President will give the first beginning to abate Her Majesty’s charges, for now that his province is brought to so good a way of settling, he may either commit hither some of the companies serving under him, or discharge them, whereby Her Majesty’s burden may be eased. And yet I wish his Lordship to be wary how he lesseneth his strength upon the sudden, for, though the gross of the rebel be broken, yet there remaineth an infection which must have time to be thoroughly cured.” *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:*—“1^o 8bris, 1600. Mr. Secretary Fenton.” *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2¹/₂.

Encloses:—

65. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and some of the Council to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council.* “Upon Wednesday, the 17th, in the evening, we came to the town of Dundalk, where we stayed Thursday, upon some occasions of the army, and on Friday, when we meant to have left this place, it fell out so foul, as it was thought unfit for the army to remove. Upon Saturday we took the field, and marched hither, and sat down here at the Faugher, hard by the rebels. They offered us skirmish, which we entertained, and beat them well into their woods and fastness. Divers of them were hurt, and some killed; on our side only some few hurt. That night they bestowed divers volleys of shot upon our camp, but, finding that we would not take the alarm, they have since not troubled us in that kind. The next day we purposed to attempt somewhat that might annoy them or advantage us, but such hath been the extremity of the weather by storm and rain until this present morning, as we have not been able to stir out of the camp, yea hardly to get firing for our necessary uses. The wet fallen since our coming hither hath been in such abundance as, though there were no enemy to impeach our journey to the Newry, it is for certain thought we could not have passed thither, nor shall be able to pass these three or four days yet, though the weather should be fair from this time forward. We have some cause to think it to be true, by an experiment we

1600.

have made another way; for, sending out some forces towards the Fews, where we hoped we should have done some service, they were not able for the greatness of the waters to pass two miles from this place, but returned presently to the camp. The only mishap that hath befallen us (besides this cruel weather) is the loss of some 200 of our beeves, though they were not taken from us by strong hand, but by the negligence of the keepers suffered to be stolen by three or four knaves in the night, without the knowledge of the army or any cry made, till they were gone so far as they could not be recovered. Yet this loss of ours we have this means to recover. We have taken prisoner one Murtagh McShane, who would willingly restore our cows, and double their number for his ransom, if we would be contented to accept thereof. We have to this end written thus much unto you, to let you know the cause of our stay here, and to pray you to send money and victuals to us, if the same be come from England, as we hope. If not, yet we wish you to take some course to send us what possibly you can get, especially biscuit, which may come to Dundalk by land most fitly. For we mean not, God willing, to return, but proceed in the course we first intended, though the rebels be strong in our way with divers entrenchments and barricadoes, that we must win and break down, before we can offer to pass our carriage.”—The Camp at the Faugher, 1600, September 24. “We lack of the beeves that should have been sent in, 364; of the garrans, 169; of the pioneers, all but two, whereby the service is exceedingly hindered.”
 Copy. pp. 1½.

Oct. 1.
 Derry.

66. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. “I would not forbear to advertise your Lordships, by this first ship that departeth, of the arrival of Captain York with the supplies, although to finish and make my despatch perfect, I must of necessity take a little more time, and wade somewhat further into the business, wherein I have hitherto proceeded but thus far, as that I have only taken a view and muster of the men, and am now dividing them into the companies. Their number arrived is 570, amongst which nine carpenters, four masons, and neither saddler nor cooper. For the persons of the soldiers, they are men (clothed as they now are) for the most part well to be liked. For the artificers, their number is exceeding small, and such as will yield us very little help in the business we most need to set forward; and, more than that, their want so long hath brought an irrecoverable damage to all our works, the season of the year being grown such, as hardly in a whole week shall we find one day able for men to labour in. But the arrival of all together (I must confess) brought no small joy nor contentment to us all, Captain Fleming at the same time falling almost into their company, with a ship of victual from Knockfergus, where for three weeks’ space together he had before lain wind-bound, and our store here so near spent, as in six days together we had only butter and an exceeding small quantity of peas, without either bread or meal, that was wholesome or fit for any man to eat; and neither that nor the weakness of our men concealed from the rebels,

1600.

that, to watch some opportunity upon this advantage, had encamped themselves within three miles of us with near 1,500 men, for the space of fourteen days together; in which time, at the instigation of McSwyne, they were brought upon our quarter, with assured hope to have forced us out. They gave on about midnight, the moon shining through dark clouds, and, having lain close upon the outer side of the bog, till they had observed our horse-round passing by on the in side, they had put over near 100 men, before they were discovered, the alarm being taken first by the guard of horse, which stood in an old ruined church, not far from the place where they came over. Captain White, being himself upon the guard, presently charged them with seven or eight horse only, put them to rout, killed two in the place, hurt (as we hear since from themselves) near thirty, and so forced them with much fear, and loss of many of their arms (which they left behind them) to retire. Within six days after (seeing no good to be done) they dissolved their camp, and O'Donnell returned to his home, leaving only a guard upon the country of 400 men, whereof 200 under the charge of McSwyne and the rest with O'Dogherty, whose coming in, notwithstanding, I hope to advertise your Lordships of by my next first letters. I had, about a week before this happened, taken a particular certificate from every Captain of the strength of their able men for service, upon their credits, and as they would answer to bring them forth wheresoever they should be called. The number of these in this place were (*sic*) 504, and in all the several garrisons together 830, the particular note whereof, with a full and perfect declaration of our estate, I had the very day before sent away to my Lord Deputy. Upon the alarm I found nothing so many, and the Captains' excuses were, that many, by the extreme inclemency of the weather, and their nakedness, were fallen down. What is now our particular state in every point, your Lordships shall be fully and perfectly informed by some of the ships, which must of necessity stay a little behind the rest. Of the ships that should come about to remain here as a storehouse, I hear no manner tidings, and as little of the victual provided by your Lordships to be ready by the 20th of July, saving this which Captain Fleming brought, being of biscuit, butter, and a little cheese, proportionable only for one month, according to the state we were in before the supplies came. Of the apparel I hear as little, only a bruit is raised (I know not how nor by whom) that some of these ships are hired to bring it, after they shall be returned back again from hence; which, if it be true, I assure your Lordships, beside the discontentment and despair it will breed amongst our men, will undoubtedly be the death of at least 100. In one of my former letters to Mr. Secretary, I wrote of 2,000 deal boards arrived within the Lough (as I heard) sent by my Lord Deputy as an increase to the number first allotted us. So it was reported to me by some passengers that came up from her; but when she came herself, and my letters withal from my Lord Deputy, it was none other but 2,000 only provided by Mr. Newcome[n] in his own particular for setting up a brewhouse at Dunalong, so that I thought good to acquaint his Honour and your Lordships therewith, lest my provisions might be mistaken (upon mine own letter) to be more than they are.

1600.

“Your Lordships write of a Scottish gentleman that offereth himself to this service with 150 men, upon conditions in my opinion so reasonable, as I see no cause of refusal. He may undoubtedly be employed to singular good purpose in many respects, and specially for a mean of true intelligence, in which kind their nation are far more fit to be used than any other, many of them being already dispersed all over the country, and the truth of the Irish advertisements much to be measured by the concurrence with their reports. In which point I have had experience of their wont, or their like, in that I have been forced to rely upon such news as Sir Arthur O'Neill and his men only should bring me; whereunto I saw no reason at any time to give too certain credit, and, in getting of the same nation to try the truth one by another, I have seen so little good, in respect of their general perfidiousness (having been abused by at least a dozen in that kind), as I am utterly discouraged from employing them any more. Notwithstanding, for Sir Arthur himself, howsoever I conceived a jealous opinion of him before (not without some ground of reason), I must now give this testimony of a better hope, that I have observed his willingness to employ his men abroad, carefully and diligently, all this time of our greatest danger. And at the very beginning, when matters were first foreseen what state they were likely to grow into, he came in person with his wife and three sons, and willingly put himself to stay in the fort with me, as a pledge and assurance both of his own fidelity and his men's, which were at Dunalong, forewarning me truly of divers plots and purposes intended against us, wrought by some (whose names he could not deliver me) even of our own nation, so that I must confess and testify in his behalf, by the perfect observance of all his carriage, that, though he be much given to the natural vice of his country (drunkenness), yet in my conscience I am strongly persuaded of his honest and true disposition to loyalty. The scorn received by the loss of the horses, it seemeth your Lordships hold me not clearly acquitted of, though in your honourable favours you be pleased to accept of my endeavours, and the danger I put myself into for their recovery. In which point I cannot but acknowledge my humble thanks, and yet in the other (under your Lordships' correction) not yield myself anything faulty. If the camp were not furnished (so far as directions might serve) with sufficient guards, I am worthily to be blamed, yea punished. If the soldiers failed in their duty, I hope your Lordships will think it was out of my power to remedy, and that I had been careful to avoid the accident that happened as much as I might. The twice preventing of them before, I thought had been a sufficient argument; and to lose that in an open field, where soldiers were lazy, both officers and men sick, their horses loose, and of necessity to be put daily abroad to feeding, and traitors amongst ourselves, as now it appeareth (for McSwyne demandeth his reward of O'Donnell for causing his man to put them forth), which I have known lost, though not so many in number at one instant, even in the town of Dublin, I think not (my humble duty in all measure acknowledged) altogether so strange a matter. That the success of my unfortunate labours have not afforded unto Her Majesty the news of more perfect and complete content, I am most heartily grieved, and yet (God is my

1600.

judge) see not the means how it could have been bettered, nor can add anything to my former zeal and desire to have done good service, which God, the searcher of all secrets, knoweth to be such as gladly and willingly I wish my life sacrificed to give her the happy tidings of a final end to this troublesome and most chargeable war. I humbly beseech your Lordships to be so persuaded, as also of my true and dutiful disposition, in all that I can, to satisfy your Lordships' expectations. Your Lordships may be pleased to take notice that I have fully satisfied Sir John Bolles in his mis-conceit of my unkindness to him."—The Derry, 1600, October 1. *Holograph. pp. 5.*

Oct. 1.

67. "The charge of Sir Henry Wallop's account of the revenue of Ireland," for two whole years ended Michaelmas, 1597. *Signed by Auditor Christopher Peyton on 9 September, 1600.* "Delivered by Auditor Peyton's man at Oatlands, the first of October, 1600." *One sheet.*

[Oct. 1.]

68. "The answer of Sir Henry Wallop, knight, to certain informations made against the accounts of his late father, Sir Henry Wallop, knight, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, deceased."

The seven informations are duly answered, and it is stated that "the ancestors of the said Sir Henry Wallop, for the space of about 80 years, have been employed in the service of Her Majesty's noble father, brother and sister, and himself these twenty years after in Her Highness['s] service in Ireland, in which time of his employment he hath done Her Highness true and faithful service."—[1600, October 1.] *Unsigned. pp. 6½.*

Oct. 2.
Bristol.

69. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am now come to the place that your Honour desired for my sooner transporting for Ireland, where I am to entreat your Honour, in that great measure of your undeserved favours, you will not let me now sink, coming, as I daily pray for, near to that fruition which will satisfy the expectation of Her Majesty and your Honours, and discharge the duty of that loyalty which nothing shall have ever power to alter. Captain Price shewed your Honour's order, to which I have and ever will submit myself, but the overplus of my retinue is some thirteen more, which, God is my witness, I took not for vain glory's sake, but that the world should see the title which Her Highness did afford me was not so naked but that it had attendance in some sort answerable. Besides, I am certainly informed that the best men of Munster in this prime of my sun-shining fortune (through Her Majesty's extraordinary bounty) will be glad to wear my cloth, that half a year hence will not altogether be so fond of it. Some few horses my friends have afforded me, to the number of five, which I thought good to acquaint you with, as he to whom I must address my whole self, and they tell me I have very great need to carry saddles over, which are not there to be had. These are not idle expenses, and, though it may be opposed that it is not fit Her Majesty should be at such a charge upon an uncertainty, yet let

1600.

the consequence of this employment be examined, and it will be found [there are] matters of less note more chargeable. I refer myself to your Honour's consideration; and these, honourable Sir, are the tokens of your virtuous spirit, to strengthen the defects that may hinder the service, as myself hath now no means to supply the charge of those things, and by you must they now be upheld, upon whom returneth the actions of my best and dearest services, to whom I commit myself and them."—Bristol, 1600, October 2. [*Postscript.*] "Patrick Arthur is returned with the soldiers, which I thought fit to acquaint your Honour with, because of your determination that they should attend upon me; who are now to attend your directions. I beseech your Honour to hasten away my Lord Archbishop and Patrick Crosby." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Oct. 2.
Nesson.

70. Thomas Watson to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the transport of treasure and men from Chester to Ireland. During his journey from London there had "daily fallen such abundance of rain, as in the memory of man hath seldom been seen at this time so long to continue." Dearth feared in Cheshire. Had "a great conflict" with Captain Dutton about his reckoning. In cases of similar complaints by officers, begs Sir Robert to "bear an indifferent hand" between Mr. Treasurer and them.—"Nesson near the seaside," 1600, October 2. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 1½.

Oct. 2.
Bristol.

71. Captain John Price to Sir Robert Cecil. On Tuesday, September 30, he came with "my Lord" [the Earl of Desmond] to Bristol. Went to the Mayor, who provided a house for his Lordship's lodging. Desmond had "above thirty persons following him, besides five horses." Told his Lordship he could go no further than Sir Robert's instructions. Desmond agreed, and the rest of the retinue lie on his own charges. Dealt also with the Mayor about a bark, which is ready, when the wind proves favourable.

"Yesternight, being the first of October, when we were at supper, there came one in to my Lord, who certified us that he came out of one of the ships which was appointed to carry soldiers over to Ireland, and that they, being some six days at sea and near the coast of Ireland, were by foul weather driven back unto Bristol again, except one ship, which by reason of the tempest was dispersed from them; so that this day all the soldiers are landed at Bristol again."—Bristol, 1600, October 2. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

Oct. 2.

72. Note of Tyrone's men killed and hurt on 2 October, 1600. "Cormack McBaron had killed and hurt, 16; one of his foster-brothers of good note, 1; Harry Oge, 12; the Scots, 31; the McMahons, 10; Donogh Bradagh O'Hagan, 18; Ferdorogh McOwen his sons lost 13; one Spaniard slain, 1; Calr. O'Quinn, 2; Calr. O'Quinn his horse slain; one of the Hamle[y]s slain, a captain of the best reckoning amongst them. The loss of Art McBaron and Tirlogh McHenry is not yet certainly known, but Tyrone reported that he had slain and hurt, in all, 150 or more.

1600.

Tyrone apprehended his son Con, imagining that it was he that drew our army upon his trenches. Tyrone yesternight took as prisoners two of the McMahons that were coming into Maguire.”—*Unsigned. p. 1.*

Oct. 2.
Athlone.

73. Sir Arthur Savage to Mr. Thekestone. “If you look to see me alive, procure Mr. Secretary to write to the Lord Deputy that I may come over for two or three months to recover my health, and that somebody else may depute for me. I had a looseness begun on me before Mr. Gofton’s going hence, which sithence grew to an extreme flux. Notwithstanding I shall not by any means get hence without some special leave from England, for the Deputy loves me not, and therefore will not let me go, unless I will desire to be quit on my place, which I will not do. I pray, brother, do this for me, and excuse my not writing to my other friends by this occasion; but in any wise let my wife have no apprehension of it.”—Athlone, 1600, October 2. *Addressed*:—To my very loving brother, Mr. Thekestone, at his house in Charterhouse churchyard. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Oct. 3.

74. Journal of the Lord Deputy’s proceedings, from 20 September to 3 October, 1600.

“The 20th of September, we encamped at Phaor, two miles from Dundalk, in the way to the Newry, at the mouth of the pass called the Moyerie. The rebels were intrenched in the said pass before our coming, and had fortified therein to their skill in divers places. The army being logged [*sic*, lodged], we had that day hot skirmish in fetching of wood, but we put the rebels to the worse, who only maintained their fight in the skirts of the wood, and in [the] end withdrew themselves to their greater strength.

“The 21st, we remained there, in which the rebel provoked out some of our horse, to draw them into an ambush, but we avoided the danger thereof, and coursed them to the wood, and killed some of their men.

“The 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, we lay still, by reason of the continual rain that fell. The 25th, part of the army was sent to view their trenches next adjoining unto us, out of which we drew them, and killed some of them that best maintained the place. In our retreat to our camp, we were well fought withal in the rear. The 26th, being a more clear day, we marched with like forces to take a better view; which we performed, and returned without any great fight. Their trenches are drawn [a]cross our way, with some blank, and have a kind of rampire raised upon them, with earth, stone, and thorn. The waters also are so out with continual rain, as not [to be] passable; upon which Tyrone hath also fortified, being there in person himself.

“The 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th, and the first of October, we were forced to lie still by reason of the continual rain, and sending abroad to furnish the wants of our army; only we entertained a

1600.

light skirmish upon the 30th of September, to the end that such as were sent to Carlingford for victual might have the safer passage. The rebel is held to be more foot and horse than we be in the field.

“The second of October, we drew up certain regiments to the trenches and barricadoes of the rebels, which are raised on this side the Three Mile Water; from all which we did put them, and had a very hot fight, wherein Sir Oliver Lambert, being Sergeant-Major of the field, was lightly shot upon the body; Sir Christopher St. Lawrence likewise. Sir Thomas Burke had a little hurt upon both his legs. The Scoutmaster, Captain Harvey, was lightly shot upon the right knee, and Mr. Anthony Rush shot through the body, and died the night following. My Lord Deputy in his own person viewed all the aforesaid trenches, was in the fight, had divers hurt about him, and one of his own gentlemen shot through the shoulders, very near unto him. We made the rebels run, and slew many of them, and so returned to our camp without any great loss worth the writing.” *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—“Journal from Ireland.” *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 3.
Bristol.

75. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I have received by Captain Price the advertisement of Her Majesty’s exceeding mercy towards me, for which as the whole course of my life I cannot be so void of the understanding of her princely worth, as not still to admire the nature of the divineness, that all admiration must absolutely attend upon, and do hope that her royal inclination doth not impose impossibilities, that where I shall shew a trueness of will and duty, there no disaster in the proof of my allegiance shall be any obstacle to her published mercy.

“I do hear by one Cornelius Dier, who landed at Beaumaris upon Wednesday last, being the 28th of September, and now with me at Bristol, that James FitzThomas hath carried away by policy Cormack McDermott’s sister and cousin germain to Florence McCarthy, albeit that he hath another wife, which is the Lord of the Cahir’s sister that now is. These courses are thought to be but packs of underhand rebellion, for which I humbly beseech your Honour to be a mean for (*sic*) unto Her Majesty to the further discovering and punishing of it, that I may be joined with the Lord President for the taking in of those that will unmask these wicked concealments, and martial law for the contrary that shall run the course of this reprobation. Mine own person, I fear not, shall never want that desire which shall always answer the expectation of Her Highness, on whom, next under God, I rely; upon and from whom the actions of my abilities have received life. This Cornelius is a foster-brother of my sister Roche’s, who sent him with this advertisement unto me, and of her own offered wrongs by this Lord Roche, which I moved your Honour for, to give order unto the President that it should be redressed according to justice and equity; which if you have not done, I humbly beseech you to do, and for encouragement to Dermott O’Connor, who, I doubt not, will behave himself well in these employments.”—Bristol, 1600, October 3. *Holograph.* *pp.* 2.

1600.

Oct. 3.
Bristol.

76. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond to Sir Robert Cecil. "Though none shall ever accuse me of unthankfulness, yet I must return all my happiness on your honourable favours, to whom I owe all the fruition of my happinesses, and yield the commandment of my life's services, beseeching your honourable kindnesses that we may be second[ed] with all good means, and I doubt not but to accomplish your desire or mine own end, which shall shew the will I had to perform it, with some direction to Captain Price that now, in almost stepping into Ireland, I may not want means for the transportation of my men and some few horses." Beseeches Sir Robert to remember Maurice O'hræghan's suit. *Endorsed*:—1600, October 3. From Bristol. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Oct. 3.
Bristol.

77. Captain John Price to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received this day from the Mayor Sir Robert's letters of 1 October, together with the packet. The shipping, wherein the soldiers under Captain Arthur were to pass, returned the day before through contrary winds. Has delivered Sir Robert's commandment to the Earl [of Desmond], "and withal acquainted him that his patent was signed, and will be sent by the Archbishop [of Cashel], for the which he rejoiceth so much, that he wished himself at that instant to be in Ireland, whereby he might manifest his willingness to further Her Majesty's service. And although he knoweth the Lord Bishop hath done his endeavour to bring this patent to be signed, for which he seemeth to be most beholden, yet he resteth altogether upon your Honour as the only sheet-anchor and patron to work this happiness unto him, for which he voweth to be ever yours and at your command. I will have great care that no blasts of serviceable wind be wasted, but will take the commodity of the first; and the Earl is as willing also to be gone. I will deliver your packet according your direction. Our ship is agreest [*i.e.* fitted out, *Fr. agréer*] by the Mayor and me, and [we] caused her to fall down, fearing to be neaped at the quay, the sooner to be gone with the first wind, which now is at west. I will not have more care of the preservation of my life, than to follow your honourable instructions sent me."—Bristol, 1600, October 3. *Signed.* p. 1.

Oct. 4.
London.

78. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. Praying him to remember "the poor agents" of Kilmallock, for whom he spoke when taking leave of his Honour, and whom Sir Robert promised to see as soon favoured and dispatched as any suitors of their quality from Ireland.—London, 1600, October 4. *Signed.* p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Oct. 4.
Camp at
Faher.

79. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please you to be advertised that my Lord Deputy departed Dublin the 15th of September towards Dundalk, where his Honour had appointed the rendezvous for his army, intending to advance from thence unto the Newry, and so unto Armagh. The 17th, my Lord came unto Dundalk, his army being all drawn together. My Lord

1600.

departed the town the 20th, and encamped that afternoon, hard by the mouth of the passage and straight unto the Newry, at a place called Faher.

“Tyrone, having intelligence of my Lord’s intended purpose, made all the preparation he could both in forces and munition, and knowing that the army was on foot, Tyrone drew presently into the pass, and straight between Faher and the Newry, with 3,000 foot and 400 horse, and there made in the wood and highway divers trenches and barricadoes in the manner of little sconces with great hedges upon the top, and upon each side plashing the wood about it, and hath divided his forces, giving unto his especial gentlemen and captains their particular charge and direction where to fight and how to resist us.

“The first night that we encamped, the weather fell to be very extreme, both of rain and wind, and so continued the space of ten days, that we were not able to attempt anything against the enemy, neither to pass on to the Newry, the waters were so high, [even] if we had [had] no impediment. Yet the 25th, my Lord Deputy appointed three regiments to march into the wood towards the enemy, with direction to discover the places and manner of the enemy’s fortifying, which was performed with some fight and loss of both sides, but not great.

“The weather continuing still in extremity, the second of October being somewhat fair, my Lord Deputy had appointed that the army should be mustered, because his Honour was desirous to know the true state and strength of his army; and being in arms, ready to draw into the field, we might discover Tyrone with a good troop of horse upon the height of a hill, and a battle of pikes of the enemy’s, accompanied with many shot, advancing very proudly, as though they would have attempted somewhat upon our camp. So good an occasion being offered, my Lord commanded five regiments to march towards the enemy in this form; two upon the right hand, my Lord’s own and Sir Thomas Burke’s; upon the left hand, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence’s regiment and Sir Richard Morrison’s; in the middle, which had the point, Sir Samuel Bagenall’s regiment. They did advance so far that they fell to a great fight, and it continued the space of two hours. The enemies maintained their trenches and fights very stoutly, but the resolution of our captains and soldiers was such that they forced the enemy to quit two of their fights, [and] put the enemy to a fast retreat. Yet, upon our retreat towards the camp in the evening, the enemy fell on again very hotly. There was in this skirmish hurt, Sir Oliver Lambert in the side, but not dangerously; Sir Christopher St. Lawrence hurt in the shoulder; six Lieutenants hurt, besides other inferior officers; soldiers hurt and slain, 120. What hurt the enemy hath received as yet I cannot make known unto your Honour, but they do still remain in that strength, for Tyrone much feareth that if the success of this journey should chance disastrously of his side, that many of his followers will forsake him; therefore he intendeth not to remove with his forces, but to impeach the passage of our army by all the means and courses he possibly may, and my Lord Deputy must by often fighting force the enemy to abandon the passage, or else it is a thing impossible to pass with the carriages.

1600.

“It is a thing which doth much trouble Tyrone, the voice that there should a garrison be placed at Armagh. And the report is, to prevent that, Tyrone himself fortifieth at Armagh, and there he hath appointed 300 foot to remain for the guard of the place; but, with your Honour’s favour, I will not avouch this for truth. Upon the finishing of this letter, there was certain news that eight principal commanders of the enemy were slain, and 150 of them hurt.”—The camp at Faher, 1600, October 4. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Oct. 5.
Camp at
Faher.

80. Sir Robert Lovell to the Earl of Essex. “The happy news of your Lordship’s freedom hath made a number of your Lordship’s friends exceeding joyful, amongst whom myself doth challenge as great a proportion of gladness as any. If your Lordship desire to understand of our present affairs, your Lordship shall know that on the 21st of September, we sat down in camp at the Fagher, close by the pass of the Moyerie, where we had a skirmish without much harm, only a brother of mine shot dangerously through the face into the neck. The 25th of September, taking the opportunity of a thick mist, we went to view their barricadoes, and came upon them on such a sudden that they quitted their arms upon the ground and ran. Upon our retreat we had a good skirmish with them, but lost no man of any account. On Thursday, the second of October, the army preparing to muster, Tyrone came down with his forces to the pass[s] mouth, little more than a musket shot from the camp; whereupon my Lord, leaving the camp guarded, drew down and fought with them, but they retired and were driven from both these barricadoes, where we had been before, a mile within the pass. Sir Thomas Burke having the point, whom of all men I must commend, served like a brother of my Lord Dunkellin’s, who, enduring terrible volleys of shot at the barricadoes, his men falling down on their knees for fear, himself with his colours and a few ran to the barricado, and throwing his colours over before him, was the first himself that leapt after them, and forcing the rebels from that place, made good till direction came for him to draw off. Sir Thomas Burke is shot in the leg, St. Lawrence in the shoulder, [the] Sergeant-Major through the side, Will Harvey in the knee, Captain Gainsford in the reins of the back, Antony Rush and St. Lawrence’s uncle slain, [and] five Lieutenants hurt; of inferior officers and soldiers, above seven score hurt and slain. What the rebels lost in, we do not yet receive, but in all men’s opinion not inferior to ours. They continually steal our cows from the camp, so that we are forced to eat our mustard without beef. Our army consists of less than 1,700 foot and seven score horse; the least we make of Tyrone is three thousand foot and three hundred horse; so that, if we fight after this rate but seven days more, there will be never a man left in the camp. There is no talk but of passing the Moyerie, or lying in the mire, which I think rather; but for myself I doubt not to live and see your Lordship as happy as ever you were.”—Camp at the Fagher, October 5. *Endorsed*:—1600. [Sir Robert Lovell was killed later in the day. See No. 86.] *Holograph.* Seal. pp. 2.

1600.

Oct. 6.
Bristol.

81. Captain John Price to Sir Robert Cecil. Received on the 5th Sir Robert's letter of the 3rd instant. It came in very good time, for the young Earl was greatly pressed by gentlemen here to receive some of their friends into his service. This he rejected, as soon as Captain Price shewed him the part of Sir Robert's letter concerning his Lordship. The Earl gave God thanks that he had so fast a friend. Captain Price dealt earnestly with his Lordship, and told him withal that if by any of his dealings he gave Sir Robert cause of dislike, he would lose the latter's friendship, and thereby all, to his own overthrow. The Earl protested that he would ever be as careful to follow Sir Robert's advice as to preserve his own life.

Since their coming to Bristol, the wind has been at west and south-west, until this morning when it was at south-west. Gave orders to the shipmaster to ship the Earl's horses, and so to draw down to King Road, where he would embark. While this letter was being ended, the wind changed to south-west and to a fog; yet he has sent all provision both for man and horse aboard, to be in a readiness to go with the first wind. Will follow his Honour's direction in all points. Mr. Arthur and his shipmasters called before the Mayor. Captain Price reprimands them for negligence. Long-continued unfavourable winds, beside fog and tempest. One of their ships reported to have reached Waterford. Cannot certify this. Has given straight charge to the [ship]masters and to Mr. Arthur to be ready to set forth upon one hour's warning. Has no news more to write, except that one Mr. Pyne and Mr. Culters arrived at Bristol yesterday, who told him that the Lord President went on a journey to Carybragh against Florence McCarthy, who is in arms.—Bristol, 1600, October 6. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 6.

82. "A list of the officers of the army, companies of horse and foot, and others, in Her Majesty's pay, 1 October, 1600, in the said realm [Ireland, *in margin*], allowed, as well by virtue of an establishment dated 6 February, 1599, and two letters dated 15 March, 1599, and 17 September, 1600, signed by Her Highness, and a list signed by the Lords of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, dated 11 February, 1599, together with the entertainments payable in money by Her Majesty, for a month of 28 days (over and besides the apparel of the footmen, which is not contained in this certificate), as hereafter may particularly appear."—1600, October 6. *Signed by the Mustermaster-General, Sir Ralph Lane. pp. 13.*

Oct. 7.
Dublin.

83. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "One of the two writings enclosed containeth an advertisement of the doings of the camp lying still near Dundalk, and the other is a copy of the Earl of Ormonde's letter to the State, signifying what stayeth his Lordship for not coming hither to answer the service of Leinster and the Pale. The first writing cometh from a private man in the camp, but of good credit and judgment, and the parts of his letter are confirmed by mine own messenger, who returned instantly with it; and by the second your Honour may gather that the plough of

1600.

Leinster will make no better furrows, till some other be put to guide it. For you may think, where there is a true zeal of the public service, there private respects of wife and children ought to bear no sway. In which point I dare not write more largely, but do humbly leave it to your Honour's consideration. Captain Fisher hath served in the camp all this service, and hath behaved himself with very good reputation and credit, of which I am the more glad, for that I find him a devoted follower of your Honour's, humbly praying you that he may be so esteemed and favoured as you shall have occasion."—Dublin, 1600, October 7. *Endorsed* :—Received at London the 24th. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

83. i. *Document endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton* :—"AdVERTISEMENTS from the camp, quinto Octobris, 1600; received septimo following."

"Yesterday being Thursday, the third of this month, our forces were through all Tyrone's trenches, to the rebels' discomfort and great loss of men, but the certain number we yet know not, till intelligence come out of his camp, which we expect this night. The skirmish was very great, and continued almost four hours full, in which time they quit all their trenches very basely. My Lord's purpose was not to go forward, for that the waters are yet impassable. In the skirmish there was slain of ours about twenty soldiers, besides one voluntary gent, called Captain Anthony Rush, brother to Sir Francis Rush. But our Commanders were so forward, that some of them are hurt, but few or none to death, saving two or three Lieutenants. Sir Oliver Lambert hath a slight hurt in the side with a bullet. A like light hurt hath Sir Christopher St. Lawrence in the shoulder, but goeth abroad with it. Captain Harvey shot in the knee, but not maimed; Sir Thomas Burke in the foot, but little the worse; Corporal Rainsford in the body, but hope of life; my Lord of Howth's brother, shot also in the body, but some hope of life; and one Mr. St. George was shot in the shoulder, but not to death. We had also of common soldiers hurt, 80, and we hope now to pass, if more rain come not, for we have seen all their strengths. Tyrone is not very strong, by reason O'Donnell is not with him."—Camp near Dundalk, 1600, October 5. p. 1.

83. ii. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Council.* [Duplicate of No. 55 above, with the exception of the last paragraph.]—Kilkenny, 1600, September 30. *Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton* :—"Received 3 October following. Copy. p. 1.

Oct. 7.

84. Advertisements received by Sir Geoffrey Fenton out of McMahon's country.

"Octobris 7^o 1600. Tyrone doth trench and ensconce all passes where my Lord Deputy might get passage. In these works some of his people be employed every day. Himself exhorts them with great earnestness to work lustily and patiently; that the safeguard of themselves, their wives and children, stands only upon the

1600.

stopping of the Lord Deputy's passage; that, if he once get through, farewell Ulster and all the north; and that, if they can either stop him or repel him, then they are past all danger and further prosecution for ever. This entrenching and sconcemaking is in doing with great earnestness in the Brenny, in Farney, and in McMahon's country. They account themselves utterly blown up and overthrown, if my Lord get to the Newry safely. They stand in greater fear now than ever. They have gained little by their skirmishes with my Lord. There is some 200 of his best and most desperate men slain, but none of any great worth, save Magennis's brother, who is wounded in eight places with a sword, and once with a spear, and past hope of recovery. Old Edmund O'Reilly went to Tyrone with some 200 men, and was joyfully received, for they stood in doubt of him, and so do they yet of Tirlough McHenry. James McRoss McGeogheghan on Thursday last came from the north, and Captain Tyrrell's man in his company, with some forty foot and three horsemen. He and Tyrrell's man went to seek aid for Leinster. Their answer was that, till my Lord Deputy were returned, he neither could nor would spare any. He wished them to keep their fastness, and to make [the] best shift for themselves they could.

"O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and O'Connor Sligo have assembled great forces. It is outwardly given that they mean to invade Clanrickarde and Thomond, but it was secretly told P. W. that they will into the Pale, thinking thereby to provoke my Lord Deputy with his army. For O'Donnell and O'Rourke, it is certain they have this purpose, but O'Connor Sligo is doubted of.

"Father Jarkhie's boy returned yesterday. Sertorio is not yet returned, but is looked for every hour. When he comes, if he will admit Jarkhie's repair to him, he will go. He was, at the boy's return, in the uppermost parts of Gessill, gathering of men. He cannot make up above 140, whatsoever is reported to the contrary. It is given out there that he is married to Onie McRory's sister; that, with as many men as he can, he will to Leix. Thither he will take his creaghts and children, and there means desperately to set up his rest; but, before he go, he is purposed to do what mischief he can to Phartullaghe. The Connors are made friends, have put in buonies, and are content for a while to be ruled by Brian McCallogh. Mulmorey McPrior O'Reilly, that hath the powder in keeping in Port na Holla, is gone to Tyrone in company with O'Reilly." *Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton:—7 October, 1600. Unsigned. pp. 2.*

Oct. 8.

85. The Earl of Essex to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "Noble Lord, I do know how hard it is for your Lordship to do all things you would do, and how unreasonable it is to request that of you which you cannot do. But Tom Lea [*i.e.* Captain Thomas Lee] is so near me in blood, and now suffers so much the more for me, as I cannot but intreat your Lordship to do for him what you can. He hath done better service than any man of his calling in Ireland. He was in my time better served than any, and will, if he [be] employed again, be of more use than a great many. What favour

1600.

soever your Lordship doth to him, shall be thankfully acknowledged by your Lordship's most affectionate cousin and truest friend, Essex."—[1600,] October 8. *Holograph. Seals and silk p. 1.*

Oct. [9].

86. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The tempests and storms being so great that my people durst not put to the seas, and therefore what I hear hath happened in the mean [time, I send] as I am advertised out of my Lord's camp. Your Honour shall understand that on Sunday last, being the fifth of this present, my Lord Deputy, desirous to view Tyrone's trenches, drew out three regiments of foot and 100 horse to attend his Lordship. The first regiment, being led by Sir Charles Percy, was very hotly charged by the rebels both in front and in flank, but our Captains and soldiers stuck to it exceeding well, and, being well seconded, they beat the rascals from the place, and put them to a main flight. In this fight two or three of their commanders were slain, and divers others. Of our side was slain Sir Robert Lovell, who served well that day, and sixteen soldiers more. We have lost in these three fights, and sithence my Lord came into the field, as it is thought very near 200. My Lord resteth resolved not to remove until he have cleared the passage, and the rebels lie exceedingly strongly entrenched to impeach the same. The winds and weather have been extreme foul and tempestuous, which have made the waters not passable. My Lord himself is very silent in his advertisements. What we hear cometh by private letters from the Captains remaining in the camp." *Endorsed:—1600, October [9]. Holograph. p. 1.*

Oct. 9.
Dublin.

87. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This letter enclosed was brought to me yesternight very late from the camp, which I thought meet to send to your Honour, for that, coming from a Councillor there, your Honour may see the proceedings of the army with more credit than by common reports; for from the Lord Deputy no advertisements have come to the State, which I think groweth out of his Lordship's great business there, more than of his own disposition.

Your Honour may see a great time spent to force a passage through the Moyerie, and yet we are now but where we were in the beginning, and I doubt shall still remain so, unless some forces be sent about by way of Carlingford to the Newry, such as may make a strength to attempt the rebels upon their backs, as the camp doth in their faces. For now, the traitors being entrenched and fortified, they have many advantages against us coming upon them but one way, which would be taken from them, if they were set upon by a second force at their backs. The companies appointed for Leinster might have answered this turn, for that since his Lordship went to the camp there hath been no prosecution either set on foot or followed in that province, but a manner of defensive war made, which is to little purpose to break through this great rebellion.

"The late Bishop [Robert Grave], whom Her Majesty preferred to the two bishoprics of Ferns and Laughlin, was drowned two days

1600.

past with his wife and family, going by sea to take possession of his livings; so as those two bishoprics are fallen again into Her Majesty's disposition. I humbly wish that some sincere man might be chosen from thence for those livings, for that here is so bad a choice of meet men, as it will be hard to find out one who in a good conscience may be preferred to the place. And I humbly wish that such as shall be recommended for church livings hither may pass through some good examination there, both of their learning and life, at least for their life; which hath corrupted as much by their ill example in the Commonwealth, as want of learning hath done hurt in others by their ignorance. And in a true plainness to your Honour I say, that there is no one thing hath more put back the obedience of the subjects, and made these dangerous breaches through the whole state of the Commonwealth, than a dumb ministry, running in their manner of life a dissolute course, full of ambition and covetousness, but cold and dry in a true zeal towards God and His church."—Dublin, 1600, October 9. [*Postscript.*] "After the writing of this letter, I received one from the Lord Deputy, written jointly to Mr. Treasurer and me, about victuals and victualling causes, but nothing at all of the martial proceedings of the camp; the double of which letter I send to your Honour herewith." *Signed. Endorsed:*—Received at London the 24th. pp. 1½.

Encloses:—

87. i. *Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* "Excuse me that I have not sithence my coming unto the camp written unto you. You, I know, before this have heard of our fight the second of October, and of the loss of both sides. I will now farther make known unto you that upon Sunday in the afternoon, being the 5th of this month, my Lord caused five regiments of foot with one hundred horse to attend himself to draw towards the enemy's trenches, which was performed. Sir Charles Percy with his regiment was appointed to draw unto the height of a mountain upon the left hand of the pass, which he did accomplish, but he was very hotly charged by the enemy, both in front and each flank, and it was so stoutly answered by the Captains and soldiers of that regiment, that we killed in that charge two principal commanders of theirs and twelve others, and put them to such a run, that they never after troubled our companies much. Of our side slain, Sir Robert Lovell, Captain Roe and his brother shot through the clothes, but not hurt. We had also in this fight forty soldiers killed and hurt, and six of Edward Fitzgarrett's kern. Tyrone hath so fortified and entrenched in the pass, that we must be constrained to win our passage by blows. There is killed and hurt of our army 200, sithence our first encamping; therefore you must think that we have not lived idly. My Lord Deputy intendeth not to remove from this camp where now we are before, if God so please, that we have cleared the passage. For want of paper, I am constrained to bid you farewell."—Camp at Faugher, 1600, October 6. Holograph. p. 1.

87. ii. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* Concerning the victuals at Newry,

1600.

Dundalk, and Carlingford. Issue before the day appointed. "By which means not only the victuals appointed for the army here have fallen short, but also those which should have been reserved for the plantation" [of Armagh]. Begs them to send with all convenient speed to Dundalk such victuals as they can, reserving only what is needful for the garrison and forts that cannot otherwise be victualled. Encloses the papers [wanting] he has received concerning the victualling cases. Desires that these may be perused, and order taken accordingly. If there is any defect in his commission to them, will remedy it, if they send him a draft of such further authority.—Camp at Faugher, 1600, October 6. Copy. p. 1.

Oct. 10.
Castletown.

88. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey. "Mr. Treasurer, I must first thank you for your great care of us, and then acquaint you, as near as my leisure will give me leave, with our purposes hereafter and proceedings hitherto. You know our main end is to make the war upon the traitor to his most disadvantage, and all plantations or other designs are but means to that end. And hitherto, as I believe, God doth all things for the best to them. He favours, so that these impediments of foul weather and otherwise have fallen out for our advantage. For the first impediment of weather, which assure yourself, if we had found no other opposition made our way impossible, yet hath hindered us from going forwards to the Newry, from whence we could not have yet departed, and whither we perceive it a dangerous counsel to carry the army till we have assured our passage back. For the fortifications of the rebel, it hath engaged him to fight, which perchance otherwise he would not have done in so round a fashion, whereby he hath upon my knowledge received greater loss than ever he did since the rebellion, and himself and his people cannot but know that he is not able to make good any of those places against us, to the great encouragement of ours and discouragement of his. For we never had our little parcel of weather, wherein men were able to fight, but we drew out and still did more against him than we were determined, and, apparently unto himself, beat him wheresoever we would. For, to make him quit the place, we held it to little purpose, till we should be either able to pass through, which we could not do for the waters, or to sit down and fortify, which by reason of the extremity of the weather, that hath not given us one whole day fit for men to march in, and other causes, we could not do. But, being almost drowned upon the top of a high hill, our horses dying, and men beginning to fall sick with the extremity of our watches, we are for some few days retired to Dundalk to refresh our men; where, believe me, we are no whit farther from our business, and resolve, God willing, to make this way a secure gate and passage to beat this proud rebel out of the north; which is such a stumbling block to the army, whensoever it shall pass, that it is a great grace of God, if at one time or another the army be not lost, and consequently the kingdom; but at the least both, every time we shall do anything in the north, will be desperately ventured. This being

1600.

done, we will do the uttermost forwards that God will give us leave, and little fear any resistance that can be made, although they brag much what fortifications they have made at Armagh.

"I will now write unto you more often, and for this time only desire you to expedite such things as we have written for, and to be careful to preserve the army, while we are in this painful journey, as much from want as may be; and, by your letters into England, to let their Lordships foresee what impediment it will be to the service if, when we return, we shall be driven to dispose of our men where they must live, and not in the best places to do service; which must needs fall out, if they do not speedily send over more treasure. I pray let us be accompanied with your good prayers, and we will leave nothing undone or unsuffered, that men may do for the good and honour of our country.

"I am loath to send you particularities until I am certain, and no people in the world do hide more their losses than the rebels; but I am certainly informed by one that was with them that the day they interrupted our musters we made four hundred of their men deficient, of which number there are but forty living. I can assure you that amongst themselves they do call it a great overthrow."—Castletown, 1600, October 10. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Oct. 10.
[Bristol.]

89. J[ames Fitzgerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. His thankfulness to Sir Robert. "What errors the greenness of my youth may commit will rather grow through ignorance of this world's carriage than any thought or imagination of wilfulness to offend." Expresses his devotion to the Queen. Prays Sir Robert to be the "organ that may always sound in Her Highness[']s ears the yielding tributes of" his loyalty, which will not receive any shadow of disobedience. Is ready to set sail with the next wind, which he earnestly longs for. Thanks Sir Robert for defraying the charge of his horses. Hopes by his next letter to advertise his arrival at Cork. "I humbly thank your Honour for your good news; I hope shortly to send you better. Captain Price hath made all things ready here, and desires to be gone; and I protest I do the like."—[Bristol,] 1600, October 10. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Oct. 10.
Bristol.

90. Captain John Price to Sir Robert Cecil. Has this day received his letter of the 9th instant, together with letters for the Lord President [of Munster], which shall be delivered into his hands. Has dispatched all things at Bristol, and has caused the ship wherein they go to fall down to King Road, five miles off. Greatly longs for the first wind. "My stay here a day is longer to me than a year." The changes of wind. Dark weather by reason of fog and rain. The Earl [of Desmond's] pleasure at the good news from Sir Robert. "The ship with the soldiers that was dispersed, and which was thought to be at Waterford, is now at Milford, whereof I had sure news. My Lord Archbishop [of Cashel] and Mr. Crosby came hither a Wednesday last."—Bristol, 1600, October 10 *Signed.* p. 1.

1600.

Oct. 11.
Huntington
near
Chester.

91. George Beverley to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. "The victualling of Her Majesty's army in Ireland (altogether by sea), as it is the greatest victualling I have known, so your Lordship's worthy cares and good success therein hath taught me to see that effected which I doubted could not have been done; whereby the chief commanders, officers, and soldiers of that army are much bound to your Lordship's most honourable cares." Hopes the southerly winds have sufficiently served to carry the victualling ships from the several ports in England to Lough Foyle, Carrickfergus, and the other magazines in Ireland. Three nights passed Thomas Wattson sailed from Chester for Dublin with Her Majesty's treasure. Commends Wattson. Had conference, at his last being in London, with Mr. Jolles and Mr. Cockayne, who had no wish to undertake a service of victualling in Ireland as they dealt with it in England. Endeavoured to persuade them. Assistance rendered by him to certain victualling officials.

"This day the citizens of Chester have chosen a new Mayor, named Mr. Robert Brerwood. This man in my time hath now been thrice Mayor of Chester, a good citizen, and a man well affected to the city causes." Will soon attend his Lordship.—"Written at my poor farm at Huntington near Chester," 1600, October 11. *Signed.*
Seal. p. 1.

Oct. 12.
Dublin.

92. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Council to the Privy Council. "Since the Lord Deputy's departure to the borders of Ulster, which is about twenty-five days past, we have forborne to write anything to your Lordships of the proceedings of the camp, expecting to hear from his Lordship, that we might ground a true and confident advertisement; for, to write upon common reports, or private advices from particular men, we thought it no certain way to represent to your Lordships a just discourse of those affairs. And now, having yesterday received from his Lordship and the Council attending him there a summary declaration of things happened since he encamped, we have sent to your Lordships herewith a true copy of his letter, wherein your Lordships may see not only the success of the army since their first sitting down there, but also what his Lordship hath written to us to send him further strength of men and munition, to supply him, the better to force his passage to the Newry, when it shall please God to prosper him with a good time. Touching the men, we have this day sent directions to the several companies out of which they are to be drawn, according his Lordship's list, the copy whereof we send herewith, with charge that they march with all speed possible to his Lordship. And for the munition, with tools for fortification and victuals, we, the Treasurer and Secretary (whose particular charge that is), are now putting them aboard certain barks in this harbour, to be transported to Dundalk with the first commodity of wind. So as, for our parts, there shall nothing want, wherein, by our industry and diligence, we may give correspondence to his Lordship, hoping that God (whose rule goeth through all) will bless the rest, as always he hath done, to the overthrowing of such unnatural traitors as these are. His Lordship hath had for the most part, since he was encamped, exceeding foul

1600.

and stormy weather, such as hath not been seen so long time together. By the impediment whereof (besides the resistance of the traitors) his Lordship is driven to spend much time, to the weakening of his army; besides the coming on of winter, which in that climate is more sharp than in any other part of the realm.

“Touching Leinster, the charge whereof and [of] the English Pale was committed to the Earl of Ormonde, as Lieutenant of the army, by the Lord Deputy and Council, before his Lordship’s going to the north, the Earl hath not repaired into these parts since, though we have written to him sundry times therein, whereby we cannot advertise your Lordships of any proceedings against the rebels of Leinster, nor of any prosecution. Only, the Earl hath written unto us two letters, the doubles whereof we send herewith, excusing by the last his not coming by the dangerous sickness of the lady his wife, for the which we are much grieved, for that through such an impediment so great a service should be foreslowed. And yet his Lordship sent to the Naas, about six or seven days past, Sir Francis Rush with four companies of foot, to answer such service upon these south borders as we should direct him, with a letter to the noblemen of Meath to make head with their risings out of the country for the defence of those borders. But we find the sons of Feagh McHugh, and all their followers, with some of the Connors and others of the confederates of Leinster, to be protected by the Lord Lieutenant of the army, whereby they are not to be served upon during the time of their protection, and yet they forbear not to extort upon the subject, taking both meat, drink, and money, besides other violences, as if they were in terms of hostility, which is a grievous burden to the subject, otherwise impoverished even to the bones by the long enduring rage of this rebellion.” Have no further advertisement to make, but await a better occasion.—Dublin, 1600, October 12. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 24th. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

Enclose:—

92. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and certain of the Council with him in camp to the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council in Dublin. The extremity of the weather since they first encamped. The rising of the waters, without any enemy, would have stopped the passage. Few days without more or less fight. “At our first encamping, we fought almost two hours for our lodging and wood, and at length beat the rebels out of sight, killing one of the O’Neills, a principal leader amongst them, and divers others. Of our men, some four or five were killed, and twice as many hurt; only one of Sir Robert Lovell’s brethren of any name shot through the face, but likely to recover.” The fight on the 25th. The enemy beaten out of their first trench: victuals, baggage, and arms taken; one hundred and twenty of the enemy killed and hurt. Seven slain, and some thirty hurt, on our side. The fighting on October 2, when our forces were about to be mustered. The enemy’s trenches taken; but, as these were not intended to be held, “a gallant and an orderly retreat” was made from them. Keeping the place could not be effected without dividing the army. Lost in this fight about twenty men, and six or*

1600.

seven score hurt, "for it was one of the greatest skirmishes, and best maintained in all places, that hath been in this kingdom, and continued for three hours together." Several officers hurt, one killed; of the rebels, about 300, as a priest come from them said. His relation concurs with that of the spies. The fight on October 5. Resolute charge by the rebels on Sir Charles Percy's regiment gallantly repulsed. Twelve of the enemy lay dead in sight, among them were two principal men, Murrough McPrior and Connor Roe McPrior; "the rest ran away howling." Sir Robert Lovell killed at the head of the squadron. Captain Roe's brother hurt. "Of the rebels we cannot guess but that there were many killed and hurt, because they charged in gross, well near 300 men together." Discouragement of the rebels, and heartening of our men. "Yet it cannot be but through the extremity of the weather many of our men must needs fall sick, and by these and many other daily skirmishes, whereof we omit to write, our companies grow weak and unserviceable, but especially we find a decay in our shot, which, being always drawn out and employed, must needs impair. For supply whereof, we have sent for 300 culivers and muskets to the Newry, intending to turn many of our pikes into shot. And also, considering the importance of this service, and how much the quiet of the whole kingdom and suppression of this rebellion dependeth upon our good success, we must entreat your Lordship and the rest with all speed possible to send hither such supply of the best and choicest shot, as are contained in a list herein-closed, with a serjeant to lead those of each company. The like list I have also sent to the Earl of Ormonde, that out of such companies as are in those parts, his Lordship may presently dispatch away the proportion demanded; and, for the rest, which are in the garrisons near adjoining, we pray your Lordship to do the like forthwith, not expecting till those that are to come from the Earl of Ormonde may join with them, seeing they may follow after in time convenient. In lieu of which men to be sent hither, we have directed the companies of the Lord of Dunkellin, Sir Theobald Dillon, and Hugh Mostian, to draw down to Kells, there to be further directed by the Earl of Ormonde."—The camp at the Faugher, 1600, October 7. [Postscript by Lord Mountjoy.] "Since the writing hereof, we are resolved that there is nothing more important for the service than to secure this passage into the north, that Her Majesty's forces may at any time freely pass to and fro, which now, without hazard, they cannot do; and therefore we are purposed (God willing), first, to fortify here in places convenient, and afterwards to proceed in the plantation intended, according as we shall find our means to enable us. In the mean time, because this purpose of fortifying will require our longer abode here, we pray your Lordship and the rest to dispatch hither to Dundalk with all speed, a proportion of victuals to serve 3,000 men for twenty days, which we desire in bread, butter, and cheese; and of spades and shovels 200, and 50 pickaxes, and a last of powder. I, the Lord Deputy, have received yours of the 4th of this present, and have authorised the Lord of Dunsany

1600.

to command the risings out of the county of Meath in the Earl of Ormonde's absence." Endorsed:—Received 10 October. Answered 12th. Copy. pp. 3.

92. ii. "A list of certain shot, to be sent to the Lord Deputy to the camp."—1600, October 11. Total, 350. Sir Geffrey Fenton notes against the name of Captain Dillon, "in Munster, and therefore cannot answer this service;" and against the name of Captain Marbury, "with the Earl of Ormonde at Kilkenny, not to answer this service." Copy. p. 1.

92. iii. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council at Dublin. "I received a letter from your Lordship and the rest of the Council there, of the 20th of this month, in answer of mine of the 16th of the same. As soon as I came from Dublin to the Naas, I wrote potents to the several Captains, appointed by the list delivered me, to repair to the borders of Offally and to Athy, to be there directed by Sir Edward Herbert and Sir Henry Power to defend the country, and gave the like warrants for the rising of such as should attend myself. But since that time I never heard from them, nor any of their Commanders, saving the company of Captain Rotheram, that with their Lieutenant came to Laghlin, whom I appointed to come hither to me. I pray your Lordship, if the Captains be there, send them away presently with their companies, giving them means for their coming up. Immediately upon my coming to Kilkenny, I sent my steward to Waterford with the letters sent from my Lord Deputy and the Council to the Mayor for taking up of money, to be delivered to Archdeacon the Paymaster, for means for the companies. And how far they could prevail, you may perceive by the copy of the Mayor's letter written to me, which I do send herewith [wanting], so as the portion collected by him, and delivered to the Paymaster, which is not yet come to me, will fall short to keep any companies together." [Against this sentence Sir Geffrey Fenton writes on the margin:—"There is now no need of this, for that the treasure is landed."]

"The traitors, John FitzThomas of Desmond, Tyrrell, Owen McShane, Redmond Bourke, the Clanharris of Ossory, with others of their confederates, are now assembled, and have been these three days past upon the borders betwixt Leix and Idogh; and, as I understand, received letters from Tyrone to charge them with their oath and promise to him, and to will them to keep my pledges in any wise from me, whereunto Tyrrell doth earnestly persuade them. Phelim McFeagh, since I wrote to you, made suit to me to grant him protection for a month, which for some respects I granted him. I wrote earnestly to Sir Henry Power and Sir Edward Herbert to look carefully to their several charges. The supposed Desmond, with other rebels of the west, are come to Aherlagh, and took some preys out of the county of Tipperary, meaning to draw toward Leix, as Captain Greame and Captain Taafe told me. Yet do I mean (God willing) to draw to those parts, as soon as the Captains and some money shall come to me, unless these traitors give me occasion to stay. My nephew, Sir Walter Butler, this (sic)

1600.

other day took the traitor, Walter Toben, and four of his men prisoners, and slew twelve more, being notorious traitors. This Walter with his four men are committed to the shire gaol here."—Kilkenny, 1600, September 22. Copy. pp. 2.

92. iv. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council at Dublin.* [Duplicate of No. 55 above.]
—Kilkenny, 1600, September 30. Copy. pp. 2.

Oct. 12.
Bristol.

93. Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "According your desire, I send you hereinclosed a special note, as well of the names and state of the chieftains of Ulster and other particular countries thereabouts, as of the fittest instruments to be dealt with for the repressing of 100;* in which discourse your Honour shall find more reasons for that effect than any other cause to induce your Lordship to read so tedious and rude [a] declaration, or myself to write the like. But the greatest difficulty in effecting the same consisted, in my judgment, chiefly in these points; first, an Englishman cannot be a fit instrument to deal therein, but after the ordinary course; and to trust an Irish man or woman with it, it is very dangerous, so few of them be constant and resolute in Her Majesty's affairs, and it were far better not to attempt so great an action by an extraordinary course, than, after the beginning thereof, to fail therein; *vulgare est dictum, melius non incipere quam ab incepto cadere*. Many good services I saw both hindered and quite lost for lack of good handling, the same being committed to such as were either unwilling, unskilful or unable. Some do make shew to be very willing, yet they might be unskilful or unable; others to be skilful and able, yet unwilling; and others both skilful and willing, and yet, for lack of ability and authority, they can perform but little or nothing. And to find any one of these three points fully perfect concerning the Irish affairs, it is in my knowledge impossible, as the time is; yet, till it be found, I am afraid that service, to remain as it is, dangerously unfinished, although divers ways attempted, with Her Majesty's infinite charges. Some will say that the Governors there may supply that want by putting divers persons together, by whom the said points might be supplied. I am persuaded the same to be true, and that some of them had done so, as near as they could, but *frustra*, because they were deceived in choosing them whom they have called to their assistance; in which consisted the full overthrow of the English Governors' good purposes there. Let the 2026† suffice for an example of it, although many other Governors were abused there with this like trick. Sometimes, though very seldom, services of great moment hath been committed to the trust of discreet men there to be done, which after being brought to full ripeness, in the end the effect was lost, for lack of the necessary means to be in the power of them that dealt therein. Like as if a champion in martial affairs had been by a Prince sent against his enemies, with full hope and intent to overthrow

* Earl of Tyrone.

† Not deciphered; ? Earl of Essex.

1600.

the enemy; and making ready for him all sorts of weapons fit to be used in the conflict, yet, they being of so great value, it was not thought fit to deliver them to the trust of that champion, to be used upon opportunity at his will. But the Prince had committed the keeping of the weapon[s] to others whom he thought to be more trusty than the champion, whereby it happened that, when the enemy were discovered, the champion, lacking his chief weapons, could do nothing. And so the expectation which the Prince had therein was frustrated, the enemy triumphed, and the champion without credit or profit (although blameless) [was] left to the perpetual danger and hatred of the said enemies, for his undertaking service against them. By which example it may be assumed that when any point of service is committed to a special man's trust to be effected, that then all the implements, without which the service cannot be performed, ought also to be committed to him, and not to expect them from any other; *quia in mora sepe inest periculum*. Or, if the implements be greater than the man's credit and trust, to whom the service is committed, then he is not a fit dealer in that service; for such business ought not to be committed but to men of worth and trust. And for mine own part, if I were as able as I am willing to supply what were fit and necessary for the effecting of that or the like service for Her Majesty's avail, I would refuse no labour or danger, for in truth I do not know any fit and trusty, to whom such a matter should be committed. For the dealer, beseech all that which is spoken before, must be such a one as shall have general and particular knowledge in that country, together with natural alliance and friends amongst them, and having some apparent and known cause of his dealings that way, to avoid suspicion. These qualities, joined with discreet wit, being found in a man of reasonable dexterity and knowledge in tongues, he may be appointed for that purpose, and to be directed only in one of two ways to begin; that is to 509* or through 107 [O'Rourke] his country, and never to move or disclose his purpose to any, until 102 [Maguire] his resolution upon that matter be known, which I might know within two months at the furthest, after mine arrival in Ireland, if I had authority to send and write generally amongst the rebels, which I had not as yet; but if the Lord President his commission will serve so generally, I am like to have it, and if not, let your Honour consider of it timely, the Lord Deputy being too far from me, &c. (*sic*). And therefore, if your Honour shall send any with that purpose to Ireland, unless you shall think him so sufficient in himself as aforesaid, if it so please your Honour, you may direct him unto me, and what I do know, or may learn in the meantime, he shall have it, with my best furtherance to effect his purpose, &c. (*sic*). At my coming here to Bristol, I have declared to 1076 [? Earl of Desmond] your honourable care of him, together with your instructions in 2021 [Her Majesty's] his name for his credit and profit, which he did both acknowledge and embraced, with solemn protestation that he would rather remain subject to calamity and penuries, if it were during his life, than to seem any way to offend your Honour, much less the highest;

* Not deciphered.

1600.

affirming further, if it were in his power to make any show either of company or authority at his coming to Ireland, that he would do it, only in hope thereby the sooner to draw others, either by fear or hard means, to Her Majesty's subjection. And therefore he is fully resolved to follow what course he shall be directed unto, high or low, only wishing that which shall be most for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service. In consideration thereof, I think not amiss to grant him such commissions that (*sic*) might further the service without augmentation of charge, and specially to have relief for himself and his companies in prosecuting the rebels, and to use martial law against Irish malefactors and vagabonds; which will induce more fear and terror upon that country people than the ordinary course of common law, being not now very current there. If the Lord President's warrant will suffice in that behalf, no need to send him any other; and, if not, the Lord Deputy being far off, it is good to have it from thence.

"I have delivered the Council's letter to the Lord Keeper concerning a spiritual living to be given me *in commendam*, and, although he seemed to be willing to bestow such on me, when it shall fall, yet he said that the livings in his gift be so small of value, that he thinks them unfit for me, the best of them being never worth above twenty pounds *per annum*. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, when any living shall fall in Her Majesty's gift (which your Honour shall think fit to be so bestowed), to see me preferred to it, assuring your Honour, if I shall live, the same shall be deserved.

"I left a petition in your Honour's hand; the contents thereof being granted might profit Her Majesty and do me a pleasure, the like being never denied to any subject, which I hope your Honour will consider, and the rather for that I was constrained to give such dead pays that (*sic*) Her Majesty alloweth me in Munster to my two sons, who willingly had ventured themselves in her service, else they would go to France, seeing others recompensed for their labour and danger, and themselves unconsidered. And so I stopped them at this time, in hope that Her Majesty shall find more of their service in Ireland itself; for which purpose, rather than for any gain, I sought a company for them; but as they be, God willing, they shall perform the part of a subject better than some whom I know to have five hundred pounds from Her Majesty by the year in that land. I beseech your Honour to send me some writing under your hand, or otherwise, whereby I might seek and receive from the Governors for the time being that which Her Majesty did appoint me to have, otherwise I am like to be behind in receiving any, and specially if any of the Governors be changed or removed."—Bristol, 1600, October 12. *Signed*. "1070." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "Archbishop of Cashel to me." [*Some of the ciphers deciphered from previous letters.*] pp. 2½.

Encloses :—

93. i. *Notes by the Archbishop of Cashel.*

"In Ulster are two chief septs or houses, under whom all the rest, after a sort, were of old subjects, as followed (*sic*).

'The first is, the O'Neills, as well in Tyrone as in Clandeboy, who be of a long time divided in two, viz., Great O'Neill of

1600.

Tyrone and O'Neill of Clandeboy, sometimes so termed ; and although O'Neill of Tyrone had the pre-eminence, yet the other was strong and still resisting him. And under that general house of O'Neills were all the countries in Ulster, except Tyrconnell, which is O'Donnell's country, being the second chief house and family. These two chief countries took their names at first from the two brethren's names, viz., Eoghan, a quo Tyreoyne, and Connell, a quo Tyrconnell. The name of O'Neill began from their father, named Niell Naygyallagh, being father to the said Eoghan and Connell, which two sons were born at once in one birth, but Eoghan, being the first that came forth, was called O'Neill, viz., Niell his son, for O soundeth in the Irish the son and heir. And likewise from Connell descendeth a chief man named Donnell, and his son was called O'Donnell, viz., son and heir to that Donnell. And this is the first original of the same two chief names of houses and countries. The said Niell had the addition of his name, viz., Naygyallagh, from nine sorts of pledges he had from other kingdoms, as the Irish chronicles do affirm. Tyrconnell at the first was reputed the third part of Ulster, but O'Donnell hath not so much now in his possession, yet what he lost by the usurpation of O'Neill in Ulster, he did usurp so much in Connaught, or more.

- "The O'Neills hath under them these chieftains, viz., Maguire, O'Cahan, McMahan, Magennis, McQuillin, O'Hanlon, and many others, chieftains of countries under every of them.*
- "O'Donnell hath under him, Tyrconnell, O'Dogherty, O'Boyle, McSwyne Ne Doe, McSwyne Fanad, and McSwyne Banad ; and in Connaught he claims many more, saying that O'Connor Sligo ought to be under him.*
- "O'Neill has as competitors of that name such as would, if they were able to, suppress him, viz., John O'Neill his sons, and all them that descendeth from Con O'Neill, grandfather to this Tyrone. And Sir Tirlogh O'Neill his sept, every one of them were eas[il]y drawn to make a head against Tyrone, if they might be put in hope to prevail. Of the chief followers to that name, O'Donnell, O'Hagan, O'Coyne are the best.*
- "O'Donnell hath competitors, viz., Hugh Duff O'Donnell and his sons, and Callough O'Donnell his sept, being many good gentlemen, who had the Queen's patent.*
- "Maguire is the next to them in power, and had many branc[h]es by consanguinity, affinity and alliance, so that it is thought that what he shall take in Ulster, the same must be done. John O'Neill is his grandfather, and so all the said John his sons are uncles to Maguire, who also hath four sisters married to four chief men, viz., to O'Rourke, to Sir Arthur O'Neill, to Con Fitz John O'Neill, and to McArt Moyle Megmathwe. Also O'Reilly's daughter being his grandmother, all the best of that name are his near cousins, so that he may do what he will in O'Reilly's country per fas et nefas. O'Dogherty and this Maguire are but from brother and sister. O'Boyle is his near kinsman. Callough O'Donnell his son and this Maguire be but born from the two brethren, viz., Callough O'Donnell and Sir*

1600

Cowe Conaght Maguire, two brethren (sic), O'Reilly's daughter being their mother. Tirlogh McHenry and this Maguire are from the brother and sister. The two strongest septs of the O'Reillys are nephews to this Maguire, viz., the sept of Philip O'Reilly, and the sept of the Prior O'Reilly. And besides his kindred and alliance with all the chiefest of his neighbours in Ulster and Connaught, his country is so strong, that when he is in variance with any of them, that the third part of that man's country with whom he is in variance shall join with him against their own Lord the first day. And therefore Maguire very often had spoiled and burned a great part of O'Neill's, O'Donnell's O'Rourke's, O'Reilly's and McMahon's countries, and still had defended his own country from every one of them (he hath upon one Lough called Lough Erne, 268 islands to maintain men and chattels, some of the islands being six miles, some 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 mile in length, and some less. Upon divers of them are castles, abbeyes, and churches, and about this Lough, of each side, are, in the most part, great woods and bogs, and betwixt that and another thick wood great champaign and fine country, and about all the borders and meers of his country are great high mountains, thick wood, or deep rivers, so that to enter into that country is hard for any army, and after entering, very hard to hinder the inhabitants. The length of his country being fifty mile[s] and more, and in bread[th] in some places twenty, and in the narrowest place eighteen miles, being very populous, he may make in his own country 200 horse [and] 1,500 foot, and more. And if Maguire were of Her Majesty's seed, as might be, if he were not put from her against his will, Ulster or Tyrone could never resist the Queen; ergo, &c. (sic).

“O'Donnell's country hath no other strength but mountains in the heart, and castles by the seaside, which castles might be overthrown very easily; and to make particular declaration how he might be put down in his pride, either by raising and maintaining his competitors against him, or to be settling and leaving garrisons in several castles by the seaside, and making a chief enter into his country by erecting of a bridge upon the river at Belaseny (Ballyshannon), I need not, for it is easy and apparent. And for O'Neill's country to be subdued, it is very strong, as long as Maguire shall be his friend, and till the said bridge, and another upon the river of Bann at Cullrathyne betwixt Clondeboy and O'Cahan's country be made, for the country called Tyrone is almost like an island, specially that part which lieth from Blackwater down; for it is included betwixt Lough Erne in the west, and Lough Neagh alias Sydney and Banda in the east, and the Blackwater in the south, and O'Donnell's country in the north. Yet if his causes were wisely looked unto, it is not so hard to put him down as it is thought, for if the one half of the money spent against him these three years past were spent as it might be, with some simple men's advice, Ulster had been as quiet as the English Pale is this day. But that cannot be, for the wars are more fruitful and sweeter to the Governors, many great Lords, Captains and officers, than the peace, and thereby the same must continue till

1600.

strong invasion shall join with the Irishry and take all. It is like, when the Irishry only, being so poor of all sorts of riches, and few in number, and not passing the one half (and the same of the worse) of themselves openly against us, do so strongly resist the English army, that if the Spaniards and Scots shall join with them (as it is shortly expected) that then, &c. (sic). But England do lie in great security; I do fear that it shall come to pass upon a sudden, when no means of preventing it shall be found. Many other particular discourses concerning the rest of Ireland I might set down of the like nature, but if this itself, and the other notes I delivered to your Honour at the Court, be looked unto, it shall do well; otherwise, I am much persuaded that both the kingdoms shall repent it, when the remedies shall not be so easy as now.”—Bristol, 1600, October 12. Signed:—1070. pp. 3.

Oct. 13.
Shandon.

94. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to the Commissioners of that Province. Rebukes them for their delay in sending their books and certificates to William Jones at Cork. Charges them to do this with all possible speed, and to continue the same month by month; otherwise he will be enforced to make their want of care known to the Lord Deputy and to the Privy Council in England.—Shandon, 1600, October 13. *Copy. p. ½.*

Oct. 13.
Galway.

95. Thomas Smythe to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks Sir Robert for his manifold favours. Has written, by the bearer, to the Privy Council of certain matters touching Her Majesty's service in Ireland. Prays for Sir Robert's furtherance in these. Sends by the bearer, "a falcon of this country breed," which is "of the best eyrie in" Ireland. Has been long determined to repair to Dublin for the passing of his last three half-year's accounts, but the ways have been so dangerous, and still are. Expects shortly to hear of the arrival of the Commissioners appointed for the hearing and determining of these accounts, then he will do his best to repair speedily to Dublin.—Galway, 1600, October 13. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 14.
Dublin.

96. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The enclosed is a copy of a letter written to me by the Lord Deputy, and delivered here yesternight. I make bold to send it to your Honour, for that it describeth both what is done hitherto in the camp, and what is further intended by his Lordship hereafter, the same principally consisting (as I gather by the letter) upon a purpose his Lordship hath to make some settled fortifications in the Moyerie, to the end to secure that passage hereafter, and afterwards to proceed in the plantation of Armagh. Your Honour may see by the letter that it is not the strength of the rebels that hath stopped the army thus long, but the waters and foul weather; an impediment which it seemeth his Lordship beginneth to interpret to his advantage and disadvantage of them. But by the small insight I have in the wars of Ireland, I say that Tyrone hath shewed no art nor skill of a

1600.

great soldier, to fight with the army at the first, whilst the companies were in strength; where, if he had deferred it till their return from Armagh, he might haply have had a better hand against them. For that it could not be but by so long a journey a great diminution and weakness would have fallen upon the army. I understood instantly, at the writing of this, that the Earl of Ormonde will be here to-morrow, and then I hope his Lordship will set a course for a prosecution in Leinster.”—Dublin, 1600, October 14. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 24th. *Signed*. p. 1.

Encloses:—

96. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Geoffrey Fenton*. [Almost verbatim the same as the Lord Deputy's letter to Sir George Carey, No. 88 above.]—*Castletown*, 1600, October 10. *Endorsed*:—*Received* 13th. Copy. pp. 1½.

Oct. 16.

97. “Irish Intelligences.”

“A gentleman of Knockfergus, named Nicolas Dobbing, is arrived out of Ireland upon the 5th October present, who declare[s] that my Lord Deputy of Ireland hath given a great overthrow to O'Neill within these ten days past, after this sort. 'Tis true that the Lord Deputy was encamped about a month before the overthrow in the pass betwixt Dundalk and the Newry, called Ballacho Moyerie, and O'Neill laid (*sic*) right against him, encamped within half a mile to the Deputy, and has made daily skirmishes these five weeks past, in the end of which the Lord Deputy took further purpose to pursue O'Neill more hardly, whom he honourably chased, and put to flight, and hath slain one great part of O'Neill his company, to the number of 3[00] or 400 horsemen and some 7[00] or 800 footmen in the [ir] own camp; and the Earl is fled to his own bounds, and the Deputy hath followed him in his journey. Two of O'Neill his horsemen, that have left him, report for certain from Lough Foyle that Sir John O'Dogherty and his whole dependers, and O'Donnell his brother's son, and the Lord O'Cahan his brother, are come in within these twenty days to Sir Henry Dockwra and Sir Arthur O'Neill with all the [ir] forces, and make good service to Her Majesty, and do mekle [much] harm daily to O'Donnell and O'Neill. They say that if Sir Arthur Chichester, Governor of Knockfergus, were at home again in that town, it would be very profitable to the Queen, for he is well-beloved, and much doubted too, of all the country about that town, and many would come in to him, if he were there.”—1600, October 16. *Unsigned*. p. 1.

Oct. 18.
[Dublin.]

98. Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to [Lord Buckhurst], Lord High Treasurer of England. Touching the victualling. Have caused the remains of the Dublin magazine to be delivered over from Robert Newcomen to Christopher Percival, according to the Privy Council's letter, and have taken similar steps with regard to the magazines of Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, and other parts. Have commanded Newcomen to make his abode at Dublin, until his accounts have been declared. Will give like orders to the rest of the Commissaries, but none of them have yet repaired to Dublin.

1600.

“ This course taken by your Lordship and the rest with the undertakers will be a good means for your Lordship to come to the perfect knowledge of all accounts of victualling causes for former times to Michaelmas last; and I, the Treasurer, shall thereby come to have a certain charge of the issue of victuals made by the Commissaries of remote provinces to that time, whom heretofore I could never draw to any perfect reckoning. But for Newcomen, officer of the victuals in Leinster, I, the Treasurer, never had cause to find myself grieved against him, for that his reckonings have always been so ready and orderly kept, as that I have not thereby received hindrance or let in the proceedings of mine accounts. And surely, under your Lordship's favour and correction, we will make bold to say that we do greatly fear there will grow some hindrance to Her Majesty's service by this his alteration and sudden discharge, especially at this present, the Lord Deputy being now in action and in camp, and having several special services in matters of victualling to be presently performed from hence by a man thoroughly experienced in that faculty; which by no means possible can be so well acted by new men, as by him who hath had so many years of practice and experience therein. Besides his honest and good carriage hath been always such, as that in all the time of his long employment, to the knowledge of me, the Secretary, being now fifteen years past, we never have heard his name so much as once brought into question for any misdemeanour. And withal he hath been ever so necessary to make and set down for the Lord Deputy and State here proportions of victuals for the furnishing of every army, and to keep observances how the same was spent, and of the times when all the forts are to be supplied with victuals; as likewise upon his credit to furnish and provide carriages to carry victuals far into the country in times of necessity. So as now we cannot but fear that the present great services and actions of the camp being chiefly to be supplied from hence, will be greatly maimed in wanting the ministry of such an officer; of which inconvenience we ourselves begin to taste, having here the managing of the matters of victualling in his Lordship's absence.”

Recommend that Newcomen be continued about the work in Dublin in matters of victualling, though not to take the charge of the issue of victuals as heretofore. Have long known him to be both honest, skilful, and very trusty.—[Dublin,] 1600, October 18. *Copy. pp. 2.*

Oct. 19.
Dublin.

99. Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. [*To the same effect as the preceding. The “course taken by” their Lordships “with the undertakers” was, that “the agents of the undertakers should have the issuing of victuals in Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught, and receive all the remains of the Commissaries in each of those provinces.”*—Dublin, 1600, October 19. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Oct. 20.
Dundalk.

100. Sir Oliver Lambert to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologises for not having written before. Received the place of Marshal from the Earl of Essex, then Lord Deputy, and felt obliged to refer all his

1600.

actions wholly to his Lordship. Afterwards, the Earl's "authority being restrained, myself for the most part retained in the remotest (*sic*) parts with the Earl of Ormonde, the slow progress and wary proceedings of the Lords Justices, being doubtful to hazard Her Majesty's army, was such as afforded me neither occasions to do, nor deeds worthy to write of.

"Lastly, at my Lord Deputy's coming over, finding myself disgracefully (as I thought) turned out of that place, which I was sure I had not disgracefully exercised, I could not but hold long and doubtful disputation with myself whether, without touch of my reputation, I might except [*sic*; ? accept] the conditions I now hold. Then, suspecting that my actions have been depraved by ill offices, and myself through some malignant envy brought into dislike with your Honour (though the knowledge I have of myself, and the strict and exact trial and examination whereunder I have forced all my actions to pass, will not suffer me to be over jealous of any hard opinion malice can beget in so honourable a mind), I persuaded myself to stay, and patiently in this giddy and turbulent time to undergo any burden my Lord Deputy would lay on me, to refuse no adventure with the hazard of my life, that might further Her Majesty's service, and do myself right. As upon these reasons I have submitted myself to this service, so, understanding withal from Mr. Fleetwood, my father, of your Honour's late good opinion of me, I would also gladly dedicate both myself and my labours to your honourable patronage."

Begs to hear from Sir Robert, and will from time to time acquaint him with the counsels, courses, and effects of the service.—Dundalk, 1600, October 20. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 20.
Dundalk.

101. Captain Henry Clare to Sir Robert Cecil. "In my former from the camp, I sent you a journal unto the third of this present, from the which until the 9th we lay at Faughar as before, and had upon the 5th day, by our procurement, a good fight, in which Sir Robert Lovell was slain. His company my Lord gave unto me, and did cass the other which I had at Lough Foyle. Upon the 9th day we returned to Dundalk, where we yet remain. Tyrone, upon our dislodging from Faughar, retired with his forces (about four days after) toward Armagh; and we, after his departure, razed such his trenches in the Moyerie, which if he had held, could not have been won without the great hazard of the whole army. This I rather write, in discharge of my bounden duty unto your Honour, than that I think you shall not be advertised thereof by others of better place and understanding.

"It is here said that Mr. Treasurer is to make his present repair into England, to give an account of the treasure spent in his time. In the taking whereof, I do think (if authorised with others) I could find more for Her Majesty than her Auditors, by some inkling I have of money deducted from the Captains, and detained, for aught that is known, in his hands; which will never be inquired after by them, as he hath made up his accounts; because in them there is no mention made of the deduction, or of the issuing of the same. If your Honour think good herein to employ me, I must be commanded

1600.

over, and have a true list of the whole forces, since his entrance, certified by Sir Ralph Lane." Attends Sir Robert's pleasure.—Dundalk, 1600, October 20. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Oct. 21.
Dublin.

102. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "The favours you have done me, and that not the least in your late preferring me by your commendations to speech with Her Majesty, and comforts given me in your letters by favourably accepting my poor endeavours, encourage me to proceed further in this toilsome vocation, albeit I find not as yet any increase of entertainment or command given me here. Seeking my passage by the west country, I was so crossed with storms and foul weather with contrary winds, as that my Lord Deputy hath marched half his journey before my landing. I am presently to follow him, and from thence pass to my charge, where I hear all things are not in so good sort as I left them. My Lord hath drawn away the best old company of a 150 (*sic*), and sent a hundred new men, worth little, in their room. The castle of Edenduffcarrick and the boats I erected are in the hands of a neutral, who betrayed the ward. I must recover that, or pay dearly for it. There are so many new settlements intended, that I fear the old are the less regarded. True it is all are needful, and from the old as good service is to be done (if they have means accordingly), as from any new erected, when they shall be in their best perfection.

"At Lough Foyle they continually labour in their plantation, and have taken in the castle of Leffer [Lifford] by the means of Neale Garvine [Garve] O'Donnell lately come unto them, and [who] doth them good service and assistance. Sir John O'Dogherty is upon a word with Sir Henry Dockwra, and sends relief to the forces. Sir Art[hur] O'Neill is dead of drinking too many carouses upon his marriage day. There is no great loss of him, a very dull fellow, nor McSwyne's being turned traitor.

"My Lord Deputy hath had a foul and cumbersome journey, but good success hitherto upon the enemy, as your Honour will more particularly understand from himself. I only fear Armagh will not be established this winter in so good sort as is needful. God grant it otherwise. Tyrone kept his men so long together to withstand my Lord's passage this foul season, that many are gone into their own countries very weary of him, and I think my Lord shall find small resistance in what is to come of this journey. If they would fight, the wars would soon be ended, but they are otherwise advised, and, without dwelling among them, we shall never bring to pass what is expected.

"The Earl of Ormonde is left, with some of the new companies and some old, upon these southern borders, and is now drawn with them about Trim and Athboy. Leinster is like to be in good state shortly, if we continue in our happy proceedings.

"I beseech your Honour to excuse my slow coming, which was not so by any delay of mine. I will hasten to my charge, from whence I will give you notice of the state of those parts. I have acquainted the Commissaries with the faults your Honour found

1600.

with them for not sending the true list and state of the army often unto you, and they pretend amendment.”—Dublin, 1600, October 21. *Holograph. Seals and silk. pp. 2.*

Oct. 21.
Mallow.

103. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends the good service of Sir George Thornton. “Before my coming out of England, in my hearing, unto yourself he hath been tasked by some that came from hence for not dealing so justly with the subject, as is required at a man’s hands in whom the trust of Justice is reposed. All which I think did proceed of malice, for he is not complained of since my coming into this province; and to assure your Honour the better of him, I did as diligently enquire of his dealings as I might, and do find no error in him, but to the contrary have had more service performed by him, and more aid of his counsels, than of any man that serves in Munster; and to say truly of him, he knows the province best of any Englishman in it, and is of more ability to do the Queen service than any man that lives in it, and, as far as I have proved him, more ready to perform what I command than any other. Thus much, to do the gentleman right, I thought it my part to intimate unto you, lest by sinister tongues he may be depraved, and robbed of his due.”—Mallow, 1600, October 21.

[*Postscript.*] “The first rebel in Munster, and absolutely the worst while he was a rebel, which is the White Knight, that did submit himself unto me, was his only act, for by his persuasions he was reduced; and, because there is more doubt held of the Knight than of any man else, Sir George Thornton doth, upon the loss of his reputation for ever, undertake to contain him a subject, whether Spaniards come or not, as long as Her Majesty liveth. This being by him performed is no small service, for the White Knight is the most wise, subtle, and valiant man in Munster, and of great following.” *Holograph. Seals. p. 1.*

Oct. 21.
Mallow.

104. J[ames FitzGerald, Earl of] Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. His devotion to Her Majesty and gratitude to Sir Robert.

“Upon Monday, the 13th of October, we set sail from Shirehampton for Cork, where we having so fair a passage as the honest gentleman this bearer can tell you the master and sailors said they never for this time of the year knew the like, we held our course for the place appointed by your Honour’s instructions, but I, that was so sea-sick as whilst I live shall never love that element, being two days and a night at sea, besought them to land me anywhere. So being not able to reach Cork a Tuesday, at night, being the 14th of this month, we fell in at Youghal, where, that your Honour may know the truth of my proceedings, I had like, coming new off the sea and therefore somewhat weak, to be overthrown with the kisses of old calleaks, and was received with that joy of the poor people as did well show they joyed in the exceeding mercy Her sacred Majesty shewed towards me. From thence we went to Mr. John Fitz-Edmond’s house at Clone, where we had a great deal of cheer, after the country fashion, and shew of welcome. From thence to Cork,

1600.

where I humbly beseech your Honour to take notice of this I write for that town, as Captain Price can witness. Coming thither three or four hours before night, we could not get lodging in a long time, neither place to send my cook to provide supper for us, until I was fain (except I would go supperless to bed) to bid myself to the Mayor's house, a lawyer, one Meagh, who, if he have no better insight in Littleton than in other observations of this place for Her Majesty's service, may be well called Lack-law; for it was much ado that we got anything for money, but that most of my people lay without lodging, and Captain Price had the hogs for his neighbours. From that town, which hath so great a charter and, I fear me, so little honesty, I came to my Lord President to Mallow, where by some of my well-willers I am put in very good hope that, with my Lord President's favour and the help of Her Majesty's forces, I shall get Castlemaine; which, if it so happen, shall be the joy of my next advertisement. The people came many unto me upon my landing, as the Lord of Decies and many else of the best quality, whom I took hand over head, and preached to them Her Highness['s] clemency towards me, of which there could be no truer example than myself, and besought them, if they bare me any affection, to join with me in shewing their thankfulness with mine to do Her Highness service; which they have promised faithfully with their mouths, and I pray God to be truly settled in their hearts, and myself heartless when I think the contrary.

"Thus your Honour hath heard the discourse of these my hitherto travails, craving according to my deserving the continuance of your favour, which hath brought me to the height of that which now I am. My best friend, next your Honour and my Lord President, the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, putteth me in very great hope that we shall shortly perform our greatest task, I mean the killing or taking of James McThomas, which once accomplished, and therein the wars in this province ended, I shall be very glad to attend upon your Honour, until which time I shall not be myself. And for Mr. Crosby, I do find such good in his counsel and readiness to advance Her Highness['s] employments, that I hold myself, amongst a number of bonds, so tied to your Honour for sending him with me, as I do assure myself all our businesses will succeed the better for his company. And so, being all in very good health, I take my leave."—Mallow, 1600, October 21.

Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"The Earl of Desmond from Mallow." *Signed. Seals. pp. 3.*

Oct. 21.
Mallow.

105. P[atrick] Crosby to Sir Robert Cecil. "On Monday, the 13th of this instant, the Earl of Desmond with his retinue and attendants were embarked at Bristol, and arrived at Youghal the next day about seven of the clock at night. At whose entry into the town there was so great and wonderful alacrity and rejoicing of the people, both men, women, and children, and so mighty crying and pressing about him, as there was not only much ado to follow him, but also a great number overthrown and overrun in the streets in striving who should come first unto him. The like whereof I

1600.

never heard or saw before, nor would think it could ever be, except it were about our Prince. Indeed I have often read that, upon the election of a king, the people generally would cry, 'King H.,' 'King H.,' or otherwise according to his name. So likewise (though unmeet to be done to a subject), the hearts of the people, yea the very infants, hearing but this Desmond named, could not contain themselves from shewing the affection they bear to his house. I assure your Honour it was not like the cry made to Richard the Third at Baynard's Castle.

"The next day there came flocking unto him from all parts of the country, Lords, gentlemen, and commons, both to congratulate his coming, and to offer their service; and attended him that night to Clone, Mr. Fitz Edmond's house, the next day to Cork, and so on Thursday to Mallow, to my Lord President, where he was honourably entertained, and a certain course taken for his estate, and whither all intelligences do come, and the people do resort from all places.

"The two plots, both for Castlemaine and the usurping Earl, are now in hand, and within these few days a journey will be undertaken to see what good may be done, both in them and in other things. I hope, and I doubt not, but all will do well, and that very shortly; until the proof whereof may be had, my Lord President will not suffer me to depart, but must attend the success of this journey.

"I know your Honour will look to hear of the young Earl's carriage since his departure thence (myself being still with him). Wherein I must say (as I love to tell your Honour truth) that of his own nature and disposition he is both honest, faithful and dutiful, and very willing to do Her Majesty's service. But I see so much already touching the expenses and other things, as I do not think fit that either himself, or any of his own people, should hold the reins of his bridle; but the same to be committed to others, of whom there hath been had good trial, both of their fidelity to the State, their knowledge of the country, and sufficiency to perform the act; whose vigilant care and circumspection over him will be such, as they will not only not suffer him to run any other than an even course (whereunto I must swear himself is very well inclined), nor permit any bad resort unto him, that may any way corrupt him, either in his religion or otherwise; but also by their counsel and advice will be good assistants unto him for the managing of his causes, without whose helps he cannot but err, for neither his years, his experience of the world, or knowledge of the country can warrant the sufficient discharging of so weighty matters. Yet I am persuaded (in respect he is so tractable and towardly), that it will be easy to carry him to all good courses. This, I assure your Honour, will be the way to make him to do that which is expected. For which as you are already grown famous in this province, and in most part of the kingdom, and have purchased the prayers of a number of people, so I doubt not but Her Majesty shall have great cause to give you thanks for the same, as for one of the greatest services (considering the iniquity of the time) that ever was done her in this kingdom.

"Touching this bearer, Captain Price, I say that although he be no great doctor, nor any of these curious stately fellows, yet I

1600.

assure your Honour he is an honest plain gentleman, and as discreet and careful of his charge as ever I saw any. I would he had the like still about him to hold the helm, so he could speak the language. The Archbishop is very good, if he could still continue with the Earl, but he cannot be always with him."—Mallow, 1600, October 21. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 21.
Waterford.

106. Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir Robert Cecil. "It cannot be unknown to you how this city of Waterford standeth in a very barren soil, supported in all extremities by the help of the sea and the commodity of the haven; and how the town of Kilkenny is situated in a far fertilier ground, and being twenty miles into the land farther than we are, how the inhabitants of the one lived by immediate traffic with all foreign nations, and the other by husbandry and trading with the haven towns, saving that for neighbourhood they were permitted to venture to England and Flanders and (*sic*) wherein also we never impeded them. It is given out that they intend, by pretence of some general grants to be made unto them from Her Highness, to be enabled to venture immediately to all foreign realms, by means of a town seated in the County of Kilkenny, and against New Ross, called Rosbercom (a thing which would soon overthrow the good state of this city, and of the town of Ross). The first (without vaunt be it remembered) remained in all storms and turbulent times very stable and faithful to the State; and the other is most fit to be preserved, fronting upon the Kavanaghs, ancient disturbers of the quiet of this realm. We are emboldened to become suitors to your Honour to have a vigilant care that the agents for the town of Kilkenny do not carry away any grant prejudicial to us herein, or in any other thing, by general or special words; not only by reason of the special favours which our agent hath reported to be extended by your Honour unto him at his last being at the Court, but also because this city hath evermore found your Honour's father, of most noble memory, a sure patron for the same. Herein we mean nothing to the impeachment of the town of Kilkenny, but do wish their advancement in anything that shall not be a manifest hurt of this corporation."—Waterford, 1600, October 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 21.

107. Acknowledgment by Henry Pyne of Moghelly, co. Cork, that he owes 50*l.* to Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, K.G., payable on 1 November, 1601.—1600, October 21. *Signed. Latin. p. ½.*

Oct. 22.
Dublin.

108. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "These enclosed I send to your Honour that thereby your Honour may perceive that my Lord hath cleared his passage. It is also confidently signified unto me that Neale Garve hath brought unto Sir Henry Dockwra Captain Henry Ovington's head; that they have taken the Laffer [Lifford]; and that Neale Garve before his coming in hath taken Ballyshannon. If those matters prove to be true, God blesseth us

1600.

well. I have the better hope of those matters, because it is very true that O'Donnell being come into Connaught with a purpose to spoil Clanrickarde and Thomond, suddenly returned back into his own country with great haste. The like did Tyrone; and therefore all is not well of their side; but better I hope it will be with us, especially if my Lord Deputy draw not back, but proceed in his intended plantation at Armagh. I have written unto him he shall want neither money, victuals, apparel, or aught else he shall need. I beseech your Honour send us some more money, that I may settle all things well in my absence, for I would fain come over to pass my account, that Her Majesty your Honour may know that I have not kept her treasure from her services, as some do give out, to my great grief. I hope I will always be true and honest in my Prince's service. The messenger is hasty, and I must end in all humbleness. Sir Arthur Chichester is now arrived, and to-morrow shall be sent away to his garrison."—Dublin, 1600, October 22. *Holograph. Seal.*
p. 1.

Encloses:—

108. i. *Sir Francis Stafford to Sir George Carey. The foul weather during the encampment at Faugher. Consequent weakening of the force. Removal to Dundalk on October 9. Sir Samuel Bagenall sent with his regiment, six new companies and 100 horse, to Carlingford, with commandment to be in readiness on receipt of a letter from Lord Mountjoy. "Tyrone, hearing that the army was removed, and extraordinary forces sent with Sir Samuel, as it should seem supposed that Sir Samuel would have attempted to take in Armagh, and therefore sent away his brother Cormack with 600 shot to impeach that passage, if there were any such occasion. Tyrone, also, as I think, imagined that my Lord Deputy, departing from Faugher, would presently have dispersed his forces, but, finding that there was no such intention in my Lord Deputy, and understanding that my Lord had sent for more forces, the 14th of October Tyrone quit his trenches and barricadoes, and dispersed his forces, and went himself unto a place called Lough Lorkan, eight miles from the camp, and, as it is reported, he is departed thence over the Blackwater. For it is certainly affirmed that Sir John O'Dogherty, Neale Garre O'Donnell, O'Donnell's brother, with 400 of their men, are come in unto Sir Henry Dockwra, which accident doth much amaze them all.*

The 17th, my Lord, leaving all his carriages at Dundalk, drew out his forces and went to the pass, where we found the passage in such sort barricaded, that I row unto God I did never see a more villainous piece of work, and an impossible thing for an army to pass without an intolerable loss, especially with carriages, but their fights were all quit. The 18th, all the forces were again drawn to the pass, and appointed to cut all the pass, to raze and smooth their fights, that our army might receive a passage without any interruption. The 20th, my Lord Deputy intendeth to remove his army and carriages from Dundalk towards the Newry. What then will further be determined, as yet I know not, but to yourself I do speak it sub sigillo, I do find it a very difficult matter in this journey to

1600.

plant a garrison at Armagh, the defects of our army being very great both in the weakness and sickness of our soldiers, and the want of a number of garrans for carriage.

“And sithence the first great fight which my Lord Deputy had with Tyrone, when any fair weather happened, his Honour would draw forth the army, and cause them to approach their sights [sic ? fights], and so entertain a skirmish, which happened twice. In both the enemy was well beaten, and forced to retire with great loss, and, as it is certainly affirmed, the enemy hath lost above 400 fighting men with great overplus.

“Neale Garve, as it is reported, sithence his coming unto Sir Henry Dockwra, lieth at Lifford with five English companies, and there fortifieth. O'Neill hath endeavoured by all possible means to enter into parley with my Lord, which his Honour utterly refuseth ; which I only signify unto yourself, and desire your secrecy. I think, if my Lord would accept of his parley, that he would be very conformable.”

Prays that the enclosed letter may be speedily conveyed to Sir Robert Cecil, and that it may not be known that he has written to him.—Dundalk, 1600, October 19. Signed. Seal. pp. 2.

108. ii. [Sir Francis Stafford] to Sir Robert Cecil. [To the same effect as the preceding.]—Dundalk, 1600, October 19. [15 has been wrongly put, for the letter tells what happened on the 18th.] Unsigned. pp. 2.

Oct. 22.
Dublin.

109. Sir George Carey and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Send copy of a letter from the Lord Deputy, written on October 18 from Dundalk, telling of the throwing down of Tyrone's trenches in the Moyerie, and other doings of the camp. Cannot advertise yet whether his Lordship will settle some fortification in the pass, or go forthwith to Armagh. Think he should secure the pass first, and then march on to plant at Armagh. There would thus be “a foundation stone, in short time to lift that great rebel quite out of Ulster.” For the enabling of this work, will now write to the Lord Deputy that he shall not want money or victuals. Thank the Privy Council for their foresight in supplying both from time to time. The passage is ready to depart. Will write to the Lord Deputy that they think the army, especially the companies in garrison, should be victualled two days in the week with dry fish.—Dublin, 1600, October 22. Signed. p. 1.

Encloses :—

109. i. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey and Sir Geffrey Fenton. “I have stayed your messenger thus long, only to send you word of the performance of that which at his coming was all but intended, that is, the defacing and laying down to the ground all Tyrone's trenches, which was done yesterday by those of the Newry on the one side, and our army meeting on the other. This day I have sent them out again to cut down the woods. What I wrote unto you at the first concerning the impairing of the victuals at the Newry before the army's arrival, I wrote upon a supposal of Sir Samuel Bagenall's, who, as it seemeth, was not thoroughly informed of the estate of the

1600.

victuals, for at that time I had not received the victualler's certificate, as since I have done; whereby it appeareth that there is yet remaining a good proportion of victuals of old store. The proportion which I desired of twenty days' victuals for 3,000 men I would have over and above the three barks already sent. But now dispatch, I pray you, both that provision of victuals, the 2,000 suits of apparel, and whatsoever else I have written for heretofore, to Carlingford, and not hither. The remain of the victuals at Dublin may be reserved in store, until we shall resolve further how to dispose of it. Order was given for the issuing of some fish to the army now during their abode at Dundalk, before the receipt of your letters. But whereas as I understand from you, Mr. Treasurer, that we are likely to have great store of that provision hereafter, I pray you both to write unto their Lordships earnestly that the army may be provided of victuals in some other nature, for neither is it so hearty nourishment as butter and cheese, nor can it be dressed without pans, kettles, and fuel, whereof in the camp the soldiers have none at all, and very little in the garrisons. So as by experience it is found that they sell away their allowance in fish for little or naught. The direction for twenty of Captain Dillon's company was mistaken instead of Captain Dutton, but the error or miss of them is not great."—Castleton, 1600, October 18. [Endorsed by Sir Geffrey Fenton that it was received on the 20th and answered on the 22nd, and the victuals sent to the camp.] Copy. p. 1.

Oct. 22.
Mallow.

110. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "That your Honour may the better judge of the estate of this province, I have related the same to Captain Price; and because you may perfectly know how dangerous it is to diminish any of the forces, until there be better likelihood that neither Ulster [n] or Leinster forces shall be sent into Munster, I have in these sent you the copies of divers letters written by Tyrone to sundry gentlemen in this province, whereby it will be evident unto you that he means to send aids to make new revolts, and that his hopes are given in their assistance. Before the receipt of these traitorly letters, all the gentlemen unto whom Tyrone had written, Florence and the Knight of the Valley excepted, are now (*sic*) subjects, and their pledges are in my custody, so as I hope to contain them. Florence I daily expect. If he come not, he is a perjured wretch, as his letters can testify, which Mr. Price hath seen; and I am resolved to prosecute him instantly, which ere this time I would have done, if his protestations of his loyalty had not prevailed with me. But to say my opinion truly of him, it were fit for the service that he should be reduced by force, but then I should give a longer continuance of a charge to Her Majesty, the diminution whereof is chiefly expected. The despatch which shall follow presently shall more at large particularly inform your Honour of all things.—Mallow, 1600, October 22. Endorsed:—By Captain Price. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.

Encloses:—

110.i. Copies of letters sent by the Earl of Tyrone ["O'Neill"] to divers chiefs in Munster.

1600.

- (a) *To Cormack McDermott, Lord of Muskerry.*

"Be it known unto you that there is (sic) few in all Ireland of whom we have greater hope and confidence than you, and we require of you (as it becometh) to do a thing both stately and stoutly, and to give addition to all noble and honourable acts that ever he that had your place did; and that yourself, the Earl of Desmond, and McCarthy More shall help one another devoutly and diligently, and, with the will of God, the relief and succour of God shall overtake you suddenly, in respect that troubles enough will be upon the English in England itself. And admit no succour should ever overtake us, it is the least we, the Irishry, should do, to take as much of Ireland as is without cities and great towns, out of the English and heretics' hands. And let us therefore feel and find your help unto us according to our trust and confidence in you; and since now Connaught men, who attempted treacheries and misdemeanours, are not amongst you, put your own helping hands together, and contend strongly with the enemies of God and the Church; and, God willing, we will ease you of all the burthen of the Queen's army for this time. From the border of the Field, the 20 [$\frac{10}{10}$] of September, 1600."

- (b) *To [Florence McCarthy], McCarthy More.*

"We received your letter first concerning O'Sullivan More, for whom you wrote unto us. We dislike of the proceedings of Dermott O'Connor since we left Munster, and he came to our presence upon great safe-conduct and conditions; and for so much of his speech as we have heard, we conceive that he hath done the wrong, but he did promise us that if we should get O'Sullivan and the other pledges, that were detained from him upon the hands of Captain Tyrrell, to our own hands, that then he would come without oath, security, or safe-conduct, upon our hands. We have sent to the Captain and requested him to bring the said pledges unto us; and because the Deputy and English army went to Leinster, the Captain could not come so suddenly as we required him. By reason of all which, and for that the Captain had no strait keeping upon O'Sullivan, being not indebted unto him, O'Sullivan made escape, as you heard, and the pledges of Dermott's self made escape also. But we heard that a trouble happened to O'Sullivan afterwards, which is more than we would wish for, by your hand. If he had come to us, we would let him go to you, though he were guilty, as he was not. Touching Donogh McCormack, believe not any man whatsoever (unless the Bishop himself be in your presence), that he would say we had not his consent and counsel to carry Donogh McCormack with us to Ulster, until he had sent his opinion and resolution unto us touching the controversy betwixt Donogh and Dermott McOwen, and besides would send us his advice what declaration or order we should take betwixt those Clancarties of Dowalla. For whatsoever matter we undertook, in presence of many of the best of the Irishry in Ireland, it doth not beseem us to leave it unfinished according to right, lest the controversy should grow worse than it was before. Therefore we cannot

1600.

take so good order or end in the cause as we would, until we shall receive the full consent and counsel of our colleague the said Lord Bishop, and admit that the said Lord Bishop would not send the same unto us. We hope in God, before the receipt of these letters, that such trouble will arise, either in Ireland or England, as both we and you must see one another, and we will then, God willing, do what shall become us concerning that matter. Our own particular news to you is, that ourself and all the best of the north are ready together, and the Queen's army at Lough Foyle and some part of our people attending them, and they have not much prevailed in strength as yet, and that a great part of the Queen's army are on all sides of us in garrisons, and if it be true the Deputy himself is preparing to come to join with them against us now, we are (in the name of God) and all our people, in the beginning of our meat strength and munition, ready to encounter them, and we will do our best endeavour against them, and we hope in God that they shall never return in that case that they come. And so soon as the trouble of that journey shall be past, we will do our best to send Captain Tyrrell, and the greatest number of people that we can, to you thither; and do you as becometh you, and as we repose trust in you in the mean time, heroical and stout acts. Commend us particularly to every of the best of the Clancarties, and we require them all to help you, and you to help them and yourself. From the borders of the fields, the 20 [$\frac{19}{30}$] of September, 1600."

(c) To the Knight of the Valley.

"I have received your letter, whereby I understand what losses you have sustained by the sinister dealings of Connaught men. I hope that all shall be shortly redressed. What help I can send you, as soon as the Deputy returns, God favouring us, you may be assured [of]. In the meantime behave yourself as becometh men of your calling against the enemies of God and your country. In resolution for this present concerning Donogh McCormack his delivery, I have written to my Lord of Desmond, who may acquaint yourself withal. From my camp, the 21 [$\frac{11}{31}$] of September, 1600."

(d) To Dermott McOwen.

"Be it known unto you that we do not like well to hear so many complaints made against you by the White Knight's daughter, McAwly, and Donogh McCormack's people. And though Donogh McCormack be in durance with us in pawn, till the controversies between you and him be cleared according to right, and fearing lest he should go against you on the English side, yet we like not well that you should do what wrongs and injuries you list to his wife, people, and followers, in his absence, and by your hand. Although we have a purpose to enlarge Donogh McCormack, so soon as the matter between us and him be cleared, yet we mean to set him at liberty sooner, if we hear that you shall deserve the displeasure or complaints of those people that are behind him. From the border of the Maghera, the 20 [$\frac{10}{30}$] of September, 1600."

1600.

(e) *To McAulry.*

"We have written to Dermott McOwen concerning such complaints as you and the White Knight's daughter have sent us against him. And as for Dermott O'Connor, we see the Earl of Desmond, McCarthy More, and you jointly complaining of him, and we do remember the same, whensoever we shall find an honourable opportunity to revenge the same. From the border of the Maghery, the 20 [$\frac{1}{2}$ g] of September, 1600."

Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil :—"Copy of intercepted letter[s] from Tyrone." pp. 3.

Oct. 22.
Mallow.

111. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I have not any novelty to write, but the same which I am privy to be certified by others, yet rather than to be noted forgetful in my duty, I thought fitter to repeat other men's letters, or write something concerning such things as I do presently expect, than to be silent altogether. And therefore your Honour shall understand that it is very like that this province shall be shortly brought to reasonable quietness, if God shall stop the foreign invasion, daily by the seminaries and their sectaries both expected and procured. But, howsoever the success shall prove, there is a great appearance of gladness and goodwill shewed in every place where the young Earl of Desmond came, Cork only excepted, whose magistrates seemed not to be glad of anything that might induce more strength or possibility in the English government than to be as it is, nor so much itself. But what show the common sort there, and every sort from the chiefest to the lowest in other places, do make upon his coming, I do refer it to the honest bearer his report, and the fruits thereof shall very shortly (God willing) make the same manifest. The young Earl was not forty-eight hours in the land, when sure promise was made to him of Castlemaine to be delivered to him; for which purpose his Lordship and myself were suitors to my Lord President to give us a company of horsemen to go thither, to make present trial of that promise. But his Lordship, wisely considering how warfully [warily] traitor's promises should be trusted, thought fittest to send a trusty man from Desmond to make proof of the promise, than to go in person. Whereupon John Power is sent, by whom we expect good news this night or the next. The next day after John his departure, others came to Desmond, making sure promises of *James McThomas** to be delivered, or at least discovered, to him within few days, according to the first plot. The remnant of the traitors of Munster, and the strangers of Connaught, with Redmond Bourke, are at this present either secretly or openly upon their keeping in the borders of the county of Tipperary, and specially upon some of mine own lands, being not favoured by rebels, nor defended by them that hath the direction of the Queen's forces there. John Fitz Thomas went to Ulster for supply of forces, yet I am persuaded they have need of their own forces there. Here and there Tyrone maketh great brags and promises by his

*Cipher, 124, deciphered.

1600.

letters of invasion and troubles as well to be shortly in Ireland as in England, dreaming the seminaries to be able to remove mountains, and that which is more, heaven and hell itself, in which points they deceive very many. I cannot pretermitt still to put your Honour in remembrance of the great danger wherein the state of this land do consist by reason of the licentious practices used in cities and towns in this land, amongst whom I found only the poor town of Kilmallock to shew their diligence in resisting devoutly the rebels; for which I pray your Honour to show favour to their agents there at this time, the cause of their special good inclination being chiefly, as I take it, by reason of the continual keeping of garrisons with them, whereby they have less number of seminaries amongst them than other towns; for which cause the like is to be wished in them also. And for mine own part, although I am most willing to keep company with the young Earl, to keep his good inclinations and affections from the corruption of zissany seeds; yet, because he hath no certain place for his abode, and such as I have being far from him, it is hard for me to continue with him either in port towns, or when he shall follow the service. And he being so young, although well given (to my knowledge) to all good disposition, I think it very requisite that some wise and grave man, his integrity to the State being approved, should be still with him; and if such as Captain Price and Patrick Crosby might be kept with him, as they were hitherto, it will do much good. But one of them being presently going, and the other shortly following, I see none sufficient to be in their places with him, specially when he shall be from the Lord President. And for as much as I do mean to strain myself to be as near as I may to the Earl, until I shall hear from your Honour or [*sic*, ?of] some good end of the aforesaid plots and service, I pray your Honour to remember my suit to the Lord Bishop of Limerick concerning his house, during his absence. Remember also that I told you my fear in the county Tipperary, until you shall write to the Lord of Ormonde for my safety, from O'Dwyre, whom I would esteem but little, if he were not Sheriff to his Lordship. But if I were able to live here, where I might with more safety further Her Majesty's service, I would be glad to further young Desmond his good doings. And to that end, if my Lord of Limerick shall have any other promotion there (as it is like him to have), your Honour may, if it be so thought fit, to (*sic*) appoint Limerick for a time, or otherwise, to my relief; assuring your Honour, upon my conscience and credit, that all the other spiritual livings I have are not worth forty pounds amongst them all at this time, nor passed ever, before the wars, 200*l*. And for Limerick now, it is worth just nothing, and in peace time but 150*l*.; and therefore I would I had one good parsonage instead of them all. And for such entertainment and dead pays as Her Majesty did allow to me, I know not as yet where it shall begin or end, having nothing to show for the receipt thereof, which I beseech your Honour to consider of. I have delivered the patent of the Earl his creation to the Lord President, because he shewed me in Her Majesty's letter the same to be sent to him; yet I know that many abroad in the country will seek the sight thereof. And although they will not

1600.

come for it to his Lordship, they shall take it strange not to have the sight of it. If the same were left in my hand, the people shall be satisfied, and yet the writing still at Her Majesty's disposition. It is told me even now by my Lord President that the dead pay of ten comes *per diem* to me but to five pence the man, although Her Majesty do pay eight pence to every one *per diem*; the rest, viz., three pence *per diem* perished for provender and clothes, and some other part of that five pence itself must be given to officers, so that by this reckoning scarce four pence shall come to every one; and so, instead of a noble from the Queen, I shall receive but 3s. 4d. And therefore I humbly pray your Honour, as it was your Honour's meaning that I should have the full pay of ten, which is a noble a day, that the Lord President be written unto, to deliver me so much *per diem*, and not permit me to be defrauded of that which the Queen do appoint me. It is said also, that the provender itself shall not be given me, although I lose three pence ten times *per diem* for it. Which I beseech your Honour to consider, and to send me special warrant what I shall receive *de claro*, being all that which I have to divide betwixt my two sons and myself."—Mallow, 1600, October 22.

[*Postscript.*] "Here[with] I send the Lord President his resolution, concerning my last petition left with you, which I pray your Honour accordingly to effect, &c." (*sic.*) [*This letter is signed by the Archbishop both with his ordinary signature, and with his cipher signature, 1070.*] Holograph. pp. 3.

Encloses:—

111. i. *Petition of Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Queen Elizabeth. Stating that divers recognizances and other bonds heretofore taken in Munster and elsewhere in Ireland for the good behaviour and appearance of sundry persons, with sureties for the observance of the conditions specified, were, on forfeiture, concealed by the officers having the custody thereof, and the benefit of them not converted to Her Majesty's use, thus encouraging rebellion; and praying that, in consideration of his great losses, through the imprisonment of himself and his three sons by the rebels, and their wasting and depopulating of his lands, letters may be directed to the Lord Deputy, requiring him to grant to the Archbishop (that he may be able to pay the 300l. for his ransom, with interest of above 30l. yearly), one half of such forfeited bonds as he should discover so concealed at any time within the last twenty years, bearing the whole charge of the suit thereof, with the assistance of Her Majesty's officers to whom it may appertain; whereby the conditions of such bonds shall be better observed henceforth, and Her Majesty's treasure be augmented without any charge to Her Highness.—[1600, October.] Unsigned.*

Sir George Carew writes on this petition:—"Of these concealed bonds which my Lord Archbishop doth sue for, I am [of] opinion that Her Majesty without his industry, will receive but small or no profit; yet, nevertheless, to look so far back as twenty years, and especially throughout the kingdom, I am afraid that it may breed some disturbance, and therefore do think it meet that he may [be] limited to Munster only, and in the same

1600.

to be prohibited to molest any but townsmen, or such as the President of Munster may allow of. For, if the Lords of countries be dealt withal, or their sureties for them, their poverty is such as willingly they will not yield to pay forfeitures; and when their distresses shall be taken, and especially in this distempered time, I am in doubt that it will infect their humours, and breed new occasions of disorder; but within the cities and corporate towns there is little danger.” p. 1.

Oct. 24.
Bishop's
Court.

112. William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Sir George Carew. “This last night here arrived a ship of Mr. Hills of Bristol, one Andrew Dyvers, master thereof, and, being this day at dinner with me, he told me that, upon Tuesday was a month, he met with Anys at Reading in an inn, riding towards London (as Anys said), and landed at Plymouth; and in his company Captain Essex and Captain Prestmell. This he did assure me, for he talked with him, and knew him perfectly, for he should have come over with him when he came into Ireland last. This I thought good to advertise your Lordship of.”—Bishop's Court, 1600, October 24.

Sir George Carew writes on the back: “The intelligence of this letter is merely false, but, because I have in my letters made relation of the same, I do send it unto your Honour.” Holograph. p. 1.

Oct. 25.
Mallow.

113. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. “I have received from you by the last late passage four sundry letters, the first bearing date the 25th of August, by Patrick Arthur, conductor of the late supplies sent into this province, who arrived at Cork the 15th of this instant. The numbers which he brought I caused immediately to be viewed by Mr. Jones, Commissary of the Musters; and, the day following (having armed them out of the Queen's store, for which defalcation shall be made out of their entertainments), I caused them to be brought unto me hither, and from hence (after an exact view taken of them by myself) sent them with a sufficient conductor to be disposed into the garrisons. The particular relation of the numbers brought over, together with the deficiencies of such as were unable to serve, I commanded the said Commissary to send unto your Lordships, unto the which give me leave, I beseech you, humbly to refer you, by which it will appear unto you that, of 600 expected, not above 350 came into this land. The checks of the apparel which they brought with them, I have given order to the Commissary, according your Lordships' express direction, to be defalked upon the apparel for the companies into which these new men be disposed.

“The second point of your Lordships' said letter, to restrain Captains to give passes for soldiers' repair into England, I have as precisely observed before this commandment as I could, and will hereafter be as wary of it as I may, having sundry times sent proclamations and particular directions unto the officers of the ports not to permit any soldiers to be carried away without a passport under mine own hand. But, as in my former letters so in these, I humbly beseech your Lordships that some exemplary punishment

1600.

may be inflicted in England upon the runaways, or others that shall not have my pass, for hence they are carried in English bottoms, and stolen aboard by the masters for their private gain; so as, without care had when they shall arrive, I do find it almost impossible to redress it here.

"Your Lordships require me to send you my opinion how the forces of Munster may be relieved with victuals for this winter season within the province, to the which I can make no other answer, but do hold it to be impossible; for, howsoever your Lordships is (*sic*) there informed, I do upon my knowledge assure you that there is no means to supply the defect of victuals here, all parts of this province being so much wasted by this last summer's war, as great scarcity hath already overtaken us, insomuch as, before the next spring, a great dearth doubtless is like to ensue. For testimony whereof, myself must be enforced to forsake the place I am now in, to repair to some port town, and to make my provisions out of England.

"Concerning the certificates of the musters, what checks hath accrued, so soon as the half-year's account is ended (which is now in hand) they shall be forthwith sent unto your Lordships.

"And touching the Lord Archbishop of Cashel's information, made unto your Lordships against the citizens of Waterford, of their presumptuous insolencies in the exercise of their Popish religion, until by your Lordships' letters of the 30th of September I never heard complaint of the same, yet do verily believe that the information in matter is true, but in form (until I be better satisfied, whereof I will make diligent enquiry) I hold it somewhat doubtful, not supposing that a corporate town, endowed with so great privileges, will hazard their charters in so palpable and gross a manner. The occasion of the services hath withheld me hitherto so remote from thence, as that I cannot satisfy your Lordships with the truth; but, as soon as I may spare myself from these parts, I will take order for a reformation, holding it to be a mighty indignity to Her Majesty's government, if such presumptuous and traitorly offences should go unpunished. But yet (under your Lordships' correction, and according to the cautions which you have given me), I will handle that matter of religion as nicely as I may, especially in this broken time, in the which (until the other parts of the kingdom be better conformed) I may not deal so roundly with these provincials, either within corporate towns or the country, as otherwise I would. For such is the sympathy between them as, when the country is strong, the towns are proud, and as the forces in the country decay, the towns become more tractable. The informations of the Bishop toucheth no man in particular. I will draw from him who be the principal offenders, which once known, I do not think but, as your Lordships suppose, matters of treason (not tending to religion) may be sufficiently proved to convince them. But if it do appear in the least that any part of their punishment proceeds for matter of religion, it will kindle a greater fire in this kingdom.

"Touching your Lordships' commandments for the taking of bonds of all such owners as shall pass from hence into Spain in any ships, &c., therein I find some difficulty, for most of the Irish merchants that trade with Spain (the town of Waterford excepted)

1600.

do load their goods in French bottoms, upon whom how to take sufficient security (for when their voyage is done they return to France) I know not, neither will their offences (if any be) so presently upon their return appear. Wherefore, to take bonds of them (being strangers) will be very little available, unless they put in collateral sureties of the merchants here (which I think will be hard for them to do); but, for such owners as are dwellers within the province, I shall be able to observe your Lordships' commandment. Herein I will use the advice of the Chief Justice, by whose help I hope I shall be able to take such order as shall give your Lordships satisfaction.

"I have likewise received one other letter from your Lordships which wholly concerneth the Lord Archbishop of Cashel's private affairs, and therefore I need not to trouble your Lordships with any particulars of the same, but will observe your commandments, as in duty I am bound. The like I have received from your Lordships in the favour of one Maurice Sheighan, of whose businesses (as occasion shall be ministered, and according to justice) I will be careful to give him assistance.

"With the last passage arrived at Cork the winter suits for these garrisons, for which I render your Lordships all humble thanks; for, by reason of our great travels this last summer, the soldiers for the most part were almost naked. But herein, I am humbly to beseech you hereafter, that, like as the victual is by your orders directed to be unshipped in the rivers of Cork and Limerick, so you will be pleased to command the apparel by even portions to be directly carried to both those places aforesaid, for that the fetching of it from Cork by the companies in remote garrisons is very inconvenient for the service. I have lately understood that 3,000*l.* for the use of this province[']s service is lately arrived at Dublin. I do humbly beseech that no more for this part be sent that way, for (as the paymaster here tells me) 1,800*l.* thereof is already there defalked to pay money imprested by the Treasurer to some Munster Captains that received the same at Dublin. In doing whereof, although no loss grows unto Her Majesty, and that Mr. Treasurer may well justify the same, yet I suppose it was not your Lordship's meaning that it should be converted to any other use than to defray growing charges, and not to look backward. The aforesaid sum of 1,800*l.* would have been a good help at this time, for, as the paymaster reported unto me, the money now remaining in his hands will be disbursed by the end of this month."—Mallow, 1600, October 25. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 26th (*sic*). *Signed.* pp. 2½.

Oct. 26.
Dublin.

114. John Fitz Edmond Gerald to Sir Robert Cecil. Has lately seen a letter written on his behalf by Sir Robert to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, in whom he always found a good disposition towards him and his causes. Understands from his son of many favours received by the latter from Sir Robert. Expresses his deep thankfulness to him.—Dublin, 1600, October 26.

On a slip of paper annexed to this letter the writer of it states:—"Before the writing of my letter, I received a letter from my son,

1600.

who landed with the young Earl of Desmond at Youghal about the 15th of this October, whereby I understand that your Honour delivered him a letter to be sent unto me in September last, which my son enclosed in his own letter, and delivered the same to one Captain Larky, who was coming hither in company with the Earl of Kildare; which Captain I saw not, nor cannot hear of him, nor of your Honour's said letter; whereof I thought requisite to advertise your Honour, lest your said letter should contain any matter of weight or that requireth haste." *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Oct. 26.
Dublin.

115. "A Breviate of grants passed by Her Majesty's warrant to servitors in Ireland, since the 20th year of Her Majesty's reign."

These grants are to the following:—

Town of Galway.	Doctor Ford (2).
William Kelly, surgeon.	Sir Garrett Aylmer.
Sir Nicholas Malby.	Alice Fitz Garrett, mother of Sir Edward Fitz Garrett.
Sir Henry Cowley.	Anthony Power.
James Vaughan (2).	Anthony Deering.
Richard Synott.	Oliver Stephenson.
Edye Byrne.	Thomas Rennyek.
Edmond Darcy, a fencer.	Nicholas Taaffe.
Neale McGeoghegan.	Corporation of Youghal.
Sir Patrick Barnewell.	John Bath.
John Cusack.	Lord Delvin (2).
Nicholas Aylmer.	Daniel Kelly.
James Goold.	William Parrys.
Mary Travers, late wife to the Viscount Baltinglas (2).	Piers Ovington.
Constance King, widow.	Robert Collam.
Owen O'Connell.	Sir Henry Harrington.
City of Waterford.	Sir Walter Raleigh (2).
Thomas Stokes.	John Talbot.
John Rowan.	William Bath (2).
Thomas Elliott.	Thomas Spring.
Thomas Coppinger.	Edward Fitz Thomas, Knight of the Valley.
Henry Davells.	George Sherlock.
Thomas Masterson.	Cormack Carty Fitz Derby, of Blarney.
Sir Tirlogh O'Brien (2).	Edward Fitz Garrett (3).
Anthony Pepper.	John Rawson.
Sir Henry Duke.	Brian Fitzwilliam.
Stephen Waters.	Anne Thickpenny.
Sir Lucas Dillon.	Lord Roche.
John Lye (3).	George Goodman.
Sir Henry Brouncker.	Tirlogh O'Brien.
Ellen Nugent.	Ross College, co. Wexford.
Sir Nicholas Walsh.	John Bealing.
John Myough (2).	Edward Sutton.
Sir Thomas Straunge.	John Champen.
Richard Power.	Anthony Hungerford.
Robert Hamon.	Edmond Barrett (2).
William Browne.	
George Greame.	

1600.

Patrick Greame.	Sir Richard Grenville.
Piers Gould.	Robert Bostock.
Earl of Kildare.	Edmond Fitz Gibbon, the
William Carter.	White Knight.
Trinity College, Dublin (2).	Sir Christopher Hatton.
William Eustace, of Castle-	Teig McDermott McCarthy.
martin.	Thomas Fleming.
William Taaffe.	Rice ap Hugh.
Donnell McBrian Kavanagh.	Dermott McMorris Kavanagh.
Earl of Thomond (2).	Edward Gough.
Piers Butler.	Sir Anthony Sentleger.
Archbishop of Cashel (2).	Sir Robert Napper.
John Newton.	McSwyne Ne Doe.
Sir Francis Shane (2).	Hubbert Fox.
Lodowick Briskett.	Sir Geoffrey Fenton.
Richard Brett.	Alexander Cosby.
Connor O'Callaghan and	George Isham.
others.	Richard Harding.
Thomas Morris.	Sir Henry Wallop.
Henry Sheffield.	Thomas Lambyn.

This list is noted throughout by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who writes the heading, and the date, Dublin, 1600, October 26. pp. 18.

[Oct. 27.] **116.** “The heads of those things wherein I am touched by Her Majesty or the Lords in their several letters in my course of government, together with the several answers to be made by Sir Oliver St. Johns unto them, as he shall find occasion in speech, either with her Majesty or with their Lordships.” [*In the margin Sir Robert's secretary has written :—“The Lords' letter of the 17th of July. The Queen's letter of the 25 of July.”*]

1. “*Matter of charge. That all things tending to charge are plentifully continued, or renewed, if they concern the men of war. Great and large entertainments not to be suffered, nor raised still anew. The abuse of continuing the Quartermaster longer than in time of service.*”

“Her Majesty and their Lordships may remember that even in England from the beginning I did always protest against the proportion of twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, as being insufficient to effect that service which was expected; and, at my coming hither, I found by trial that the breaking of the army at that time, when Tyrone was looked for to return out of Munster, and to settle the state of Leinster according to his own mind, would have apparently hazarded, if not lost, the kingdom; and therefore, with advice of all the Council, I was constrained to solicit the continuance of the list at fourteen thousand, and consequently of Her majesty's charge. And now again, I have been forced to do the like, out of desire both to secure the Pale in mine absence (which in my last journey hither I was not able to do with those forces I had), and also to make some prosecution in those parts where, although by the voyages lately made upon them they are now greatly discouraged, yet will they rise again, if they be not still kept under. So as in

1600.

these two motions, not any particular benefit, which might redound unto myself, but the necessity of Her Majesty's service, hath made me solicit the continuance and increase of her charge; in both which, seeing it hath pleased Her Majesty and their Lordships to allow of the suit, it may please them also not to be offended with the suitor. Great and large entertainments I have raised none, nor suffered any other to continue than such as by the establishing are allowed, except the Corporals of the field and Carriagemaster, which in time of service I cannot miss; and during that time I have authority by direction from thence to raise any such entertainment with the Council's advice. As for the office of Quartermaster, I have been so far off from continuing it any longer than while the army was in march, that even while it hath been in march, I never had any Quartermaster at all, but only in my first journey to the north, when, as in the absence of Sir George Bouchier, being then at Kilkenny, I appointed Captain Hansard to take charge of the munition, and also to execute both that office of Quartermaster and the other of Trenchmaster, allowing him only the bare fee of one for the execution of all three. In my other journeys, the army consisting of less numbers, and therefore not so painful to quarter, I have always eased Her Majesty of that charge.

2. *“Recommendations. Easiness in granting letters of recommendation into England, and in licensing suitors to come over, whereby Her Majesty is forced to speak in the negative, being unable to satisfy them all.*

“Since the admonition given me by their Lordships to the contrary, I have recommended none except the Captains for the new companies, which, according to the practice of former times, have been always in the General's disposition; wherein if by recommending them to their Lordships I have departed (as it were) from mine own right, and referred the choice to them, I hope at leastwise to avoid blame. Before their Lordships' admonition, I could do no less than suffer those to go for England, who, pretending great services and inability to hold out any longer, would needs be gone; and to afford some general words of recommendation to those whom I was not otherwise able to satisfy, and to some of them the rather because I knew them dangerous persons in this state of mutinous and stirring humours, fit to be rid away thither with some few good words, where they should be able to do far less harm than here. But, if Her Majesty and their Lordships be not able to yield satisfaction to all those kind of suitors, how must I then needs be distressed with them, who dwell at the well-head of their importunity, without any means at all to content them. And therefore I beseech their Lordships, seeing they are not willing to be pressed from hence, that they will also favour me in recommending few hither.

3. *“Matters concerning the army in general. By remissness and lack of experience, though free from negligence and disobedience, things are not so well ordered as they might be. An humour of forbearing to discharge an unprofitable company, rather than to discontent a Captain or follower. An extreme weakness it is, to be so in awe of an army*

1600.

as to suffer all insolencies unpunished. No one example made upon any soldier or Captain, but upon complaints orders are made without effect, proclamations without execution.

“It may please Her Majesty and their Lordships to call to remembrance how unable I esteemed myself to undergo the weight of this government, not so much in regard of the war itself, and of the enemies, as more especially in regard of the humours of men with whom I was to encounter, wherein I have been so unfortunate as here I have discontented the best of my friends for not yielding to their desires, and in England I am accounted remiss, weak, and easy in yielding so much unto them. But if it be well considered in what terms I found the State and army here at my coming, how much out of order, heart, and courage, it will appear that my best way to reduce it into good estate was *pudore potius quam malo exercitum coercere*, and that by the course I have taken, I have wrought no small effect in the reformation of those abuses which are intimated as grown in my government. But although it be the more pardonable in me, if I be not overhasty to punish those which offend, seeing on the other side, if they deserve never so well, I have no great means to reward them, yet have many examples been shewn in my time upon soldiers for running away, for stealing, and such like. Against Captains there hath not hitherto been any proof made of any notable crime to be punished, nor any in particular urged, so as the informers of these abuses, if they know them to be true (which I do not), have taken a preposterous course, to begin with informations to their Lordships before they had just reason to despair of my reformation. If I may understand in particular which are those unprofitable companies, whereof mention is made, it shall be found I will not spare them. And as for proclamations and orders without effect, I beseech their Lordships to consider how many penal statutes in England have been made for the redress of civil abuses, and how few of them observed, where notwithstanding the peaceableness of the government may give better assurance of execution than in this distempered kingdom or in any army whatsoever.

4. “*Bestowing of companies amiss. Men of small means are preferred, who desire to prolong the wars. Idle drones that make a profit thereby, whereas companies ought to be bestowed upon Her Majesty's old servants, that a double gap may be stopped thereby, that is, both they satisfied and the service discharged. In particular it were good that special choice should be made of those which are employed in Leinster; and it is thought Sir Edward Herbert were a fitter man for that service than some other. The abuse of buying and selling of companies.*

“If those companies be excepted which by appointment in England before my coming over, or since by direction from thence, I have bestowed, as namely, to the Lord President of Munster, the Marshal, Sir Francis Stafford, Sir Thomas Wingfield, Captain George Kingsmill, Captain Spencer, Captain Willis, and Captain William Poare [Power], it will be found that the rest which I have absolutely conferred upon any as of mine own gift, have been very few, and those upon men of no mean quality, as Sir John Bartley; Sir Oliver St. John (who both of them have heretofore held place of

1600.

higher command) ; Captain Harvey, who lately hath given good testimony of his valour in Munster ; Captain George Blunt, from whom I took twelve horse in pay ; Captain Vaughan and Captain Dutton, recommended unto me by some of their Lordships ; and lastly, Captain Hales, against whom I think no exception can be taken. These are all the companies which I have absolutely bestowed ; for, if I have suffered the Earl of Southampton's Lieutenants to continue in part of his command, being otherwise men of good desert, or if I have restored Sir John Pooley, Sir Robert Lovell, and other gentlemen of good quality, to those charges which formerly they enjoyed, I esteem it not any absolute gift of mine, which if it were, yet their worth might clear me therein from imputation. Her Majesty's ancient servants are to be preferred before any other, if they be able to answer the service, but the importance of this war doth require that companies should be bestowed, not as pensions in reward of service done, but as employments for service to be done. And as for Sir Edward Herbert, though he be an honest and a valiant gentleman, and one whom I do particularly affect, yet by experience I have found that for any general command he is not so sufficient as I would he were. For the buying and selling of companies, I know of none since my coming, and will cast the possession of any such if I may know it.

5. "*Abuses in musters. Deceit in musters by corrupting or over-awing the Commissaries, so as some of them have said they dare not complain ; by discharging able men and entertaining churls for soldiers in the day of musters. Therefore some gentlemen of the country are to made acquainted with the musters of the garrisons adjoining, and a certificate sent of the men appointed for that purpose.*

"I cannot myself look to the mustering of the forces at all times, but for preventing of all abuse in that kind I have, according to their Lordships' direction, placed the Commissioners of their own choice. I have established the strictest orders that the Comptroller of the Musters could devise. I have encouraged him and the rest to advertise me of all things which might avail Her Majesty's service that way. I have twice heretofore caused the army to be mustered in the end of journeys, which of all other is accounted the hardest course, and in the rebels' country where they could not have any help in their musters. And even here, after the greatest fight which hath been in this kingdom these many years, when the companies were grown weak by loss of divers men, either dead in service or discharged as maimed and impotent, I there caused a strict muster to be taken, and by the strictest and cunningest Commissaries of the army, causing the gates of Dundalk at the same time to be kept shut, from whence only the Captains might receive any supply to falsify their musters. With these courses if I be not able to content their Lordships, my case is hard, for sure I am I have therewith discontented the Captains. As for discharging able men to entertain churls, I protest, if I knew any Captain faulty therein, I would punish him with all the shame I could lay upon him. But in general I find them so far off from offending that way, as I have many complaints brought unto me, that they seek to entice and stock away able men one from another to keep them

1600.

in their companies. Yet I will not deny but many Captains, when against their will they want men, do patch up their musters perchance sometimes with churls; which whensoever I shall find complained of and proved, I am to be reprov'd if I do not punish it. But in general, for the settling of a fit course in the matter of musters, I have directed a commission to the Marshal, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Francis Stafford, and have thereby authorized them to appoint such gentlemen of the country as they shall think fittest, to join with the Commissaries in the mustering of the forces, which choice they cannot now conveniently make in the journey, but, at their return, I doubt not they will perform it.

6. *"Absence of Captains. Many Captains are absent from their charges, and in particular those of Lough Foyle."*

Of six or seven score Captains I have licensed only six or seven to go for England, and those upon urgent occasions concerning their whole estate. If their Lordships' meaning be to touch the Captains' abode in Dublin, there are none of them continually remaining there, but successively they come and go, as in all other wars they do, for the furnishing of themselves with necessaries, for clearing their accounts, for conference and direction from the General, and like occasions. Concerning them of Lough Foyle, of whom their Lordships have sent me a particular note, they are twelve in number, but of them two are dead, three returned before the receipt of their Lordships' letters, and in brief no one of them absent, but upon good occasion, as by the list of them apostilled may appear.

7. *"Runaways. Runaways daily come over into England, which could not be if that order were observed that no private Captain should give passport, and soldiers dismissed by their Captains, without arms or apparel, pester the town of Dublin."*

I have caused as many of those runaways as I could apprehend to be executed, and further I cannot proceed. But on the other side I beseech their Lordships that straight order may be taken in England for the punishment both of such as run over and of those which transport them. The order mentioned by their Lordships hath been ever observed since my coming, that no private Captain may give passport, but the havens and creeks are so many hereabouts, and the allurements for men to stay in this beggarly war so few, as no providence can prevent their running away. As for soldiers dismissed and remaining in Dublin, they are sick and come with their Captains' leave, either to the hospital for their recovery, or for their passports if they be irrecoverable, which in that case I grant to none but such as the surgeon, physician, or mustermaster do certify me to be utterly unserviceable, and most of them I view myself before.

8. *"Great entertainments. Coupling of Colonels' pays and Commanders of horse and foot together, and raising of the companies to 200 and 150, whereby divers remain unsatisfied."*

"I found some at my coming to hold both horse and foot, and to stand in the list as Colonels, as the Earl of Kildare, the Lord of Dunsany, the Earl of Thomond, and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence,

1600.

of whom I was commanded, by instructions from Her Majesty, to continue the two first in the list of Colonels as extraordinary. From the Earl of Thomond I took twenty-five horse, and of Sir Christopher's thirty horse I cast five. The coupling of horse and foot together is no new thing in the wars, but practised in all countries, and ever heretofore in this, and proportionably to that justice, which in the distribution of rewards ought to be observed, wherein equality is most unequal. Neither do I think their Lordships' meaning is that all companies should be reduced to bare hundreds, seeing some one man's worth may enable him to deserve better the command of 200 foot and 100 horse than another's one single company of an hundred. Neither is Her Majesty's charge any whit increased by this means, nor any more remain discontented than would be if the companies were divided. For there is no Captain of 200 foot but hath a Lieutenant as worthy to command 100 as most of those Captains which remain unsatisfied, nor any Captain of 100 horse but his Lieutenant might well take the charge of 50; whereby Her Majesty hath the service of many worthy men who in lower place would not serve, and without whom I do not think it possible to make the war with good success. If then the companies were divided and bestowed upon such as at Court are continual suitors for employment, yet still the Lieutenants which now serve and discharge those places would remain discontented and become suitors, with as great or greater reason than those others, being as worthy of preferment as any of them who seek preferment there. But if their Lordships find themselves pestered with suitors for employment in Ireland, who can shew no proof of their valour there at Court, how much more justly am I importuned here by those who being of as good sufficiency, and most of them having heretofore borne as great charge, do voluntarily follow the wars with great expense and danger of their lives, and of whose continual well-deserving and hazard I am an eye-witness, who notwithstanding by others from thence are put by the hope of their advancement.

9. *"Slight proceedings. Slight and partial handling of matters, rather to cover the abuses of former times, than to reform them."*

"If it be rightly considered how hardly a reformation can be wrought in an army so much distempered as I found this to be in the interims of the two governments, being almost as long a time as I have held this place, it will be thought sufficient, if in so short a space I have learned the diseases, and kept them from increasing, much more to reform them in every nature by many degrees, which I hope I have done.

10. *"Abuses concerning the Irish. An error to spare the casting of the Irish, for fear they should rebel."*

"I have not spared them, for since my coming I have cast off the horse companies, 25 of the Earl of Thomond's, 25 of Sir William Warren's, 5 of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence[s], 13 of Sir Garrett Aylmer's, 15 of Theobald Dillon's, 50 of Sir Walter Butler's, 25 of Captain Taafe's, the broken companies of Murrough McTeig Oge, Captain George Greame, and Captain Blunt, all which amount well

1600.

near to 200 horse. And of the foot, [the companies of] Sir Ed[ward] Loftus, Captain Eustace, O'Connor Don, David Burgh, Oliver Burgh, Walter McEdmund, Harpole, Plunkett, [and] the broken companies of the two Coolyes, amounting to about 1,000.

11. *“Living on their own lands. Mean persons live upon their own lands, and enjoy the Queen’s pay.”*

“This abuse I first of all began to redress, for there are no Irish companies in these parts, but I do either employ them out of their own countries, as Sir Richard Masterson’s, Sir Edward Fitz Garrett’s, Hugh O’Reilly’s, in Munster, Captain Edmond’s, at Carrickfergus; or, if they remain in their own country, I do upon all occasions of service draw them forth, as the Earl of Kildare’s, the Lord of Delvin’s, the Lord of Dunsany’s, Sir Thomas Burgh’s, Sir Francis Shane’s, and the rest, so as they enjoy not the Queen’s pay for nothing. And there it may please their Lordships to consider that, whereas they have required me to return them monthly certificates of the services done by the several Captains and Commanders of the army, whereby it may appear whether they deserve their entertainment or no, when I relate unto them the general services of Offally, of Leix, of the North, and such like, all the Captains of these parts have their part therein, excepting such as are left with single companies, or some few numbers, only to guard the frontiers during that service. But as for suffering of the Irish to live on their own lands, I do not perfectly conceive Her Majesty’s and their Lordships’ pleasure therein. For I have received direction from Her Majesty to employ them out of their own countries, and not to suffer them to enjoy the benefit of her pay for the keeping of their own cows. And now of late I am advised by their Lordships to consider whether the fittest men to be employed in Leinster be not the landed gentry of that province, who in likelihood will endeavour themselves to recover and secure their own lands. And sometimes it pleaseth their Lordships particularly to recommend some men for employment in that kind, as Sir Edward Herbert in Offally, and Captain Malbie for the next company in Connaught, where his lands lie, that he may thereby reap the benefit of his own lands.

12. *“Companies consist of rebels. Companies of Irish raised out of the rebels, which might be done more conveniently out of the Pale.”*

“All the swordsmen of this country are in entertainment either with the rebels or with us, so as, if any Irish be entertained, they must be taken from the rebels, seeing the rest are already on our side; and by this means we reap a double benefit, both strengthening ourselves by taking away the rebels’ strength, and destroying them one upon another, of which kind the greatest loss hath been ever since my time above the number of 200 in divers places, which I account no great disadvantage.

13. *“The complaints of the country. That they are less favoured than the rebels, the country wasted by coasting to and fro in the soldiers’ marches, wherein it is a common matter to overrun the country with horse and foot for the convoy of one barrel of powder.”*

1600.

The abuse of a particular Quartermaster in every company, whereas the Constable and other officers might lodge the soldiers more conveniently.

“It may perhaps be truly said that the Queen’s army is as much favoured and assisted by the rebels themselves, as by the generality of the Pale, who are so slow and backward in furnishing the army (though for ready money) with carriages for munition, victuals and other necessities, without which it cannot march, as (to let pass all former defaults) even now at the general hosting, their defaults in garrans, beeves, and pioneers are more than those they have furnished. Which backwardness of theirs is (in truth) a principal cause of those hard courses, which sometime the soldier is enforced to take, seeing otherwise by fair means he cannot be provided of things necessary. And whereas, to maintain the charge of this their complaint in England, they could seize themselves a proportion on every plough land, to advance the service in anything, I could never yet find amongst them, I will not say an open purse, but not so much as a willing mind. Clamorous they are above all nations in the world, and that for little or no cause, whereof I have had many trials in my journeys, when, the army marching through the country, the people have run out of the villages with open mouth, crying out that they were utterly spoiled and nothing left them, when upon examination I have found that they had nothing taken from them, but, for fear of that which might happen, they complained of that which never happened. But concerning this their complaint exhibited to Her Majesty, it is by their own confession the very same which was drawn by them long ago, and whereof I had a copy in England before my coming over, and therefore the cause thereof not given in my time. And the Lord of Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell have both of them solemnly protested unto me that, at my coming, then first of all they began to feel some ease of their misery, which they said they will be always ready to avow. And as I am certainly informed upon enquiry, there hath not been so much defalcation for the country’s satisfaction since the beginning of the wars as in my time. As for the particular of coasting the country to and fro, the orders are set down for the soldiers’ march about eight or ten miles a day, which if they have not been observed, and notice thereof given me in any one particular, I have been always ready to punish, and therefore desire that some instance may be produced whom I have spared, upon complaint and proof made of such abuse. But the manner of this country is to cry out in general that they are spoiled, and not to lay down in particular by whom, whereby envy is raised against the Government, and no course can be taken for redress. I never yet heard, neither do I believe, that the conveying of a barrel of powder is a matter usual. To Athlone and some other frontier garrisons when any proportion of powder is sent, it is meet it should be safely guarded; other unnecessary convoys I know of none. The companies have no such officer as is mentioned by the name of Quartermaster, but for order sake they appoint some one among themselves for the time to lodge and dispose the rest, in particular when the officers have assigned them their general quarter.

1600.

14. *“Complaints are in vain. It is in vain to complain in Ireland, for the soldier is thereby irritated, and the plaintiff consumed with attendance and extraordinary fees, wherein it is to be noted that the Clerk of the Council being a substitute, and having bought his office, is fain by exaction to raise his commodity, and in particular 4s. 4d. is taken for a complaint of 4s. loss. Another abuse there is the Clerk of the Council, that he is not at the Secretary’s disposition.”*

“If upon my coming they first of all began to feel ease of their miseries, as the country’s agents have protested, what cause had they had to think that their complaints should be in vain? As for the Clerkship of the Council, it is in the same state I found it and as it hath continued these many years, not bought nor sold, for aught I know, but the Clerk of the Council, who for the most part is present, and exercising the place himself, hath an assistant for his ease, of whose fees I never yet had any complaint brought unto me, and therefore have not been able to take notice of any extortion committed by him, neither have I seen but in all matters of service he hath been at the Secretary’s direction, as he ought to be.

15. *“Sir William Warren’s cause. In Sir William Warren’s cause slender satisfaction was given, and no punishment.”*

“The wrong was done before my coming over; whereof complaint being made to me, I referred it to the Commissioners in those causes, that is, to the two Judges, the Bishop of Meath and the Secretary, who, according to an agreement made between the parties themselves, set down an order for satisfaction; which because Mr. Treasurer made scruple to perform, in regard of some overpay formerly made to Sir William Warren, they exhibited another petition to me, acknowledging the agreement, and desiring order for payment, which I presently gave them, and accordingly they were satisfied. So then the satisfaction they received was as much as themselves desired, and punishment I had no reason to inflict, seeing no complaint was tendered but for satisfaction. But it seemeth that some particular spleen did move Sir Patrick Barnewell to instance in (*sic*) Sir William Warren, for that at the same time when he went over for England, there was a controversy between him and Sir William about a wardship, wherein I was so far from favouring Sir William Warren, as, for some default he made, I committed him to the Castle from the Council Table. Seeing therefore in this one particular, which of all others seemed at the first to be most pregnant and unanswerable, it appeareth how clear I am from imputation, it may please their Lordships hereafter, when any such instance shall be given, to suspend their judgments until my answer may be heard, but especially to ground no opinion upon the generality of any man’s complaint, but to drive the matter to some certain head, wherein I may be cleared, if I have not been faulty, or, if faulty, I may amend it.

16. *“Companies laid in the Pale. Companies are laid in the heart of the Pale, which ought to be garrisoned on the frontiers, and so may be conveniently, for grass is to be had everywhere, and oats the country will afford, or not complain.”*

1600.

"I found the companies of horse and foot lodged in great numbers in the heart of the Pale, but I presently dispersed them to the borders, as to Dundalk, Ardee, Kells, and the Newry. The horse, which were the greatest grievance to the country, I dispatched away, the Earl of Southampton's to Carrickfergus, mine own to Ardee, Sir Henry Davers['s] to Dundalk and the Newry; and to the end they might not be driven to fall back again upon the Pale, for want of hay and oats, I have given order to the sheriffs of the counties for the making of hay to be laid in this summer time in the garrisons, wherein the backwardness of the country hath appeared more than in any other thing. For although they all confess that no better course could be devised for their relief, yet when the sheriffs do in particular come to hire any one man's waste ground for hay, whereof he cannot make any benefit, they take the advantage of this occasion, and demand as much for an acre as if it were not waste, but well inhabited, and in the most peaceable place of the country. Besides the unwillingness of the churls to work in the mowing and making of hay (though for ready money) is so great, as they clearly discover a desire rather to complain than to give their helping hand to ease themselves in anything whereof they complain.

17. "*Checks remitted to the Earl of Southampton. In their Lordships' letters to Mr. Treasurer, dated the 8th of August, they take notice of 300 and odd pounds paid to the Earl of Southampton by my direction for checks due in the Earl of Essex['s] time.*

"The check imposed on the Earl of Southampton was partly in regard of his absence in England, partly for deficiencies here, the latter whereof was an absolute check, and to continue without remission, neither did I give direction for the discharge of that part of his check, which as I remember Mr. Treasurer told me did amount to 300*l.* and upwards. But for the other, which was rather a stoppage than a check, until it might appear whether his Lordship were authorised to be absent, and for what time, and with how many, I suppose I had authority to give order for the payment thereof, knowing him to have gone over with the Earl of Essex, who then might warrant his absence, and that in all congruity some reasonable number of men might be allowed to attend his Lordship during the same time."

Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"9 November, 1600." [Probably the date of receipt.] "A collection of divers clauses of letters in which the Lord Deputy findeth himself grieved, being portions of two letters, one from the Queen, and another from the Lords."—[1600, October 27.] Unsigned. pp. 8½.

[Oct. 27.] 117. "Matters concerning mine own particular mentioned in [their] Lordships' letters to me or Mr. Treasurer, wherein Sir Oliver St. Johns may deal with my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary without troubling the Lords in general therewith."

1. "*That mine entertainment as Deputy should not be advanced unto me from time to time, as it should grow due during the three months, but only at the end of them.*

1600.

“Herein I refer myself to the practice of former times certified by Mr. Huett, Sir Henry Wallop[’s] Under-Treasurer.

2. *“That my allowance for transportation shall not exceed that which was granted to the Lord Burgh.*

“The allowances heretofore given to Deputies for transportation were never proportioned by any former precedent, but what the Council here, upon the Deputy’s bill, did think reasonable to allow. According to the difference of the times, it passed without contradiction, and therefore it appeareth in former granted concordatums, that neither Sir John Perrott’s allowance was a precedent to Sir William Russell, nor the Lord Grey’s to the Lord Burgh; but their charge being different, did procure them different allowance. And, although it pleased Her Majesty to favour me so far as that upon my bill, without any further concordatum, I should receive so much as the Lord Burgh or any other of my quality had formerly received, yet I did not think myself thereby debarred from the true surpluseage of my charge disbursed, nor the Council deprived of their wonted authority to allow me the same, especially seeing the army being now double to that it was in the Lord Burgh’s time must needs draw me to a double charge, both in number of followers and in my provisions, the extreme dearth of these times considered.

3. *[Sir Robert Cecil’s secretary has written on the margin:—“The Lords’ letter to the Treasurer, 9 August.”] “That the allowances made to me for charges of transportation in the northern journey and about Kilmainham house and grounds, and for keeping the Queen’s carriage horses, are not to be approved.*

“In the former two, although I might refer myself in general to Mr. Bingley’s certificate, testifying those allowances to be warrantable by former precedents, yet thus much further may be added, that the end of my first journey to the north was to divert Tyrone from the forces at Lough Foyle, and therefore I caused all my provisions of beer, wine, and such like, as also my hangings and household stuff to be shipped first at Drogheda, and from thence for the Newry, thereby to work a persuasion in the rebels that I meant to continue a long time in those parts, which charge of transportation, but in that respect, I might have avoided; and, seeing it appeareth by certain acts in Council in Sir John Perrott’s and Sir William Russell’s time, that they were to be allowed their carriages by land in journeys, I think their Lordships will not find it unreasonable if I receive allowance of my charges in transportation, being in proportion much more easy than those by land. The charges about Kilmainham house and grounds have always passed in former accounts, excepting a small sum for laying the dung on the grounds, not worthy to be spoken of. At my coming hither, I found but twenty-five carriage horses and not ninety-three, as their Lordships seem to conceive, but the allowance demanded for their keeping was for thirty-nine days, which I suppose to be reasonable. For, although I made use of them in journeys for Her Majesty’s service, yet, if they had not been, I must have taken up garrans at Her Majesty’s charge, as in like cases all Deputies have done, which would have increased the concordatums for my charges that way,

1600.

as much or more than this sum for the keeping of the horses amounteth unto. Whereas now, though Her Majesty be at the charges of keeping them, yet in the allowances for carriages in journeys, the same or more is saved back again, which allowances in that regard have been very sparing in my time.”—[1600, October 27.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—“Abstract of the points wherein the Lord Deputy findeth himself grieved.” *Unsigned*. pp. 1½.

Oct. 27.
Camp beyond
the Newry.

118. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. “I know not how it hath fallen out, either by that general calamity of misinformation, which hitherto hath afflicted all the Governors of this kingdom, or by some weakness of judgment and error of mine own, that my proceedings having been, as I presume, clear and upright in themselves, yet have appeared otherwise in Her Majesty’s and your Lordships’ eyes. To whom because I desire above all earthly things to approve mine actions, I have drawn an abstract of all those imputations, wherewith in Her Majesty’s or your Lordships’ letters I have been lately charged; and in answer of them have delivered instructions to Sir Oliver St. Johns, to whom it may please your Lordships to give credence. Yet have I not been moved to this so particular a justification of myself in regard of mine own reputation only; but I find that this people are ready to take any such advantage against their Governors, and both at Dublin before my return out of Leix, and before I had ever received your Lordships’ letters, it was reported that sharp and stinging letters did wait for me there, and that for fear of them I kept me longer in Leix than otherwise I would have done. And here I have intelligence out of Tyrone’s camp that he comforteth himself and his followers with that which should be my chief discomfort, namely, that my course of government is not favoured in England. Wherefore my humble request unto your Lordships from henceforth shall be this, seeing no mistake of my proceedings can once enter into your Lordships’ minds but by information from others (for your Lordships are not here present to behold mine actions, and to judge according to your sight), that no general suggestion may prevail in your Lordships’ conceit against me, but that it may be drawn to some one particular instance; which I doubt not I shall be as sufficiently able to clear as those two only instances hitherto produced, of my overcharging the Queen with a Quartermaster and of my remissness in Sir William Warren’s cause. Which two, howsoever at first they might seem unanswerable, yet if by proof it shall appear that they were utterly mistaken, I hope that in the like hereafter your Lordships will suspend your censure, and conceive that there may be error as well in the informers as in me against whom they inform. How unwillingly at first I undertook this charge your Lordships are not ignorant; and how willingly I would forego it, I would to God that, by your Lordships’ favourable means, Her Majesty would make trial. Meanwhile, during my abode here, mine end is and shall be to do Her Majesty faithful service. Therein I will never fail. In judgment or ability otherwise, if I chance to fail, yet in regard of the burthen I sustain, which requireth all encouragement and

1600.

assistance, I beseech your Lordships to uphold me with your favourable support."—The Camp beyond the Newry, 1600, October 27.
Signed. pp. 2.

[Oct. 27.] **119.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I received your last letters the 27 of September, one of them written by you the 28 of August, the other the 15th of September, I being then in the camp at Fagarte [Faugher], and in such extremity of weather, as, believe me, Sir, I was scant able to write in my tent, which was ever wet, and often blown down; the continuance whereof, and the use of every parcel of fair weather, hath hindered me thus long from the duty I would so willingly have performed to your kind and honourable letters; for so, Sir, I beseech you to believe me that I do esteem them, and that I conceive myself extraordinarily beholden unto you, that out of your love, who can have no other respect unto me, it hath pleased you to shew yourself so careful to give me satisfaction. And although I am not able now in all things to explain myself unto you as I would, yet I doubt not but to make it appear unto you that my complaints have not arisen from only an idle melancholy, but out of a just[ly] conceived grief. And to begin with the first point of your first letter, I pray, Sir, think whether I had not reason to be grieved touching my particular, to find myself in many things barred off what hath belonged to all Deputies, since neither I nor most of my profession are much given to undervalue ourselves to others, as in that matter it pleaseth you to mention. If it hath been ever the use to allow the Deputies by concordatum the full charge of his transportations and carriages from London into Ireland, as by his officers it should in a particular account be delivered, not stinted unto any with other conditions than that they presumed it to be true, why should not I, by your favour, Sir, think myself less favoured than others, since I protest to my knowledge there was not one penny more delivered by my officers as disbursed for me than indeed it cost me. And if it somewhat exceed others, as you know in such things the times breed great alterations, yet, if it be true that my officers disbursed so much, and whatsoever hath been disbursed hath been ever allowed, I did not ask what I would, but what was due unto me; which, Sir, by your favour the Estate hath no reason to think unreasonable. But I think this unworthy to trouble you with, if I were not bound to make good my first complaint, which, as I still persuade myself, did arise upon just ground. And I will freely confess unto you what by many circumstances I began to conceive was the account held of me; for this was so far from being the only motive of my discontentment, that I found exceptions taken almost to all things of like nature concerning myself, either by my Lords' letters to myself, or by my Lords' to the Treasurer here, which he hath shewed me, with the particularities whereof I will not fill up this letter, but with more leisure send them, and the records what hath been here allowed to others in my place. And give me leave, Sir, to deal thus freely with you (though I protest I did never charge you in my thoughts any farther than perchance that you were not so careful of me as you would have been

1600.

of one that had deserved much better (*sic*) of you than I), that I was first sent hither, God knoweth, against my will, with the addition of no one favour concerning my particular, except it may be counted that it pleased Her Majesty to lend me 3,000[*l.*], when I spent that, and as much more, immediately and directly in her service. And here in general I must affirm it, for the particulars are too long, I found by all your directions, that I was still more and more disabled to pleasure any man with the ordinary means incident to my place, and the execution of all things displeasing to others imposed on me; whereby I should not only lose my friends, whom hitherto I had preserved affectionate unto me, but procure many enemies that, when I should again become a private man, as shortly I am likely to be, would be ready to contest with me for the least matter which themselves esteem an injury. In the meantime I found you by your despatches so far from making the best interpretation of my proceedings, of the which any man that lives in my place shall have great need, as I am charged with many things as faulty, wherein I know I have deserved well, as giving in that point the uttermost reformation that any industry in this place and at this time could. And lastly, I found my estate unable to bear the charge I was constrained to live at; so that, when out of all these, I had reason to conclude that I was likely to return with the loss of my friends, with many more enemies than I had, in displeasure with the Estate, and a beggar in my own ability, after all my labours, which as they are as great as any man's, so, Sir, you know I have not been thought heretofore for themselves to have taken any pleasure [in] them, I pray, Sir, be but an equal judge unto me in this case, whether I had not reason to complain of my fortune, if not of my friends. For I swear unto you by God that I think no man is more slow than myself to accuse their wills, but am rather given to impute it to an impossibility, to any man's power, to defend the chief actor upon this miserable stage from the tragedies fatal unto it. And this is no more than I did foresee, which made me so unwilling to come hither; and thus much I do now find, which maketh me so much desire to be rid of this thankless office, even with the poorest retreat that any corner of England will afford me. Neither can I, Sir, with you fall from this one point of my private to public matters, until I complain myself how much in the first matter of the public that you mention I do think myself unfortunate in my particular; as where you remember me of the hopeful arguments I have used to continue and increase the Queen's charge. I beseech you, Sir, to consider that, having this place imposed upon me, I took upon me therewith the duty of a faithful counsellor of this Estate; and it is true that I have written that if the Queen, according to the plot determined in England, had then lessened her forces, she should apparently hazard her kingdom, and that by the continuance of them I did hope for better success. But, Sir, I do not think that he that can justify his counsel, as I am sure I can against any statesman or soldier in the world, is to be charged with the success which so many circumstances may alter. For if I spake then as was fit, and as I thought and had good reason to think, I did no more than my duty and

1600.

allegiance required. If I have been deficient in making the uttermost use of this counsel, I confess I am to be condemned; but since in these motions, if I do not make them as often and as largely as I think the service requireth, I do not the duty of an honest man, how unpleasing soever they be, and yet do I receive such a burthen upon me that not my own sincerity or industry but fortune must discharge me of it. And if you think it impossible to end such a war as this in so short a time as by God, Sir, it is, except it be by chance (for so I call God's will, of the which before we see no apparent reason), and that no war can be maintained without charge, and such a war not without such a charge, what a miserable steward am I, that am by my mistress[s] expectation tied to keep a great house, yet must needs offend her with the faithful and careful expenses thereof, and of the which I see no possibility to diminish any material sum, without the unperforming that which she expects. And, Sir, where you have engaged yourself in the drawing Her Majesty to this charge, except you had thought it for the good of the cause, I know for my sake you would not have done it; and thinking it to be so, it was no more than the duty of such a counsellor. But if in this you have promised anything of me, that never yet have undertaken or promised anything of myself, if I deceive you in whatsoever industry or adventure can perform, or that I leave anything undone that can be justly proved was fit or possible to be done, then let me be accounted, as I will acknowledge myself, dishonest and unworthy. Believe me, Sir, even as I desire to be credited in anything, that I do affectionately love the President of Munster, that I desire the good success of that province as much as your own self can do; and by God, Sir, you may be sure of me, of what profession soever I be, to find me an honest, faithful man, and my disposition as far from any such unquietness or partiality, whereof you write, as any mortal man's. And so, Sir, I will omit all the rest of your first letter, being determined to perform whatsoever you direct in it.

"For the second, of the 15th of September, I beseech you, Sir, to give me leave, that willingly would see reason to do otherwise, to affirm still that my griefs had more substantial grounds than [I] would they had, not being moved by every conjectural bruit, but by the course I found held with me, and by the effect and very words of the Queen's letters and those from my Lords. It is true that their Lordships have done me the favour to let me know that Her Majesty was pleased with my proceedings, but both then from themselves and since by Her Majesty's own hand I find the contrary. Out of England, I protest, and especially from the Court, I think never man heard less, and except it be to yourself, I seldom write unto any, but, as I remember, to none but yourself of public matters; and am now much comforted to hear by you, more than I find by her own letter, that Her Majesty continueth her gracious opinion of me, which if she do still, I will little esteem those unreasonable creatures of both sexes that think I should be so omnipotent as to make a war without men or money. To excuse or make good unto you my complaint that I am not believed in public or private matters, I

1600.

am not able to give you now so full satisfaction as I know I can, because there is required unto it more circumstances than my little leisure will now give me leave to allege. But, to give you a taste of what I may say, where you say that neither my justice, discretion, nor endeavours have been taxed, I pray, Sir, remember that the chief subject of my Lords' later letters doth intimate injustice in my government; the words of Her Majesty's letters, no punishment inflicted upon the greatest offenders, no one Captain punished by me for anything, sufferance of Captains to corrupt and overawe Commissaries to entertain churls, and to discharge good men. And for my discretion, by remissness and lack of experience in me, things are not so well governed, and that it doth breed wonder in Her Majesty how I could slip into such errors. And, lastly, for my endeavours, most whereof have been journeys in my own person, and of the which I am able to give so good an account, as, if they had not been, nothing till this time had been done, it pleaseth their Lordships to admonish me, if not tax me, that the known journeys of Deputies take small effect, harrying the country with preparations, wasting victuals, tiring men, and leaving all in the estate it was; so that I doubt not but that it appears unto you in all these times I have been touched, of all which, except it be my want of discretion, which I confess, I know I can give very good satisfaction, and will make it appear that, as things then stood, I have made no one journey but of greater consequence than anything else [which] at that time could have been done. For the complaints preferred by the Lord of Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell, I had a copy of them almost verbatim, except in matter of form, before I ever saw or desired to see this kingdom; so that from my government they did not arise. But I will prove that in abuses of the like nature I have given more reformation and restitution than hath been ever in many years before me. Sir, as it pleased you to desire me, I have again read over my Lords' letters, and do not only find in them such and so many imputations, as I protest I think, if ever posterity shall read them, they will think me the most dissolute Governor, unto whom ever any such charge was committed; but do find by experience that they have given heart to some to exult over me, unto others contempt, and to myself so great a diffidence in your favours, that I must be either timorous to adventure anything, or desperate of my own fortune; and, without venturing even to incur somewhat that may fall out to be hardly censured by you, there is less good to be done for the Estate, although more safety for the Deputy. And for my fellow Councillors, most of them do only lie at defence to save themselves harmless, some of them to entrap me, but none of them (which once more I will be bold to write unto you, although herein I persuade myself, Sir, that you do not much believe me), from whom I receive any manner of assistance to make this war as it should be, or as I have hitherto made it. Only some of them, that have gone long round in this kingdom like mill-horses, may tell me the form of the circle they have trod in, but I protest I think no men are more deceived touching the true estate of this kingdom and nature of this war than they are. And I could never yet receive so much benefit by any of their

1600.

experiences, as to receive the true nature of any ground or passage to fight on, until with my own eyes I had seen it.

“What I did write of projectors and informers, I do conceive that all your dislikes of my government have arisen from their false informations, which, Sir, give me leave to fear that you have so suddenly believed before you had well examined, led by the prejudice you have of these young Captains, as they term them, though most of them are older than Alexander was when he had conquered all the world, and my being led by young counsel, which I hear hath been much intimated to you. But, Sir, for my chiefest complaint and chiefest error, if I had not cause to complain, that by your expectations I was tied to a miserable journey, and to have neither money nor victuals to perform it. I confess I meant the journey to Armagh, which I propounded myself, and therefore [was] the rather tied unto it by your just expectations. But the men coming over later than I looked for, the time of the year made it miserable, and, having neither money nor victuals, impossible. Yet I appeal to your own consciences, when you have been at a great charge, and by any means are frustrate of the effect, how seldom he that should have been the executioner doth not bear a great part of the blame. And then seeing this journey likely to be overthrown, both in respect of the Estate that to this effect had sent the men, of my own honour that had such an interest in it, and of the construction I feared you would make [of] it, if I had not been moved, I had been a stoic, and if not exceedingly moved, at the least a Stoic. And having thus explained myself, I pray, Sir, do but consider how well it may cohere, that I propounded the plantation of Armagh, and yet complained that I was by your expectations tied to perform it in a time of the year that I meant not to do it, and with intolerable difficulties must perform it, and without such means as made it possible to be accomplished. And where it may be alleged that I did not foretell you of our wants, whereby you might provide for them, I have always written that in this country there is no service to be done no longer than we have both victual and money, since the forces must be presently driven to seek means where they must live and not do service. And for this particular service of Armagh, I told Sir Geoffrey Fenton, before his going over, that he and Mr. Beverley being in England, they could better inform their Lordships what was fit to be done for the present than we; unto whose discretion and experience of all things I did commit that and many things, as also divers things touching mine own particular, in all which he hath much deceived my expectation.

“For Lough Foyle, the interest I have in the success thereof doth only arise from my nomination of the Governor, which I did out of the opinion, that I held and still hold, that he was one of the most sufficient men for that place that was thought of. If they die by sickness, it is no more than all the world feared, and most men held for certain. And then, if he had been more active, and spent less time in provision to preserve them, it may by the sequel be feared that more men would have perished, and perchance the plantation thereby utterly lost. The loss of the horses might have happened to the greatest Captain in the world, for no people are so

1600.

cunning as these, nor no superior officer's care can sufficiently provide for it. But I will leave the account of his government to himself, who I hope will give you better satisfaction, and have already written to him and Sir John Bolles, and already cassed at Lough Foyle 860 foot and 150 horse, and will, as soon as I can, reduce them to the list you desire.

"That Sir Arthur O'Neill is discontented, it is no wonder, for even the best of this people are in their nature little better than devils, and out of their extreme pride and overvaluing of themselves are never satisfied. The reason of his discontentment ariseth, as I hear, because he hath but half pay for such as are allowed him in entertainment. For my own part, I am sure I have presented him with above the value of a hundred marks, for the which I never gave myself a concordatum, as Sir John Perrot did for giving his old gown to Sir Arthur's father. But believe me, Sir, you were never to look for any great matters from Lough Foyle till it were thoroughly planted, and never to have it thoroughly planted without extreme care and provision. I think it be true that Neale Garve is come in. Sir Arthur O'Neill [is] at Strabane, and I hope you shall shortly hear better news from thence. I have most reason to complain of the little stirring or effect of Lough Foyle, that have lost the use of 4,000 men that the Justices had all the last winter, when they victualled the castle of Dublin for fear to be beseiged, and one thousand more than was wont to be in Munster, and yet have now all the rebels of all those parts upon me; for with Tyrone in the Moyerie, beside all the force he had of his own and these borders, he had with him men from O'Donnell, O'Cahan, James McSorley, and from all those parts; and all the bonnaughts of Munster, and Desmond himself, are come in or near unto the borders of Leinster. Sir, touching the speeches uttered of your care of Munster and neglect of us, if you dare trust me or believe me, let me desire you not to trouble yourself till you hear from me again, and adventure to commit to my secrecy, if you think I love you, the accuser and the accused, and I think I shall discover unto you truly somewhat that you may make good use of to know. In the meantime, by the eternal God, I never heard so much spoken to that effect as I have heard at the Council Table, and by those most that do or should love you best; and by the same protestation I vow that if I observe in you an extraordinary care to that province, I do not condemn it, though we should do much more service if we had the like. Which since it cannot be for all places, I protest I do not grudge at what you do for that, but wish the prosperity of the Governor and government as to myself and mine own. Yet, Sir, I pray give me leave to assure you of this that, if the army be decreased, Munster must spare us some men, or we shall do nothing here, and perchance suffer much.

"Where you have been informed that I have given leave to Sir Henry Dockwra to dispose companies as they fall, believe me, on my honour, it is false; for my Lord President [s], the first company that ever fell, I gave at his request to his cousin Harvey, and since, as I remember, I never gave any; but I am sure I do nothing there without his consent. And now, Sir, having taken this time, the while our soldiers are cutting down the wood in the Moyerie, for all

1600.

their works we have defaced and been through all the pass, to satisfy you that I was not only humorously melancholy at the last writing of my letters, having, as I think, given a reasonable account for it, though the greatest cause (these being joined with it) I must and ever will keep to myself, I will only conclude this, that, I was never unthankful unto any, nor never will be unto you; that, howsoever I should miscontrue you, I had no reason to contest with you in policy, except I did love and desire to love you. For I renounce my hope of salvation if I conceive one other friend that I have in England to trust to or build on but my own sincerity, which you know, Sir, in these times is but a poor help; and for yourself, I do think you of more power to hinder or favour where you will than any subject. Yet I will never either dishonestly lose you, or basely seek to keep you. But if you will now add the most I can or will desire to your favours, employ your power to deliver me speedily of this kingdom for ever, or at the least procure me leave for some short time, which I will choose when it shall nothing hinder this service. And, Sir, because I fear nothing more in this world than to be driven to become a beggarly suitor at the Court, while I venture my life here, let me not utterly ruin my poor estate, which I protest I think I shall if I continue here, and have already sold almost 200*l.* by the year since my first undertaking this journey. For your favours in procuring passage to my demands of men, from henceforwards I beseech you, Sir, give me leave that I will acknowledge no particular obligation. For while I am still here, I will make my demands in that nature as I shall think myself tied by my duty. But it shall be all one to me whether they be granted or no, since by my desire to do my country service therein, I draw so great a burthen upon myself. And now, Sir, having eased much of my melancholy to you, and wreaked a great part of my choler on Tyrone, with whom we have made as hot frays as ever were made in Ireland, I refer all other things to our public despatches."

[*Postscript.*]—"Sir, I received certain extracts of letters sent by you to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and for the order you expect I should have given to the President to cass some companies to be otherwise employed, I had long before given directions and authority for it. For diminution of the army, I have already at Lough Foyle and here cassed above one thousand foot and 150 horse, and do mean presently to cass one thousand more. That Her Majesty doth not much approve my service I have heard, and have some reason to fear so much. But I protest I have not been told by any that you have done me ill offices. And for the memorial you send me that harvest is done, I pray, Sir, remember that it was done before the forces came hither, so that I had no help of them to effect what I hoped for. Insomuch that in the north, where their harvest is more backward almost by a month than in other parts, they had gathered in all, though it were not ripe, for fear I would take the like course with them I had done in other parts. But although in my letters I do often speak as I think and hope, yet if I should think you would understand them as things confidently undertaken by me, I shall be more wary hereafter what I write. Sir, I received a letter, written long since, but even now from Mr. Michael

1600.

Stanhope, wherein I understand by him your extraordinary favour to me in all things, and particularly in your determination to stay the Stannery, which belike Sir Walter Raleigh doth part from for me. I cannot but acknowledge it as an exceeding argument of your love, as for a thing that I have ever and now do much desire; and if you think it may be conveniently procured for me without your greater trouble, you shall much bind me therein unto you, as you have already done in many things.”—[1600, October 27.] *Holograph.* pp. 11.

Oct. 27.
Dublin.

120. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “In my last of the 20th of this month, I wrote to you that I would send up an Irish priest to discover what Neale Garve O'Donnell had done in those parts, who accordingly, being returned hitherward as far as the borders of the Brenny, hath sent unto me this morning these particular advertisements enclosed, by which your Honour may perceive that Neale Garve is absolutely revolted from O'Donnell to us, hath taken Castle Lifford, and planted a garrison of English in it, and hath wrought Sir John O'Dogherty to be one of the party, though for some respects he doth forbear as yet to declare himself. This revolt will alter greatly the affairs of Ulster in those parts, where, if Sir Henry Dockwra do follow his advantage, I see not but Tyrone and O'Donnell will both be exceedingly puzzled. And where the priest writeth that Sir Art O'Neill is dead, that can be no great hindrance to the common cause, but rather a benefit to Her Majesty, for that she is discharged of a great allowance made to him and his in his lifetime. So as, though he be taken away, yet God hath supplied us with a more fit and requisite man to serve Her Majesty's turn, which is Neale Garve; in whom there can be no danger of relapse, for that at his coming in he hath drawn much blood of O'Donnell's faction, and hath taken the Lifford, which is the principallest key of his country, next to Ballyshannon. Out of this revolt of Neale Garve your Honour may see how God doth work for Her Majesty, while the army of Lough Foyle being reduced to such a weakness, as out of the whole forces 800 strong were not able to be drawn, which was enough to cross the coming in of any of the Irish, yet in that poor estate God hath turned the hearts of two principal men to fall from their side and join with Her Majesty; which no doubt doth more astonish the whole confederates of the north than if 1,000 of them had fallen by the edge of the Queen's sword.

“Touching the matter of Leinster, the Earl of Ormonde remaineth still at the Naas, advertising the State of many threatening preparations made by the traitors to invade the Pale, and of his weakness to resist them, by reason of the diminution of the companies left under his charge. But whether these alarms will prove dumb shows, or matters indeed, the event must try it; yet, whatsoever may be the sequel, I hope it will quicken us to do something, who since the Lord Deputy's departure to the north have done little more than ‘to crye ayme.’ I have sent your Honour herewith the copy of the list of the companies under his charge, the same being sent hither by his Lordship, by which your Honour

1600.

may see how mightily Her Majesty is abused in the numbers of her men, a malady which I fear will not be cured till a course be set to reduce the discipline of the army to a more severity, the project and direction whereof must come from thence, under Her Majesty's precise authority.

"The Lord Deputy is passed to the Newry with the army, from whence I hope his Lordship will march to Armagh, to settle a force there; and at his return I wish the companies in Leinster might be drawn to a head to meet him at the mouth of the Moyerie, the more to secure his retreat. To which end I have now written to his Lordship, humbly advising him to consider of it, as a matter of great consequence, for that the army he hath there, being the countenance and security of the realm, if it should receive a disaster it would put in hazard the whole estate of the kingdom."—Dublin, 1600, October 27. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

Encloses:—

120. i. "*Advertisements out of Fermanagh sent to Sir Geffrey Fenton.*"—1600, October 22.

"*That Neale Garce O'Donnell and his men, in a drunken fury upon an old grudge, murdered one Naughten O'Donnell, Neale's own uncle, a man of great authority with O'Donnell and all his country. Whereupon Neale, fearing O'Donnell's revenge at his return from Thomond and Connaught (whither he and O'Rourke were gone to make a prey), withdrew himself, his creaghts and followers, into a strong corner of the country belonging to Sir John O'Dogherty. There he procured Sir John to be of his faction, and so they both stood out upon their guard in a neutrality betwixt our forces and O'Donnell. And in this interim they surprised Strabane, carried away the pillage and quit the pile, where (it is commonly reported) they slew Henry Orlington, but of that no certainty known as yet, and then Neale Garce went and took the Lifford, which is now possessed by a garrison of the English.*

"*O'Donnell being on his way to Connaught, hearing of this hurly-burly at home, retired with all speed, and in his way, at Ballymote or thereabouts, took O'Connor Sligo prisoner, fearing he should be of this conspiracy with Neale Garce and Sir John O'Dogherty. He is gone down along (sic) to see how he can compose this quarrel.*

"*O'Donnell wrote to Tyrone, charging him with many oversights, that he lay too long at the Moyerie, that he spent his munition, lost his best men, and wasted his victuals there to no purpose; that it had been better for him to have suffered the Deputy to have passed without impeach, for so he might have fought with him far from home, where the extremity of the weather would have been enemy sufficient to overthrow his whole army, had he not been encountered within a place so near to all supplements of new succours of men, fresh victuals from the Pale, and safe retiring places at his pleasure. Besides, at his return, after he had placed and planted his garrisons, and thereby distracted his forces, it had been an easy matter to have distressed him.*

"*Upon these reasons Tyrone returned to Dungannon, and there is drawing all the forces he can possibly raise into one head,*

1600.

and is fully resolved to hazard his whole fortunes upon this last cast, either to lose all, or forestall the Lord Deputy's return. Whether these be brags or no, your worship can best judge, but surely they be very confident. God for his mercy's sake confound them." Unsigned. pp. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.

120. ii. "*A certificate sent to the Council by the Earl of Ormonde, touching the strength of the foot companies remaining at the Naas, Athy, and in Offally; dated 24 October, 1600.*" Unsigned. p. 1.

Oct. 28.
Camp beyond
the Newry.

121. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and some of the Council to the Privy Council. "As we do think ourselves bound in duty to propound unto your Lordships whatsoever we shall conceive to be fit for the service of this kingdom, so have we heretofore by our letters and by Sir Geoffrey Fenton moved the plantation of Armagh, as a garrison of great consequence, and, as we had then reason to think, of little difficulty to be performed, since the diversion of the traitors' forces, which we might justly then expect from Lough Foyle, would have given us a passage with small opposition. Yet as we then signified unto your Lordships by the experience of the former journey into these parts, we should have need of more men to guard the Pale in our absence, some help of carriages, whereof we found so great want in the former journey, and such provisions of victuals and money as might enable us to make the uttermost and a present use of Her Majesty's forces; and further, that these supplies might be sent us in such season as we might in the time of harvest, and in many places at once, make as near as we could a general prosecution. But it pleased God that first, by the contrariety of the winds, the supplies were detained till the year grew farther spent than with convenience any great matter could be undertaken; that, after they were arrived, we had no manner of means of victual or money to carry them on; and that, lastly, it pleased God so to disable the garrison of Lough Foyle with mortality and sickness, that the Traitor with his uttermost forces was free to attend us, and to that purpose possessed himself of the Moyerie, a passage in our way to Armagh, and had time therein to do whatsoever industry could add to the natural strength of the place. Wherein these barbarous people had far exceeded their custom and our expectation; yet desirous that there should be nothing wanting in us that might make the uttermost use of Her Majesty's charge and preparations, after we had spent the best part of the time that was left us in borrowing with much ado some little money and making provision for victuals, we set forward the 15th of the last month, and the 20th encamped at the hill of Faugher close by the rebels. Where we continued till the 9th of this month in such extremity of weather, as, if no enemy had withstood our passage, yet for the rising of the waters we could not have gone forward. But in the meantime, whensoever the weather gave us leave, we fought with the rebels in their greatest fastness, and made them know that their fortifications, though very great, were not the hindrance of our passage. Wherein it hath pleased God to give us so good success as having two several days beaten them out

1600.

of their trenches, and taken such spoil of them as they left, and having divers other times maintained fight with them to their great loss, at length they left the passage clear unto us; and the 22nd of this month, after we had somewhat refreshed the army at Dundalk and thereabouts, and gathered together some poor supply of garrans for carriage, and had also laid their great works down flat to the ground, and cut down some parts of the woods on both sides of the pass, we encamped three miles beyond the Newry, where yet we remain. The particularities of all which former service, because I, the Deputy, have delivered to Sir Oliver St. Johns to be imparted to your Lordships, we will now forbear to enlarge. Our desire is to leave no part of Her Majesty's expectation unsatisfied, as far forth as it shall lie in our power to perform it; and therefore we have resolved, first, to fortify in the midway between the Newry and Armagh, in a place convenient, and of itself of little less consequence than that of Armagh, besides the means it will give to victual that garrison (when it shall be planted) without an army, and afterwards to proceed in the main plantation, if our means shall enable us. For we find it necessary to leave some strength in the midway, which hereafter at all times may secure the convoys of victual from the Newry to Armagh. And at this time, in case the difficulties we find should hinder our planting there in such sort as is expected, yet this fort we now intend to raise may with the help of the Newry (which upon all occasions may join with them) work the same effect as the garrison at Armagh itself might do.

"These are our purposes, my Lords; but withal, the difficulties we are to strive with are so many and so great, as if through irresistible necessity we fail of this latter (for the former we hope to accomplish) yet we doubt not but your Lordships will rather approve the forwardness of our resolution than condemn the default of our success. For even from our first setting forward we have been scantily provided of victuals, partly because the proportion contracted for by your Lordships in England was for the most part stayed on that side by contrary winds; and, part of it being arrived here, and presently shipped away as it came for Dundalk and Carlingford, not to be issued before the 14th of the last, we found at our coming that what was arrived there was in great part already spent, because the treasure which should have furnished that garrison with means was likewise stayed by contrary winds, so as they were constrained to eat beforehand into the provision reserved for the army, and we to send for some quantity of victuals by small convoys from Carlingford, and to live (as it were) from hand to mouth. Now, although we understand that many ships of victuals are arrived at Dublin since our coming thence, and many in a readiness to come hitherwards for relief of the army, yet few of them have been able to reach to Dundalk or Carlingford by reason of contrary winds; and those which we left in the bay of Dundalk, with direction to come presently to Carlingford, have been stayed there already these ten days, and how long we shall expect their coming is uncertain. So as now being here, we are constrained to send for our victuals from the ships there, with great trouble and danger through the Moyerie,

1600.

as before, being there, we were fain to send for them from hence by the way of Carlingford. Another impediment there is, that the materials for building, together with the masons and carpenters sent from Dublin the 11th of the last month, lie yet imbayed before Dundalk, without which it is not possible to plant thoroughly at Armagh; to say nothing of that general want of garrans for carriage, which in all our journeys is now so usual, as we shall hereafter find it strange, if at any time we be sufficiently furnished in that kind. Besides all these difficulties, we understand that the Traitor hath already long since eaten up all the grass thereabouts, so as we shall hardly find so much food for our horses as to keep them while we encamp about it; much less can we leave any horse there, and without horse the benefit of that garrison will not be great. If through these impediments, which it lieth not in our power to remove, together with the season of the year so far spent, our resolutions be overthrown, we hope notwithstanding to give your Lordships some good account of service to be done in Leinster. In the mean time, we assure your Lordships that, since the beginning of this war, Her Majesty's forces have not been employed to better purpose, nor the Traitor received so great a blow, having lost 500 men (as we understand) by the general report of all men, and the rebels themselves in the most parts of Ireland terming it their great overthrow. Neither hath it passed without blood on our side, for in all these services we have some fifty killed and 200 hurt or thereabouts, of whom, through the favour of God, and the careful attendance which hath been given them for their cure, fifteen only have miscarried. I, the Deputy, do purpose forthwith upon my return to abate Her Majesty's charge by reducing the list with the most speedy and convenient means I can devise. To which end I had, before my coming from Dublin, given order to Sir Henry Dockwra for the casting of divers companies there, and sithence have again directed him the like for others, amounting in the whole to 800 foot and 150 horse, and thereout to raise a company of 100 foot to Captain Covert, according to your Lordships' directions, and 50 horse to Sir John Bolles, whom your Lordships have likewise recommended unto me for some increase of entertainment. In these parts I have already discharged two companies, and mean to discharge presently 1,000 men more, and in all things will conform myself to that which I shall perceive to be most for the good of Her Majesty's service, and most answerable to your Lordships' directions."—The camp beyond the Newry, 1600, October 28. *Those who sign with the Lord Deputy are, Sir [Richard] Wingfield, Sir Robert Gardener, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir Francis Stafford. Seal. pp. 4.*

[Oct. 28.]

122. *Document endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "A Journal of the Lord Deputy's into the north."*

"The northern journey and plantation of a garrison at Armagh was intended to be undertaken immediately upon my Lord his return from beating the rebels in Offally; and indeed, had not winds and other such impediments hindered the appointed coming of treasure, men, and victuals out of England, his Lordship had

1600.

much more seasonably entered this journey before his going into Leix, where notwithstanding in the meantime he did singular good service, having before thoroughly instructed the State how to expedite all preparations for the northern journey, and resolving to return from Leix, upon any notice of the arrival of his means out of England, how fair occasion soever should be presented to entertain him further.

“At his return to Dublin, which was before the treasure and victual was come, my Lord understanding that the Traitor was already known to be lodged in the woods of the Moyerie, and had confidently undertaken to maintain that passage against him, proclaiming to the world that, if he were now beaten thence, he would ever after give our army the way, and never dispute any fastness in Ireland against Her Majesty’s forces; and that to this end he had not only with unaccustomed art and industry fortified that ground, which in itself is the best and most advantageous for their manner of fight which all Ireland affordeth, but had also drawn from all his partisans their best men, even from the remotest parts of all the north; these considerations animated my Lord to prosecute his intention without all intermission, even before your provision of money and victual for that purpose came to hand; insomuch as giving order for the sending of such victuals as were then remaining in store, and of munition and materials for building to Dundalk and Carlingford, he supplied as well as he could the want of present money with borrowing of the towns and private men, and hoping of the wind’s speedy favour for the rest, he set forth of Dublin the 15th of September, and appointed the rendezvous of his army at Dundalk the 17th of the same; a place where from the town walls he might easily see the Traitor’s troops of horse and foot on the hill of Faugher, about two miles off the town, and within a quarter of a mile of the entrance of the pass, which leadeth through the woods of the Moyerie to the Newry. Thence their horse, discovering the plains between them and Dundalk, would oftentimes at full sea (being then free from the danger of a sally, by reason that the river is at that time not fordable) fall down close to the ports to recover some poor garran or sheep. But his Lordship, impatient to see the muster so near him, and especially foreseeing that by lodging thereabouts they would devour the grass, whereof he purposed to prevail [*sic*; avail] himself, dislodged the 20th, and marched towards the pass, with under 3,000 foot and less than 300 horse. And howbeit he might very commodiously have encamped somewhat farther off from their fastness, where his lodging had been less subject to the weather, his fuel to have been gotten at an easier price, his guards not half so strong, and the danger of their ambushes by day and alarums by night far less, yet, finding these reasons overbalanced by greater respects, his Lordship chose rather to sit down upon the hill of Faugher close unto the skirt of that wood which leadeth towards their entrenchments, the first of them not being past a very little half mile distant from the market place of our camp, where he was in expectation to fight for every stick of wood, and almost for his water, to keep his night guards of horse close home to their scouts, with only a little ford between them, to beat

1600.

and discover a good distance round about the camp, after the discharging of the watch every day, before the hazarding of one horse to grass. By accosting them so near he reaped this chief benefit, that no one hour of fair weather was lost without attempting something upon them, nor the least occasion omitted that might draw on a skirmish, the better to acquaint our men in less faction with the fight of the northern rebel, whom they had seldom tasted in later times but to their cost, and therefore most necessary to make them more confident in giving on, and more assured and orderly in coming off, ere we should hazard so great a rest as must have been set up in attempting to force him in gross and in his greatest strength. In our march from Dundalk we might see their greatest squadrons both of horse and foot range over the highest tops of the Moyerie hills, having only sent down some fifty or sixty horse to coast us somewhere near, rather to view the army or cut off some poor straggler than to entertain the offers of a skirmish, which they always refused, quitting to us without dispute all the grounds between the town and our lodging, until, the camp being pitched, order was given to Sir Oliver St. John to take out of every regiment eighty men, with whom he fell into the woods at the mouth of the pass, which were nearest for provision of fuel. Here the enemy seemed willing to draw on a round skirmish, but finding after two hours' experience that our men were fully resolved to fight for their lodgings, and purchase themselves cabins and fire, how dearly soever they paid, they contented themselves with loss of many good rogues, [and] amongst others is named as remarkable one of the O'Neills; of ours some few hurt, and amongst the rest William Lovell, brother to Sir Robert Lovell, serving very daringly, was shot in the face. No other man of note was touched. That night they bestowed divers volleys of shot into our camp, but, belike finding that to have wrought small effect, did forbear to trouble us in that kind for a long time after.

"The 21, some of their horse came down close to our camp, hoping to have drawn our men into an ambush which they had cunningly laid, but the fruit they reaped of this device was good sound knocks, so as they have small reason to brag of their winning. But seeing the occasions are almost infinite which are wont to draw on light encounters, when armies willing and well resolved to fight and [sic? are] so near neighbours, I will henceforth forbear to be troublesome with the particular relation of our journal factions, noting but in few words what hath been specially remarkable in our days of hottest fight.

"The grounds which they possessed were such as might discover every corner of our quarter, giving them advantage to dispute our least errors; and, when the weather gave us leave, we spared no pains to climb the rocks and mountains, dispossessing them of so fair a prospect. And I may truly say, had the season been more favourable to our attempts, we should have made them weary of our neighbourhood and enforced them to quit that lodging before they did; which was indeed our greatest fear, for, seeing the waters were yet unpassable, and our provisions and means not yet arrived, the conveniency of our lodging better anywhere than at the Newry,

1600.

nothing could happen more agreeable to our desires than to make the war upon them there where with greatest difficulty he might sustain them, as here, where he cannot without great pain hold his men together, having drawn them far from their homes, made them endure a great deal of penury, undergo a huge labour, merely with this confident assurance, to give them the killing and pillaging of this army, wherein now by experience having found themselves deluded, they are utterly discouraged, especially to see themselves beaten in their greatest strength, whereby we have gotten, and they at one self-same instant lost, both heart and reputation. They do both grieve and wonder to see our men more patient than accustomed in suffering with constancy the injury of the tempestuous weather, such as they had thought impossible for the hardest among us to have endured. They found we had resolved and made our preparation to have forced the passage against them, foot after foot by way of approach, as towns are carried, [for] that they had been as diligent in the defence as industrious in making these repairs. Neither could it have been much amiss, though our fights had been redoubled, seeing we find by experience that, for the most part, for every one of ours we lost they lost four or five, as did evidently appear in divers of our sound skirmishes.

“First, the 25th of September, in the afternoon, when taking the advantage of an exceeding great mist, which kept them from discovering the drawing out of our troops into arms, the Lord Deputy resolved to attempt to force their trenches, and to taste them thoroughly both of what matter and strength they were, and how well the rogues durst defend them.

“But first, it may be observed in what sort the way lay between them and us. From the fall of the hill of the Faughar, whereon we lodged (as I said before), being a little half mile from the first entrenchment in the Moyerie, there arose northwards two other great mountains or rocks with equal ascent, the one of the right hand, the other of the left, their tops being distant more than a musket shot the one from the other, which were those mountains where they usually shewed themselves. In the midst between them lay the way through the woods of the Moyerie, on all sides naturally fenced with stony cliffs and thick bushes and trees, even to the Three Mile Water or ford, which the Traitor had chiefly undertaken to maintain, and to that end had made three several barricadoes or trenches at culiver shot distance, flanked from higher ground on the left hand with other rocks, which were also fortified, from which as well as from the trenches he might annoy the assailants with shot, which he had placed there very thick. Captain Williams, to whom my Lord gave the leading of a forlorn hope consisting of a hundred choice men out of several companies, together with Sir Robert Lovell, Captain Jephson, Captain Roper, and Captain Orrell, as voluntaries, and other troops for seconds, passing this way and falling upon the enemy's sentinels upon a sudden (for it was a very great mist), brake into the trenches which they had made, crossed the highway, and forced both the two guards they kept in that place. The rebels presently quit their trenches and left their arms behind them, which our men took, killing some

1600.

of them as they ran away, and with like success advanced forthwards and entered their second trenches, being some six or seven score paces off from the former, and of greater strength, killing divers of the rogues and taking the spoil of their arms and victuals, as oat-meal, butter, and such like. We had no purpose, as I suppose, from the beginning to hold those trenches, because, although the way had been clear, there was not yet any means to pass the fords, and by trial we found that all the ground thereabouts was almost as strong for the Traitor as the trenches themselves. Whereupon having taken this view of their trenches, and made this experiment how well they would maintain them, Captain Williams and his men, being so commanded, came off, and the rogues presently possessing the places he left, entertained skirmish with him, and in the meantime, falling down from other parts of the mountains, they maintained a hot fight with the rear and the wings, which were left to make the retreat. Captain Williams and the voluntaries with him behaved themselves very gallantly. Of our men about seven were killed, and about thirty hurt; of the rebel, as it is reported out of their own camp, about a hundred and twenty.

“Five or six days following, by reason of the extreme wind and rain, which was such that his Lordship’s tent and divers others were blown down, there was no great fight, but Connor Roe Maguire his son, whom the Traitor kept as a pledge, escaped and came to the camp that day to his father.

“The 2 of October, upon a sudden and unexpected, there was one of the greatest fights that hath been seen in Ireland, the occasion whereof was this. The rebels, after the forcing of their trenches for the first time, had reviled our men, as their manner is, calling them cowards for stealing on them in the mist, and asking why they came not again to the trenches, where they should find them better provided to receive them. And this day holding up somewhat fair some of their horsemen coming near to our scouts about dinner time, asked when the churls would have dined and come to the trenches. Immediately after dinner his Lordship caused all the companies to be in arms, with intent to muster them; but the rebels from the hill, seeing us in arms, drew down in a bravery, horse and foot, towards our camp, so near that, finding one of Sir Henry Folliott’s men straggling in the farm hard by them, [they] gave him almost twenty wounds. Hereupon our men by commandment presently fell out upon them, with direction at the first only to beat them from the tops of those mountains into their trenches, and so to make their retreat. But finding them ready to entertain skirmish on all sides, and not to give way, as their manner is sometimes to do, to gain more advantage, they were commanded to give home to their trenches, and to force them, which accordingly they did, and possessed them a good while, maintaining fight with the rogues in their greatest strength almost four hours together, at what time, been commanded off, our men made a gallant and orderly retreat. My Lord Deputy having made his stand of horse upon the top of the rock on the right hand, at his first coming up had a gentleman of his, called John St. George, being hard by him, mortally wounded, whereof he died. In general our men served exceeding

1600.

bravely ; in particular, Sir Oliver Lambert, Serjeant-Major, who in the entrance of the first trench was shot through the body, but is now recovered ; Sir Thomas Burke, who forced two of the trenches very gallantly, and was lightly hurt in the ankle ; Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, being three miles off when the fight began, came [in] time enough to receive a bullet in his body ; Captain Harvey and Captain Gainsford, two very worthy officers of the field, sore wounded. Captain Anthony Rush, a valiant gentleman, and three voluntaries, were killed ; and so were Willis, Lieutenant to Sir Francis Stafford, and Jackson, Lieutenant to Captain Blaney, two very gallant men. There were hurt, the Lieutenant and Ensign of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and the Lieutenant of Captain Cawfield. Sir Henry Folliot, who commanded the regiment of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Samuel Bagenall, and Sir Richard Morrison, with their troops, maintained the hottest of the fight, and being pressed by the enemy, Sir William Godolphin, with some few of my Lord's horse, charged right seasonably, although the ground were very unfit for horsemen to charge on, where he had his horse stricken under him stark dead with a blow on the forehead, that the blood sparkled into his face and some of the powder of the shot. Sir Henry Davers, who commanded the horse, brought on the horse to serve in that uneven ground, where never horse served. Maguire and his son did the like ; his son killed two of the rogues with his own hands. Among all these Sir Henry Folliott carried himself most resolutely. Many other particular Captains did exceedingly well, as Sir John Barkley, Captains Esmond, Bodley, Roper, Orrell, Constable, and Rainscroft. During their fight the carriages were seen to march away, they were so near to an utter overthrow. The horse, where the Archtraitor himself was, kept aloof on the other side of the ford. Of ours there were slain, besides those before named, about 20, and of the rogues, as since we have learned (though they be cunning in hiding their losses as any people in the world) between three and four hundred. Themselves do call this day's work their great overthrow. Two days after the fight, the O'Reillys came to the traitor, and finding they came too short to the first skirmish, they tore their glibbs for anger, but Tyrone bade them not doubt but they should have fighting enough.

"The fifth being the only fair day we had since we encamped, his Lordship drew out the forces, and appointed Sir Charles Percy to march with his regiment to the top of the left rock, and Sir Oliver St. John with his to second them. The rebels having entertained skirmish with Sir Charles Percy a long time to their loss, and perceiving him advanced so forthward that Sir Oliver St. John could not so soon come up unto him by reason of the 'steepynes and raggednes' of the ground, came on resolutely in a gross body contrary to their use, above 300, to charge Sir Charles Percy in front and on both sides at once ; who, nevertheless, having but 230 men in his regiment, charged the rebels on every side, until the wings, which Sir Oliver St. John sent unto his succour, were come up unto him. Twelve of the rebels were killed dead in the place ; they had one of their principal men slain, Connor Roe McPrior. In this retreat they never followed our men in the rear, which is usually the time

1600.

they are most busy in. Sir Robert Lovell, charging in the head of the squadron, was shot with two bullets, and presently Brewrton, Lieutenant to Sir Oliver St. John, was also slain. Captain Williams, Captain Rowe, and Captain Treavor behaved themselves very gallantly that day. In all those fights the precise loss the enemy had we heard but from amongst them. It is reported by some 800, [by] none under 400, and the general report is 500. Of ours about fifty killed, and 200 hurt, of whom there are not yet above fifteen dead of their hurts.

"The day following, the weather holding up somewhat fair in the afternoon, his Lordship caused the troops to draw up towards the trenches, to see what stomach the rogues had to fight, but they made little countenance, and bestowed less shot upon us. A day or two after my Lord withdrew the army to Dundalk and Bedlowstown. Thence Sir Samuel Bagenall returned to the Newry, at which time the Traitor with his forces drew down to wait on him in his march, but my Lord also directed forth some 500 foot and his own company of horse to countenance his retreat, which caused the Traitor to look on and not offer so much as one shot. The 14th of October his Lordship understood of the Traitor's departure from the Moyerie to Lough Lurken, and the breaking up of his forces.

"In the course of these services it may be observed that the good effects thereof hath in all parts presently appeared, and hath held some in better terms than otherwise it is likely they would have continued [in]; namely, Donnell Spainagh, of whom his Lordship hath in this meantime understood from the Council at Dublin that he hath carried himself more submissively than was expected at his hands. To other it hath given spirit to attempt upon the rebel, as Maguire's son, of whom it is advertised that he hath gotten together in Fermanagh 300 men, and fought with Cormack, the Traitor's brother, and taken his only son Art Oge prisoner, and slain 100 of his men. Likewise, Neale Garve of the O'Donnells hath taken the castle of Lifford, O'Donnell's house, where he remaineth with five English companies with him. Since the taking whereof it is reported he hath fought twice with O'Donnell, and slain his brother and above 200 of his men. In general, all the rebels are exceedingly dismayed and scattered; in particular, Tyrone himself is so jealous of his own safety, as he lieth not two nights together in one place, nor suffereth any but chosen trusty men to be about him, nor eateth nor drinketh anything but in fear and suspicion."—[*Without date, but these are doubtless the "particularities" mentioned in the preceding letter of the 28th of October, as having been delivered to Sir Oliver St. John.*] pp. 7.

Oct. 28.
The Camp.

123. Captain Nicholas Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 12th (*sic*) of September, my Lord Deputy departed [from] Dublin towards Ulster, and made his rendezvous at Dundalk the Saturday following. His Lordship entered the field, and encamped at a chapel called Faugher, within a quarter of a mile or less of the first barricado of the pass next adjoining, where we found three barriadoes, one within less than a culiver shot of another. About a mile or more past that there was two more made, which were the strongest of all the rest, called in the Irish *Bollen Clare*, and [in]

1600.

the English, the Four Mile Water, by reason that it is the middle way betwixt the Newry and Dundalk. The first three barricadoes had a mount that commanded them all three, beside, on each side, certain short shrub woods, that was not easy for swine to pass through, much less men. The weather, for the time of twenty days, fell out so extreme, as that I never saw the like this [3]6 or 37 years. For I will protest that in twenty days I could never say that all the clothes on my back was dry. And yet, besides that, what fuel my own people and four carriage geldings of England could draw unto the camp they did, and yet I bought from poor labourers as much wood as cost me near 4*l.*, and all to keep a common fire for me and my raw soldiers [whom] I brought out of England, without the which they had been all dead in that camp. And yet I protest all this provision of fire, besides wine and aquavitæ, hath not so well preserved them that I could keep them from drooping. Some eight of them are down of the country disease, and six of them hurt in service; five horses also hurt in service, and two slain, and two horses dead with the extremity of the weather. And this much for my company of the fight, and extremity of the weather at the camp of the Faugher. Less mischief hath not happened unto any company in the whole army; and yet I believe that the extremity of the weather killed more men than the enemy in all the fights we had with them, which were ever as many as the extreme rain and foul weather would permit. There was not six hours of any weather wherein there was any possibility that a fight might be performed, but my Lord did fight. I might have said with more right that there was not two hours omitted from fight wherein there was possibility of fight. In the which there was some number slain and many hurt, yet I perceived not so many as there was either slain or hurt of the enemy. Their harms that they have received hath daunted the enemy much, and made his adherents revolt from him upon the river of Lifford, as Neale Garve, a man of great force as any in the country, and [he] is come in. Slought Art, another of the sept of the Neills, standeth off from the capital Traitor, and moreover Sir John O'Dogherty standeth off from him, and yet is not fully for Her Majesty. I do think that there were nothing like so many slain and hurt in getting of the barricadoes in the pass of the Faugher, as there was that ran away from that camp: I think not for fear only, because all men maintained the fight very honourably, and I heard not of any that drew out from it for cowardice sake, neither could want make them give over the service. For I never saw less wants of both money or victuals to encourage men, although that my Lord Deputy set forth with a very small proportion of either money or victuals. Yet hope brought him forward, and God hath given one means or other to keep out wants of the army; so as wants hath not caused such running away as the extremity of the unseasonable weather. The weather hath slain both man and horse in our camp, yet my Lord hath reinforced his army with men, to the number of 800 shot, and is now upon his way in camp, within two miles of the Newry, towards Armagh, near a hill called Carrick Bande. I know his Lordship would willingly fortify at Armagh, if it were possible;

1600.

but to that, to me it seemeth, there be many impediments, as this ; the army is weak, both in men and horses, for the foul weather hath killed and enfeebled them, so as neither are able to do good service. As for the garrans, which are the carriage horses, they are almost dead ; which kind my Lord hath great want of. Victuals is worn out ; the risings out are gone back, their time is worn out. Horsemeat there is none about Armagh ; only if he can fortify near the Eight Mile Water for this time, and victual as many men as he can do there ; but to leave horsemen there I scarce see any possibility, for corn there is none, and but little grass to be cut in all the country.

“Touching the musters, or the infirmity of keeping of weak companies, his Lordship hath used the best means that ever I saw to find out. For he hath caused all the bands to draw out of the camp and stand in the field, and appoint[ed] the trustiest men that he could find to muster all the bands at one instant, not allowing more than he found there resident to serve Her Majesty, except such as he had true certificates [for] from the towns next adjoining, where the sick men and hurt men were sent to get their health or recovery ; and that not otherwise than by their several names and surnames, and in whose houses they were lodged. And to be sure of their such (*sic*) estate, he hath both sent his own surgeons, ‘vissiones,’* and divines, to give them both bodily and ghostly comforts ; from whom he hath received cross certificates and knowledge, which being known, he hath yielded no relief to them but in form following. To them that are resident and serviceable in the camp, their relief is in the camp, and to others in the town where they rest or lie to recover their healths ; and no man or men to have the same but by his exact warrant. And further, knowing the estate of the army so well as he hath endeavoured himself to know, I do find he hath a purpose at his return to discharge a great number, not to weaken the army, but to make the rest strong, by supplying up one company by discharging of another ; and so to call for one new supply towards the beginning by March to reinforce the army unto its pristine estate. Which were pity but that your Honours should have a special care of, for he hath not only a wise foresight but fortunate success. His Lordship is of an excellent temper, not rash or irresolute in his proceedings, very affable to all, and wise to judge ; now and then wronged by some opinions, yet ministering right unto all men within his government. I think his Honour hath a determination in the spring, if he may be supplied, to stop [at] the Bann, and lay a good garrison there, and to fortify at Armagh ; which if he do, the rebellion cannot continue. The people of Ulster, I perceive, are for the Queen’s Majesty, if they might, for they expect but the planting of the like garrison, which being once accomplished, I see they will fall away from the rebellion as fast as they may. This journey of my Lord Deputy’s that he is in, hath shaken the capital rebel more than all the journeys hath done since the first of the rebellion. And yet, if I shall deal plainly with your Honour, he is nothing like unto the force that the Marshal Bagenall was, when he went to relieve the Blackwater, and yet it is not to be doubted he

* Physicians. See Halliwell, “Visike. Physic.”

1600.

shall return with great honour. I will leave all my own particulars until the next advertisement at our return, when I shall have more leisure and more convenient place to write, beseeching your Honour to pardon my boldness and tediousness, for I have rather written a discourse than a letter.”—1600, October 28. *Endorsed*: —From the camp. *Signed. pp. 3.*

Oct. 28.
Mallow.

124. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. “By the copy of the examination of the Lady Sentleger’s cause sent to their Lordships in a letter from myself and Justice Saxey, will appear unto you upon what slender and weak grounds the same was enforced and urged against her, and how weakly her accusers have maintained the same, in respect of that which was made show of. She did greatly importune us to have the matter searched, and would hardly admit any time without a serious solicitation therein, that her innocency might the sooner appear, and the scandal imposed be by her accusers taken away; wherein (that her good discharge may be manifested unto your Honour) I could not well do otherwise than acquaint you by this particular, and do beseech you to afford such favour unto her, as her innocency in this deserveth.”—Mallow, 1600, October 28. *Signed. p. 1.*

Oct. 28.
Athy.

125. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. “Yesterday in the morning, the ward of Castle Rebane, Captain Lee’s castle, were for the most part cut off by Tyrrell and his company, which came into the country unexpected, being in Offally, and marched that night twenty miles. He laid his ambushes [“amboxes”] about the castle so that he had both the prey and the men. Had not Sir James FitzPiers sallied out of his house with some eight horse, and myself out of the garrison with some hundred foot, the castle had been taken. But our diligence was such that they had not time. He had 300 foot and 20 horse very ill provided of all things; he had a horse-load of powder, beside every soldier a pound and [a] half. I have left some of my company to keep the castle, till I have further order from my Lord Deputy or Council. I assure your Honour there is great store of corn, which had been great pity but should have been saved (*sic*) to relieve Her Majesty’s subjects. Your Honour shall understand that since the death of Onie McRory, the rebels of Leix are out of heart. Had they been followed since, it might have been quiet now, for in all Leix they are not of themselves able to make 200 men, without the help of Tyrrell, which comes to them upon occasions, and it is thought he shall marry Onie McRory’s sister. I assure your Honour I have gone into the greatest of their fastness[es] with one hundred men, which, five months past, two thousand would not have done without great loss. I hope when Sir Henry Power is settled here with the companies which are appointed for him, he will in my judgment soon clear this part. Were it not for protections, the service would be better performed than it is, for thus much I have seen; that they have come within two miles of Dublin, a hundred together, and taken meat [and] money; also they have liberty to

1600.

come and see their friends, by which means they supply their wants, and will not let to serve upon occasions, as some of them did yesterday with Tyrrell.”—Athy, 1600, October 28. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Oct. 29.
Dublin.

126. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy of letter from the Lord Deputy. Has no particular matter to write, other than that his Lordship “made a road with his horse from his camp within three miles of Newry to within six miles of Armagh, to discern the ground, and see the place in the midway,” where he will raise some kind of sconce, to be a cover for convoys to and from Armagh. Victuals are being sent to the Lord Deputy to serve his enterprise to that place. Advantage to the service of the victuals coming piecemeal from the undertakers. The provisions come well conditioned, and are sent on without any detention on board ship or in the magazine. Thus is prevented much waste, and their hazard of perishing. The service greatly bound to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil for this timely and liberal supply of victuals, without which there could have been no progression, “yea the whole expectation had been frustrated.” Encloses another letter [*wanting*] received by him along with that from the Lord Deputy, “for that in some parts it is more large. The party that wrote it is honest and faithful, yet I pray your Honour suppress his letter, to avoid blame and envy.”—Dublin, 1600, October 29. *Signed.* p. 1.

Encloses :—

126. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and some of the Council to Sir George Carey and Sir Geffrey Fenton.* “By your letter of the 22nd, which came yesterday, you promise that we shall want neither money nor victuals from thence, especially if we proceed to plant at Armagh, as Her Majesty expecteth we should, and for that purpose hath the more liberally supplied us out of England. We are here right glad to hear thereof, and though we know not what we shall be able to do, but must leave that to such success as God shall send, yet we do hereby certify you that to this day all things prosper with us very well, and we are resolved (God pleased) to go on to the perfecting of that which is expected, and therefore pray you to hold your course, that money nor victuals be not wanting; for we know not how long we shall be forth, and therefore cannot guess what to direct you, other than in a late letter sent to you, Mr. Treasurer, which we think you have about this time received.”
—*The camp at Carrickbane, 1600, October 26. Copy.* p. 1.

Oct. 29.
Derry.

127. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. [*The first portion of this letter is missing.*]
“days, did promise to send the Governor in writing what articles he did desire should be observed between them both.

“The 8[th], Neale Garve, understanding that O'Donnell was come out of Connaught into the country, dealt with the Governor to send some forces with him that night to possess Lifford. Whereupon Sir John Bolles was sent away with 500 foot and 30 horse of

1600.

ours. That night they marched, and came to Lifford at 8 of [the] clock. The 9th, in the morning, as they came near the town, O'Donnell's ward of some thirty men being there ran out of the place, and they were slain all by our men; Neale Garve with his own hands killed six of them. So the Lifford is possessed by us, and our men very well lodged in it. There were gotten three small barks and four boats of the enemy's. That night Strabane was burnt by the enemy.

"When O'Donnell heard of Neale Garve's coming in, he was so dumb-stricken, that he did neither eat nor drink in three days. The 9th, our men at Lifford gave out to O'Donnell being with a troop of horse near them, but he would not stay any skirmish. The 10th, two of O'Dogherty's men came to the Governor with a letter, desiring him to meet their master a mile from the Derry that day, at noon, with four horsemen, and to draw some troops a mile off on either side, which the Governor performed. He took with him Captain Thornton, Captain Errington, and I (*sic*); where debating long, it should ever seem that O'Dogherty desired Her Majesty's pardon very faithfully, and there vowed to the Governor, as before, that, as soon as he would procure it for him, he would presently retire, and ever continue loyal, and in the mean time yield for money anything his country had, as beef, mutton, or corn for horses, and the Governor to pass his word to him to forbear molesting his country until then, whereupon they both agreed.

"His demands were, that first, he might have his country in as ample manner as before he held it, paying Her Majesty such yearly rent as was accustomed. Secondly, that he might have liberty of conscience. Thirdly, that he might have such towns as Her Majesty is now possessed of in his country, called the Ellaugh and Culmore, and thereupon would put in the best pledges in his country. But for Culmore, I see by him he will be pleased Her Majesty shall hold it. So hereupon the Governor and he did agree, and so departed. I perceive by one of O'Dogherty's chief men and a counsellor of O'Donnell's, that, if O'Donnell might have peace in some reasonable sort, he would hearken unto it. If our men were able to hold out strong, that we might march and camp in his country, I doubt not but he would soon be expelled. But our men are so weak and fall sick and die, so as there must be of necessity one thousand sent here presently more to supply the companies, and so we shall not be strong, for these last supplies will soon be gone, or the number of them. Of all our garrisons we are not able to draw a thousand foot strong into the field, to march and leave the places guarded. For our horse, there is no care taken of them by the horsemen, nor never was since our coming here; they have no desire to keep their horses well.

"The weather hath been so cruel here, that yet we have not made any firm lodgings for our men. But now it goeth well forward. The Governor taketh as great pains and care in his proceedings as any man that ever had the like command, and your Honour will say, I doubt not, before the next spring, that he hath proceeded well for Her Majesty's service, and like a soldier. Here are many Captains absent that hold companies, and some that never came here. If it stand with your Honour's liking, it were

1600.

good they were cassed. Her Majesty is at the charge, and the companies be weak. If these were cassed, and a thousand supplies sent, yet should we be but 3,000 strong by poll. I judge it will well appear to your Honour by the checks. The fifty horse that should land here with Captain Hart are not now thirty-five.

"The 11th, nothing. The 12th, Neale Garve with our forces drew out of Lifford, understanding of O'Donnell's being near there, to fight with him; and, after they had marched two miles, they met and entertained skirmish, which continued for one hour well, until the enemy gave over. They were 800 foot and 120 horse. There was O'Rourke with his help, and some men from O'Connor Sligo. Our forces were fifty horse and 500 foot of English and Irish. There was slain one of O'Donnell's captains of foot, and two gentlemen more, with thirty of their men, and twenty hurt. We lost some two officers, four soldiers, Captain Heath hurt lightly, and three more.

"Tyrone hath sent again into Spain now lately a packet of letters. I hope we shall send O'Donnell thither, or to some other place out of his country. If we could make our garrison of the Lifford strong, the place is of very great importance for Tyrone, Tyrconnell, or Fermanagh; so as it were good we should leave Dunalong with a ward of one company, and to some merchants or others that would dwell in it, although Sir John Bolles and his regiment would be very unwilling to leave it, having built there already.

"The 13th, the Governor went up to the Lifford by boat to settle the garrison there, and to order their fortification. The 14th, 15th, and 16th, nothing. The 17th, O'Donnell with his forces came down in the midday near Lifford, and our men fell out with the Irish there, and were in fight with the enemy three hours, and so beat them off, killed twenty of them, many hurt, and took some of their horses. We lost one serjeant and six men, and some hurt. Now the Governor hath cassed 100 horse and some foot, [for] that their Captains were absent; which will lessen Her Majesty's charge here. We are not able to make now sixty horse to serve.

"The 18th, Sir Arthur O'Neill died at Dunalong, lying sick but three days. I judge it came of immoderate drinking. The 20th, the Scot brother to O'Donnell's mother landed in O'Dogherty's country with 100 Scots, and is gone to O'Donnell to make his composition to bring to O'Donnell 1,000 Scots. It is like that O'Donnell will give this Scot good contentment to serve his turn. The 24th, O'Donnell with his forces drew down out of his camp near the Lifford, to burn and waste some ricks of turf, which the garrison have there for their firing. Neale Garve drew out with the forces there of ours and his, and beat off the enemy. They continued in skirmish long. Our men brake their troops, followed them two miles, and had the killing of them; wherein, as we suppose, O'Donnell's brother was slain, and many more; Captain Heath, commanding there from us, shot, and not like to recover, three men slain, twenty hurt, ten horse slain, and Neale Garve's horse shot in the body and head under him, where he served worthily. There have lain six great ships near the harbour of the Killibeggs any time this seven days, and we cannot learn that any of them have put ashore any boat.

1600.

"The Lord Deputy and Tyrone have had good buckling three or four days in the Moyerie, a fastness between Dundalk and the Newry, where men have been lost of each side. Tyrone hath lost many of his men, and there are come from thence very many hurt. What hurt my Lord hath on Her Majesty's troops, I cannot certainly advertise.

"Now touching myself, I most humbly crave your Honour to be pleased to write to the Governor here that I may have fifty foot of the first avoidance, to make up my company 150, as they were at the death of Sir John Chamberlain. If I might have the fifty foot being taken off the company and given Captain Bingley, or fifty other for them of the first avoidance of these companies under the Governor's command here, if your Honour do but refer me to the Governor here, I doubt not but he will well satisfy me; for his eye can well testify the charge and pains I am daily at with the Irishry here, for the better effecting of this service. Wherefore I assure myself he would be pleased I should have some advancement as well as others."—Derry, 1600, October 29. *Signed.* pp. 3.

Oct. 30.
Cork.

128. Chief Justice William Saxey to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the denial of part of his entertainment by Mr. Treasurer. As regards his two offices, that of Chief Justice of Munster and that of Second Justice of the Queen's Bench, "I find my aged body every day more unapt and unable to endure the travails incident to the exercise of them both, being so distant and remote one from the other; and therefore at this present, when through the prudence and prowess of the honourable Governor of this province the neck of this Munster rebellion is well nigh broken, and Leinster well tamed, which offereth a likelihood of safe travel between Munster and Dublin, and openeth the way to free course of law and justice, which will require at my hands such several and distinct services and travels as my weakness will not be able to perform," offers the disposition of both his offices, so that he may, in regard of his seven years' painful service in Ireland, be granted preferment either in England or Ireland. Asks for Sir Robert Napper's place, at the next avoidance; the experience gathered in his provincial service emboldens him to undertake to do Her Majesty better service there than in Munster. Knows of divers of Her Majesty's rights concealed, and the means to bring them to her coffers; "a matter before this time neither carefully examined nor upon discovery effectually prosecuted."—Cork, 1600, October 30. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

Oct. 31.
Mallow.

129. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to his letter in September last on behalf of "your near kinsman, Sir Anthony Cooke." Has not received any answer whereby he may give Sir Anthony satisfaction. Again begs Sir Robert's assistance in enabling Sir Anthony, both in reputation and charge, to do Her Majesty such acceptable service as he desires and is able to perform. "His charge is but a troop of fifty horse, whereupon he is not able to save his charges, but consumes his own, which is not the common use of men of war to do, being a great deal better to sit

1600.

still and save stakes than toil and spend upon the stock. Wherefore his humble suit is (and mine in his behalf) that there may be an addition of a company of foot to his horse, which is a familiar thing in this kingdom to men of meaner quality and of much inferior desert. And for his reputation, that you would be pleased to establish him a Councillor in this province, whereunto many his inferiors, both in judgment and calling, are admitted." Holds many words needless on Sir Anthony's behalf; Sir Robert has had good experience of his sufficiency.—Mallow, 1600, October 31. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Oct. 31.
Dublin.

130. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Mr. Weston, an Alderman of Dublin, being employed thither for the city causes, and particularly for some arrear of money due unto that Corporation, hath obtained a general letter from the State here in that behalf." Refers to the great services rendered by the city of Dublin in men and money, and its many other good offices to the State. Recommends the suit of the Corporation, and also Mr. Weston for his faithful service, both during his late Mayoralty and since. The city of Dublin could hardly be worked without him.—Dublin, 1600, October 31. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

[Oct.]

131. Sir Anthony Cooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Is much grieved at Sir Robert's present frowns. Has long served in Ireland. The favours he formerly received from his friends have been taken away. Rejoices in the Queen's favour to Sir Robert, who is now accounted a principal pillar of his house. Has never sought to pleasure himself to the prejudice or hurt of any, even the meanest, nor in the least thing to wrong the Lord Deputy, or any other person far his inferior in Ireland. Has received no little wrong from his wife, who said nothing at all to him about Sir Robert's letter to her regarding his non-interference with the authorities in Ireland. His letters to them would have profited Sir Anthony, for he sees daily examples of such benefit. *Parola della bocca val assai et costa poco.* Is much aggrieved at Sir Robert's "plainness in writing" to the Lord President of Munster, who is a most kind friend to Sir Anthony. Asks pardon for what he says; *veritas non querit angulos.* "Your Honour hath hardly taxed your (as I think) worthiest friend, both in his judgment, which in this land is greatly esteemed, as also in his honourable kindness and love (for your sake only as I conceive) shewed therein to me, your Honour's so near cousin in blood." Defends the President's writing on his behalf. It was no offence on his Lordship's part, but Sir Anthony's "ill and unlucky star," that caused the trouble. Had the President written for any other, that party had been more fortunate. Sups up the rest of his griefs in silence with extreme patience, having thus compared Sir Robert's treatment of him with that granted to other of Sir Robert's friends.—1600 [October]. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3½.*

1600.
Oct.

132. “A brief of one month’s charge of 28 days of Her Majesty’s army, &c., in Ireland; therein comprised the apparel to the footbands.” Total, 21,273*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.* This charge is exclusive of the entertainments of the officers of the kingdom and of Justice, the payments on concordatums for extraordinaries, and the Lord Deputy’s allowance yearly in lieu of cess. *Endorsed* :—1600, October. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[Oct.]

133. Copy, certified by Sir George Carew, of a letter from O’Donnell to Florence McCarthy.

“Our commendations to you, McCarthy. We have received the letter you sent the 14th day of October, and we swear by our word you are no less grieved for that you see us not than we ourselves; and it was not more your mind to have aid than ours to send unto you, if we could, for the great trouble it would be to ourselves to intend unto you; and by your hand there was not many men in Ireland of the mind than mine own person to have gone to visit you had not the strangers neighboured upon my country, and as you know my country lying on the sea, and they having the secrecy to do their endeavours to conquer what they may upon the same, which they would not do upon a country not lying on the sea. You shall receive what news of Spaniards came to these parts from John McThomas and Donogh McCormack; and whatsoever they brought with them we impart with you, and do provide for the same men to send unto you, if they may be had. Our commendations to Patrick Condon and to the rest of our friends in those parts.”—
[1600, October.] p. ½.

GENERAL INDEX.

GENERAL INDEX.

A

- Adare, co. Limerick, garrison at, 435. *And see* Athdare.
- Adderton. *See* Atherton.
- Æsop his lion, alluded to, 284.
- Aghemacarte or Anghamacart, the small abbey of, in Upper Ossory, 328.
- Agherlo. *See* Arlow.
- Aghyoe or Aghaboe, in Upper Ossory, abbey and patronage of, 328.
- Aherlogh. *See* Arlow.
- Alexander the Great, conquests of, 517.
- Alisters, Clan, 118.
- Allen [Hugh], Bishop of Ferns, death of, 55.
-, his unthrifty proceedings, 56.
- John, of the Ordnance Office in Ireland, recommended to Cecil, 149.
- Andalusia, a merchant from, 175, 185.
-, Provincial of the Franciscans of. *See* Angelos.
- Andrea, Cardinal. *See* Austria, Cardinal Andrea of.
- Angelos, Peter de los, Provincial of the Franciscans of Andalusia, and guardian of Seville, 179.
- Anias, Mr., going to England, 131.
- Anys [? Anias], 497.
- Apsley or Apseley, Allen, commissary of victuals for Munster, letters from, 383.
-, alleged dishonesty of, 176.
-, recommended by Sir George Carew, 189, 385.
-, in relation to his charge of the victuals, and his accounts, 189, 383.
-, reports on the condition of the victuals at Cork, 252.
-, tenders his accounts at Dublin, 322, 383, 384, 385.
-, has perfected his books, 398.
- Aqua vitæ, brewing of, sets Newry on fire, 226.
- Aquila (Agula), John d', reported to be appointed general of the Spanish forces for Ireland, 254.
- Archdeacon [John], paymaster, 474.
- Archer, James, *alias* Father Archer, a Jesuit, called the Pope's legate, 13, 89, 298.
-, a conference held with, 17.
-, treachery against Ormonde, contrived by, 90, 100, 101, 177, 241.
-, acts as secretary to Ormonde, 110.
-, safe-conduct requested for, 140.
-, tries to persuade Florence McCarthy to enter into rebellion, 158.
-, wishes to keep Ormonde a prisoner, 177.
-, was absent when Ormonde was released, 238.
-, declares that Spanish forces are coming to Ireland, 239.
-, message to, 239.
-, plans for the capture of, 296.
-, supports a plan to make Ormonde King of Ireland, 301.
- Ardbraccan, co. Meath, Lord Essex's stay at, alluded to, 234.
-, the Lord Deputy's journey to, 337.
-, letter dated at, 418.
-, church of, ruined by the soldiers, 419.
- Ardee or Atherdee, co. Louth, forces from, 115, 189, 205.
-, a man hanged at, 192, 311.
-, garrison at, 227, 352, 438.
-, forces sent to, 510.
- Ardes, the, co. Down, 119.
- Argyle [Archibald Campbell], Earl of, Tyrone has written to, 62.
-, takes part with O'Dogherty against O'Donnell, 119.
-, his Scots, 119.
- Arlow, Arlo, Aherlogh, Agherlo or Harlowe, cos. Tipperary and Limerick, mountains of, 10.
-, woods of, 70.
-, attempted murder of John Fitz Thomas near, 248.
-, James Fitz Thomas in hiding in, 435.
-, prisoners brought to, 186.
-, engagement near, 436.
-, rebels at, 256, 474.
-, the parts about, 256, 388.
- Armagh, city of, 310, 351.
-, the Lord Deputy going to, 67, 168, 180, 531.
-, Sir Samuel Bagenall marches towards, 148.

Armagh, city of—*cont.*

-, projected plantation or garrison at, 169, 180, 313, 344, 351, 359, 392, 417, 421, 426, 432, 448, 452, 463, 469, 480, 484, 490, 523, 524, 532, 534.
-, importance of, 220, 225, 229, 522.
-, the Lord Deputy greatly desires, 300, 421, 522.
-, Sir Samuel Bagenall proposed as governor for, 412.
-, difficulties in the way of planting, 489, 490, 517, 522, 524, 531, 532.
-, gallowglasses country near, 172.
-, the Lord Deputy at, 193.
-, fight with Tyrone near, 193.
-, the Lord Deputy proposes to go again to, 225, 255, 357, 421, 425, 461, 490.
-, burned by Tyrone, 227.
-, need of victuals for, 423, 425, 426, 432.
-, Tyrone reported to be fortifying, 463, 470.
-, the journey to, would weaken the army, 481.
-, Tyrone retires towards, 483.
-, belief that Bagenall would attempt to take in, 489.
-, a passage on the way to. *See* Moyerie, the.
-, no corn and little grass at, 532.
-, means of conveying victuals to, 523, 534.
- Armagh, county of, 40.
- Army. *See* Forces in Ireland. *Also* Captains.
- Arran, Island of, Scotland, friends of the McSorleys and Hamiltons in, 118, 119.
- Arthur, Anthony, a merchant of Limerick, 318.
-, Captain Patrick, an old servant of Sir Thomas Norreys, letter of, 444.
-, recommendation of, 321.
-, is taking soldiers over to Ireland, 444, 453, 461, 464, 497.
-, has arrived in Ireland, 497.
- Asheroe, co. Donegal, 41.
-, a brew house to be set up on the river at, 95.
- Askeaton, co. Limerick, 234, 262.
-, forces at or near, 13, 132, 256, 360.
-, garrison of, 132, 243, 248, 319, 435.
-, lack of supplies for, 243.
-, is no better than lying in the field, 362.
-, rebels killed and spoiled by, 363, 369.
-, victuals for, 385.

Askeaton—*cont.*

-, Sir George Carew goes with forces to, 264, 317, 319.
-, house of, suggested grant of, to the young Earl of Desmond, 344.
-, seignory of, is passed to Sir Francis Berkeley, 344.
- Athboy, co. Meath, forces going to, or at, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 45.
-, the rebels set fire to, but are repulsed from, 203.
-, Ormonde and his forces near, 484.
- Athdare [Adare, co. Limerick], a manor house of Lady Kildare's, 319.
- Athenry, co. Galway, troops in garrison at, 167, 291.
- Atherdee. *See* Ardee.
- Atherton or Adderton, Captain, lieutenant to Lord Southampton, 191.
-, wounded in a fight at the Moyerie, 192, 206, 213, 219.
- Athleague, co. Roscommon, 287.
- Athlone, co. Roscommon, 84.
-, letters dated at, 286, 459.
-, garrison of, 54, 292, 533.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon's boasting concerning, 293.
-, weakness of, 293.
-, Lord Dunkellin complains that he is barred from, 53, 146.
-, said to be taken possession of, by Lord Clanrickarde and his son, 84.
-, castle or house of, 63.
-, warders for, needed, 287.
-, kept by Sir Arthur Savage, 438.
-, important position of, 85, 287.
-, town and castle, defence of, 166.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon at, 166.
-, skirmishes near, 167, 286, 409.
-, to be kept from Lord Clanrickarde, 214.
-, is guarded by Sir Arthur Savage's company, 221.
-, Sir Arthur has commanded absolutely at, 223.
-, ruin of the churches between Dublin and, 273.
-, inhabitants of, 286, 293.
-, the rebels near, are very strong, 286.
-, forces needed for, 287, 293.
-, the Commander of Connaught should not live at, 287.
-, companies in, asked for, 290.
-, rebels stopping the passages to, 292, 293, 409.
-, Sir Arthur Savage at or going to, 293, 409.
-, the great pass near, fortified by the rebels, 409.
-, powder sent to, 508.
-, barony of, rebels in, 409.

Athy, co. Kildare, 339.
 letters dated at, 333, 533.
 skirmish with the rebels near, 336.
 assaulted by Onie McRory, 336.
 captains sent to, 474.
 forces at, 522.
 Attanagh (Attaingh), in Upper Ossory, parsonage of, 328.
 Audley [George Touchet], Lord, recommended by Carew, 386 (2).
 desires the castle of the Glan, 336.
 in England, 434.
 sergeant of, slain, 436.
 Austria, Cardinal Andrea, Prince of the House of, Lieutenant of the Spanish forces in the Low Countries, sends an agent to Tyrone, 354, 332.
 is an "underhand minister" to the rebels, 382.
 Aylmer, Sir Garrett, grant to, 500.
 horse company of, men cast in, 506.
 or Elmer, Joshua, commissary of musters in Munster, 442.
 letters of, 112, 149, 323.
 complains that he has been superseded, 149.
 appointed to view the victuals at Cork and Limerick, 183, 189, 246.
 writes in defence of Justice Gould, 323.
 Nicholas, grant to, 500.

B

Bagenall, Sir Henry, Marshal of Ireland, killed by O'Neill, 30, 56.
 Colonel Sir Samuel, governor of Newry, 29, 30, 91, 119, 210, 490.
 letter from, 148.
 report of his services, 25, 35, 172.
 recommended by the Lord Deputy, 25, 29, 35.
 as chief commander in Ulster, 25.
 has drawn in "one of the best of the Magennises," 35.
 houses burnt and prey taken by, 148, 172.
 kern employed by, as spies, 172.
 journey of, into the gallowglass country, 172.
 sent for by the Lord Deputy, 189.
 differences of, with the paymaster at Newry, 306.
 command held by, 350.

Bagenall, Sir Samuel—*cont.*
 proposed as governor for Armagh, 412, 413.
 sent to Carlingford, 489.
 in the fight at the Moyerie, 529.
 returns to the Newry, 530.
 his journey to relieve the Blackwater, 532.
 forces under, 413, 414, 489.
 regiment of, 462, 489.
 Bagenalls, the, 413.
 are "ill-beloved for their extortions," 412.
 Ballacho Moyerie. *See* Moyerie, the.
 Balletarsne. *See* Ballytarsny.
 Ballikip [co. Donegal], Sir Henry Dockwra should draw to, 282.
 Ballinasloe or Ballynesloy, co. Galway, 84, 287.
 Ballingarry, co. Limerick, Sir George Carew at, 316, 317.
 skirmish near, 409.
 Ballinture, co. Limerick, Sir George Carew at, 317.
 Ballyallynna, a castle called, in co. Limerick, 316.
 Ballybrittas, Sir Terence O'Dempsey's castle in Queen's County, the Earl of Ormonde at, 177.
 Bally Cahil or Ballagh Cahil, co. Tipperary, Tyrone goes to, 43.
 Ballymackeady, co. Tipperary, letter dated at, 256.
 Ballymore, co. Westmeath, skirmish near, 286.
 forces ordered to, 330.
 Ballymote, co. Sligo, O'Connor Sligo taken prisoner at, 521.
 Ballyne, co. Kilkenny, letter dated from, 115.
 Ballynesloy. *See* Ballinasloe.
 Ballyraggett, co. Kilkenny, Lord Mountgarret's house or castle of, 42.
 held for the Queen, 102, 103.
 Mountgarret's sons try to recover, 102.
 to be held by Lord Mountgarret on sufferance, 396.
 Ballyroane, Queen's County, 396.
 Ballyshannon, co. Donegal, 41, 74, 520.
 forces for, or to be sent to, 4, 5, 28, 61, 73, 82, 83, 196, 200.
 the rebels will resist the landing of, 3, 38.
 commander of. *See* Morgan, Sir Matthew.
 will be much weakened before they return, 197.
 are to be stayed, 268, 352.
 still at Lough Foyle, 300, 352.
 numbers of, necessary, 282.
 would be helped by a garrison at Sligo, 287.

Ballyshannon—*cont.*

-, commissary of musters for, 81.
-, commissary of victuals for, 95.
-, money, munition or provisions at or for, 9, 20, 34, 37, 67, 107, 176, 207.
-, estimate of, 256.
-, need that they be sent speedily, 232.
-, proposed plantation of a garrison at, 9, 23, 42, 121, 344.
-, government of, boundaries of the, 40.
-, all the country within, must be reduced to obedience, 230.
-, mariners going to, 197.
-, the ships' masters object to going to, 202.
-, Sir Griffin Markham's refusal of the government of, 215.
-, the planting of, will either imprison O'Donnell in Tyrconnel or banish him from it, 279.
-, fords and harbours round, must be fortified, 280.
-, no wood near, either to burn or build with, 280.
-, Sir Conyers Clifford's repulse from, alluded to, 230.
-, buildings which will need to be provided near, 280, 281.
-, the harbour at, is very bad, 281.
-, plans for the expedition to, 281, 282.
-, there must be no stirring from, until taken, 282.
-, cannot be planted without an army, 300.
-, the Lord Deputy greatly desires the plantation of, 300.
-, officers intended for, discharged, 398.
-, provisions ordained for, 405.
-, reported capture of, 483.
- (Belaseny), river of, 479.
- Ballytarsny or Balletarsne, a castle of the O'Briens, near Limerick, 43, 242.
-, a ward put into, 243.
- Baltimore, co. Cork, 249.
- Baltinglass [James Eustace], Viscount, widow of. *See* Travers, Mary.
- Banda. *See* Bann.
- Bandon river, co. Cork, 116.
- Bann, the river, co. Antrim, 40, 479.
-, the country between the sea and, 119.
-, abbey upon, 183.
-, rebels drowned in crossing, 209.
-, prey taken from the rebels near, 267.
-, proposed garrison at, 306, 312, 313, 532.
-, every passage on, should be stopped, 313.
-, proposed bridge over, 479.
- Bannow (Banno) the, co. Wexford, 148.
- Bantry, country of, co. Cork, 48.
- Barkeley or Berkeley, Sir Francis, 13, 364.
-, meeting of, with James Fitz Thomas, 12.
-, knighting of, by Essex, alluded to, 234.
-, seignory of Askeaton passed to, 344.
- or Bartley, Sir John, absent from his charge, 359.
-, gallant conduct of, 529.
-, company of, 359, 361, 503.
- Barn Elms, Surrey, Lady Rich at, 346.
- Barnesmore, co. Donegal, 41.
- Barnewell, Sir Patrick, 39, 74.
-, letter of, 340.
-, journey of, to England, to state the grievances of the Pale, 236, 301, 303, 304, 325, 326.
-, is wise, honest, and to be relied on, 236.
-, asks for the command of Lord Southampton's companies, 341.
-, return of, to Ireland, 393.
-, is heard by the Lord Deputy, 422.
-, grants to, 500.
-, complaints of, first made before Mountjoy's time, 508, 516.
-, quarrel of, with Sir William Warren, 509.
-, father of, 39.
-, Thomas, 77.
- Barnstaple ("Barstable"), men shipped from, 174.
- Barret, Edmond, grants to, 500.
- [? William], lord of his country and chief of his name, has submitted to the Lord President of Munster, 145.
- Barrow, the river, 451.
-, forces near or crossing, 136, 336.
- Barry, David, Lord, Viscount Buttevant, 363.
-, letters of, 21, 52, 251, 387, 444.
-, letters to, 17 (2), 22 (2), 53 (3).
-, alluded to, 135, 233.
-, petition of, to the Queen, 400.
-, spoiled and preyed by the rebels, 14, 15, 21, 52, 72, 131, 182.
-, loyalty or good service of, 14, 15, 17, 51, 128, 131, 182, 233.
-, Tyrone tries to draw over, 15, 17.
-, is utterly ruined, 39.
-, papers sent up by, 51.
-, his proposed visit to England, 51, 52, 142.
-, note of his services, 91.
-, if not relieved by her Majesty, may fall away, from poverty, 131, 142.
-, is now in blood with the traitors, 142.

- Barry, David, Lord—*cont.*
 is poor, strong in followers, and discontented, 142.
 reward given by, to Captain Flower, 161, 162.
 prays for the restoration of a castle and lands of which he was dispossessed by the Earls of Desmond, 182, 251, 400.
 also for a company in her Majesty's pay, 182, 252, 400.
 has agreed to put off his repair to England, 231, 251.
 Carew prays that his suits may have a favourable proceeding, 231.
 is to have a company, 233, 387, 389.
 and the lands and castle of Conhye, 233.
 sends a cast of hawks to Cecil, 252.
 Carew asks instructions concerning, 322.
 thanks Cecil for his favours, 387.
 his agent in London, 231.
 his people or followers, 51, 52.
 his horse and foot, 142.
 muster-roll of, 136.
 servant of, 387.
 his castles, 18. *And see Barry Court.*
 his great island, 15, 18, 20.
 his lands, 48, 182.
 his country. *See Barry's country.*
 his wife [Ellen], Lord Roche's sister, 12.
 his eldest son, sent to England, 182, 252.
 a nephew of. *See O'Callaghan, Owen.*
 slain, 51, 52, 72.
 John, brother of Lord Barry, prays Tyrone to withdraw, 14.
 is married to the Lord of Muskerry's sister, 48.
 took protection and left Desmond, 51.
 lands given to, by Lord Barry, "to withdraw him from the rebels," 182.
 Barry's country, spoiled and burnt by the rebels, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 51.
 Tyrone removes from, 36.
 pensions from, to the rebel leaders, 48.
 chieftains of, are to keep order in, 241.
 Barry Court, castle of, 18, 182.
 letters dated at, 21, 251, 444.
 Bartley. *See Barkley.*
 Bassett or Barsett, Captain, 200, 215.
- Bath, William Bourchier, Earl of, money borrowed from, 399.
 John, grant to, 500.
 Lady, 399.
 William, grants to, 500.
 Baynard, Captain John, relates his services, and prays for the command of a company, 271.
 his paper on Ireland, alluded to, 271.
 Baynard's Castle, London, reception of Richard III. at, alluded to, 487.
 Baynham or Baynam [Sir Edward], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 Beal. *See Bewley.*
 Bealing, John, grant to, 500.
 Bealwelly, castle of, co. Cork, 18.
 Bear, country of, co. Cork, 48.
 Beaumaris, co. Anglesea, 460.
 Bedlowstown, near Dundalk, forces withdrawn to, 530.
 Beer, price of, 270.
 Beer-barrels, powder secreted in, 296.
 Belfast, co. Antrim, owned by Neil McHugh, 119.
 Bell, the shipwright, "her Majesty's fee'd man," to be sent to provide boats at Lough Foyle, 277, 278.
 is dead, 352.
 Belleek, co. Donegal, boats should be sent to, 280, 281, 282.
 forces to proceed to, 282.
 skirmish at, 60.
 Beltreis ("Belters"), Laird of, 119.
 Bentley, Captain Ralph, letter of, 258.
 prays for a company in reward of his long services, 258.
 wife of, 258.
 former husband of. *See Morris.*
 grandmother of, was a Cecil, 258.
 Berkeley. *See Barkeley.*
 Berry, Captain, valiant conduct of, 302.
 Beverley, George, Comptroller of the Victuals in Ireland, 188.
 certificates by, 37 (2).
 letters of, 125, 471.
 Lord Buckhurst has conference with, 346.
 writes concerning the victualing, 471.
 in England, 517.
 Bewley [Beal] castle of, on the Shannon (co. Kerry), 319.
 Bible, the, St. Jerome's translation of, 294.
 Bicknell, William, an officer of the Treasurer in Ireland, discharged, 330.
 Bingham, Sir Richard, late Chief Commissioner of Connaught, note of allowances made to, 117.
 his charge, alluded to, 167, 291.
 a captain under, 235.
 capture of Sligo by, alluded to, 294.

- Bingley, Captain, 537.
, Mr., 511.
 Bird, Henry, Commissary of Musters, letters from, 99, 171, 189, 225.
,, certificates by, 203.
,, garrisons assigned to, 99, 171, 221.
,, informs Cecil concerning proceedings in the North, 171, 189, 225.
,, recommendation of, to Cecil, 221.
 Birkinshawe, Ralph, Surveyor General or Comptroller of the Musters, 73.
,, orders to, 64.
,, could do the duty of the Commissaries, 148.
,, paper signed by, 278.
,, company mustered before, 415.
 Bishops, the Romish, in Ireland, are great settlers on of rebellion, 295.
 Bishop's Court, Cork, letter dated at, 497.
 Blackcaddell, A., letter of, concerning a plot for capturing O'Donnell, 258.
,, offers to go to Dublin, 260.
, Capt. James, to be employed to suppress the rebels, 447.
 Blackford, the, Queen's County, 115, 336.
 Blackney [George], 77.
 Blackrock, a tower called, near Cork, 235.
 Blackwater, the river (cos. Tyrone and Armagh), 40, 479.
,, fort on, failure to take, 57.
,, Tyrone's forces near, 172, 220.
,, Tyrone crosses, 174, 489.
,, proposed garrison on, 180, 312, 313.
,, fort on, razed by Tyrone, 205, 227.
,, Lord Burgh's journey to, alluded to, 203, 230.
,, Tyrone should be pressed hard, upon, 282, 287.
,, Bagenall's journey to, alluded to, 532.
 Blackwater or Broadwater, the river (cos. Cork and Waterford) or the river of Youghal, Tyrone crosses, 14, 15, 23, 132.
,, flat-bottomed boats needed for, 106.
,, only garrisons and subjects to be allowed boats on, 106.
 Blage, Captain, 415, 416.
,, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.
 Blaney, Capt. Edward, serjeant-major of the garrison at Newry, sent to convoy the Earl of Southampton, 190, 228.
,, report by, of a skirmish with the enemy, 190, 191.
,, lieutenant of, 529.
 Blantyre, the prior of, 118.
 Blarney, co. Cork, 500.
,, Cormack McDermott's castle at, 14.
,, Tyrone encamps near, 36.
 Blount, Sir Christopher, late Marshal in Ireland, reported to be reconciled to the Pope, 209.
,, Sir Edward, cousin of Lord Mountjoy, 72.
,, sent to Chester, 94.
, or Blunt, Capt. George, absent from his charge, 359.
,, company of, 247, 359, 362, 506.
,, horses given by, 504.
, Mr., 447.
 Blundell, Captain, bark of, 412.
 Blunt, Captain. *See* Blount.
 Bodley, Captain, good service of, 529.
 Bollaghafenan, co. Kerry, a village called, 374.
 Bolles or Bowles, Sir John, "second colonel" for Lough Foyle, 95, 198, 380, 518.
,, letter to, 416.
,, his command of the rear-guard of the fleet, 201.
,, troops under the command of, at the parley with O'Dogherty, 202.
,, Sir Griffin Markham refuses to be put under, 216.
,, is to be sent to England, 269, 270, 304.
,, is to plant the garrison at Dunalong before leaving, 270.
,, pursues some rebels into the mountains, 270.
,, regiment of, going to Ballyshannon, 200.
,, absent from his charge, 334, 357.
,, is urged by Cecil to go back to his charge, and to agree with Sir Henry Dockwra, 417, 418.
,, Dockwra has fully satisfied, 457.
,, horse of, to be increased, 524.
,, sent to Lifford, 534.
,, would be unwilling to leave Dunalong, 536.
,, son of, 418.
,, regiment of, 536.
 Bostock, Captain, at Kinsale, 162.
,, company of, 112.
,, warned by Florence McCarthy, 158.
,, burns and spoils in Carberry, 160.
,, Florence McCarthy would like to hang, 161.
,, horse given to, 161.
,, Robert, grant to, 501.
 Boswell, Captain, killing of, alluded to, 395.
 Boundfield, one, 13, 14.
,, man of, 13, 14.

- Bourchier, Sir George, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, 34, 376, 378, 381, 430.
 letter of, 76.
 certificate from, 37.
 alluded to, 99.
 letter signed by, as one of the Council, 524.
 left by the Lord Deputy to expedite preparations, 34.
 sent with forces to Kilkenny, 88, 97, 103, 108, 352.
 is to have a special care of Lord Ormonde's daughter, 97.
 does not thoroughly understand his business, 164.
 to be called before the Council at Dublin, to explain defects in the service, 277.
 Loughgirr held by, 344.
 has just returned from Kilkenny, 352.
 at Kilkenny, 502.
 seignory of, 402.
 under-officers of. *See* Ordnance, officers of.
 Bourke. *See* Burke.
 Bowles. *See* Bolles.
 Boyle, the, Abbey of, co. Roscommon, 221.
 garrison at, victualling of, 54.
 warders needed for, 287.
 Bishop of, his country, 255.
 Boys, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 230, 279.
 Brady, Richard, ship's master, report by, 254.
 proceedings of, in Spain and with the rebels, 254, 255.
 his foster-brother, 255.
 Walter, a merchant of Drogheda, 420.
 Breminham, Bremingham, Brimmingam, Brymingham, Brymigeam, Brymigem, Brimegeom, Edward, 115.
 Richard, the Lord, of Dunmore, co. Galway, 291.
 Richard McWilliam Oge, 302.
 William, submission of, 43.
 good service of, 115.
 William, of Dunfert, 302, 303.
 servant to. *See* McImaster, Owen.
 —, now sues for pardon, 165.
 Breminghams, the, are on their knees, 438.
 Brenny, the, district of, co. Cavan, 40, 63, 337, 365, 520.
 the Lord Deputy going to, 300.
 fortifying of, by the rebels, 466.
 Bren y Boick [Rourke], (co. Leitrim), McWilliam offers to reduce, 260.
 Brerewood or Brerwood, Robert, elected Mayor of Chester, 471.
 Brett, Richard, grant to, 501.
 Brewen, Edward, servant of Sir George Carey, receipt by, 379.
 Brewrton. *See* Bruerton.
 Bride or Bryde, the river, co. Cork, 106.
 Bridgeman, Winter, 194.
 Brimmingam. *See* Bremingham.
 Briskett, Lodowick, grant to, 501.
 Bristol, letters dated at, 332, 444, 457, 458, 460, 461, 464, 470, 475, 480.
 soldiers coming from, or shipped at, 33, 81, 360, 444, 458.
 mayor of, 141, 444, 458, 461, 464.
 order sent to, 163.
 money due to, 176.
 ships to or from, 163, 497.
 offers from, for the victualling of the troops in Ireland, 197.
 the Irish should not be allowed to buy powder in, 295.
 powder transported from, in beer-barrels, 296.
 soldiers mustered at, for Ireland, 332.
 commissioners at, 444.
 the young Earl of Desmond at, 457, 458, 460, 461, 464, 470.
 travellers to, 464.
 King Road near. *See* King Road.
 the Archbishop of Cashel at, 470, 476.
 the young Earl of Desmond's embarkation at, 486; *and see* Shirechamp-ton.
 Brittany, 388.
 a captain who formerly served in, 271.
 Broadwater, the. *See* Blackwater.
 Brooke, Sir John, 399.
 lieutenant of, 278.
 Brooks, Captain Basil, company of, attack upon, at Limerick, 13, 14.
 statement signed by, 14.
 Brouncker, Sir Henry, letter of, 219.
 money to be allowed on account of, for the wine impost, 167.
 recommends a kinsman to Cecil, 219.
 grant to, 500.
 Browne or Broun, Captain, 101.
 Captain, son of Sir Valentine, 163.
 recommended to Cecil, 154.
 Davy Fitz Ulick, wounded, 186.
 Nicholas, 374.
 Mr., of Stroud, 333.
 Captain Thomas, statement signed by, 14.
 company of, "murdering and abusing of," 14.
 despatch sent by, 184, 246.
 Ulick, of co. Limerick, Loughgirr to be kept by, for her Majesty, 242.
 William, grant to, 500.

- Bruerton or Brewrton, Lieutenant, 115.
 , slain, 530.
 Bruff, the, co. Limerick, castle of, 186, 437.
 , a ward placed in, 242.
 Bryan. *See* O'Brien.
 Bryningham, Brymigeam. *See* Breningham.
 Buchanans, the, of the Lennox, 118.
 Buckhurst, Thomas Sackville, Lord, Lord
 High Treasurer of England, 203, 268.
 , letters of, 107, 341, 346.
 , alluded to, 103, 314.
 , letters to, 270, 271, 337, 345,
 471, 481.
 , endorsement by, 278.
 , a horse given to Lord Mount-
 joy by, 94.
 , accounts called for by, 125.
 , sent to, mentioned,
 188, 207, 392, 448.
 , warrant of, alluded to, 197.
 , Sir George Carey desires to
 know his pleasure, 207.
 , help of, or orders from,
 solicited, 270, 432.
 , is written to, concerning the
 victualling, 270, 271, 337, 471, 481.
 , is prayed to send victuals and
 apparel to Lough Foyle, 314.
 , concerning the arming of
 troops, 341.
 , writes to Cecil concerning
 money and victuals for Ireland, 342,
 347, 348.
 , Cecil writes to, concerning
 the commissaries of victuals, 345.
 , and the Lady Rich, 346.
 , wishes to expel "these beg-
 garly corrupt knaves," the commissaries,
 346.
 , means to be "quiet in the
 [Exchequer of] Receipt till Hallow-
 tide," 348.
 , has not seen his wife for four
 months, 342, 348.
 , and the government of Ar-
 magh, 412.
 , matters to be laid before, 510.
 , the service in Ireland greatly
 bound to, 534.
 , wife of, 342, 348.
 , children of, 348.
 Burgh, Captain David, company of, men cast
 in, 507.
 , Frances, widow of Thomas, Lord,
 petition of, 328.
 , her claim to tithes and port-
 corn in Ireland, 328 (2), 428 (2).
 , Captain Oliver, company of, men cast
 in, 507.
 , Thomas, Lord, former Lord Deputy
 of Ireland, 68, 230.
 , time of his government, al-
 luded to, 294.
 , allowances made to, 117, 511.
 Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
 , his expedition to the Black-
 water, 208, 280.
 , Sir Thomas, Irish company of, 207,
 507.
 *See also* Burke.
 Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 291, 305, 437.
 , thought only of the Queen's
 service, 257.
 , grant of lands procured by
 means of, 258.
 , services rendered to, 283.
 , a messenger sent to, 271.
 , favours of, acknowledged,
 379.
 , , to Kilkenny, 74.
 , , to Waterford, 488.
 , his second wife [Mildred],
 mother of Robert, Earl of Salisbury,
 288.
 Burke or Bourke, John, son-in-law to Sir G.
 Thornton, and half-brother to Piers
 Lacy, assurances given by, to Carew,
 242.
 , John, sons of, of co. Mayo, go with
 O'Donnell into Clanrickarde, 266, 291.
 , hope to be settled in
 Clanrickarde, 291.
 , their jealousy of O'Donnell
 and anger against the Earl of Clan-
 rickarde, 291, 292.
 , McTheobald, sons of, 53.
 , Maurice Fitz Redmund, slain, 437.
 , Redmund [McShane], son of the Baron
 of Leitrim, 110, 186.
 , Tyrone writes to, 123.
 , skirmish with the followers
 of, 148.
 , and Florence McCarthy, 154,
 155, 159.
 , pledges in the hands of, 241.
 , the Munster rebels desire his
 return, 320, 388.
 , report that he is murdered,
 322.
 , intends to advance into Muns-
 ter again, 388.
 , complains of wrongs done to
 him, 395.
 , offers to bring in a thousand
 men, 439.
 , movements of, 474, 494.
 , Redmond, uncle to John, Baron of
 Leitrim, 322.
 , the betrayal of the Baron of
 Leitrim by, 323.
 , sons of. *See* Burke, Ulick
 and his brother.
 , Richard, Lord Bourke of Castle Con-
 nell, 13.
 , as the late Lord, entertain-
 ment of, 279.
 , slain by the Connaught rebels,
 320.
 , his barony, 279.

Burke or Bourke—cont.

-, Richard or Rickerd, slain, 52, 71, 72.
-, Theobald, late Lord Bourke of Castle Connell, slain by the rebels, 123.
-, brother of, also slain, 123.
-, Theobald or Tibbot, brother of Richard, Lord Bourke, 13.
-, as Lord Burke of Castle Connell, demands of, 279.
-, letter from, 323.
-, his claim stated as against the [bastard?] son of his brother Thomas, 279.
-, attack of, upon the Connaught bonnaughts, in revenge of his brother's death, 320.
-, grandfather of. *See* Burke, Sir William, 1st Lord Bourke.
-, followers of, 279.
-, Theobald, slain, 52.
-, Captain Thomas, of Mayo, 84.
-, company of, 293, 330.
-, Sir Thomas, son of Lord Clanrickarde, with the Lord Deputy in Offally, 339.
-, wounded, 460, 463, 465, 529.
-, knighting of, by Essex, 234.
-, regiment of, 462.
-, Thomas, brother of Richard, Lord Bourke, deceased, 279.
-, reputed son of, born of the daughter of O'Mulrian, claims to be Lord Bourke of Castle Connell, 279 (2).
-, Tibbot [McRichard Enyeren *alias* Tibbot] Ne Longe, 446.
-, brother-in-law of. *See* O'Connor Sligo.
-, Ulick, and his brother, reported to have murdered Redmond McShane, 322, 323.
-, Sir William, 1st Baron Bourke of Castle Connell, 279.
-, William, letter of, asking for a safe conduct and promising not to molest the Lord President, 299.
- Burkes, the, two of the best of, have submitted, 242.
-, skirmish with, 409.
-, their country. *See* Clanwilliam.
- Burnell, Robert, chirurgion, 302.
- Butler, Sir Edmund, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, rebellion of, 75.
-, claims to be the Earl's heir, 102.
-, son of. *See* Butler, Tibbott.
-, Edward Fitz Edmund, son of Lord Mountgarret, burning and spoiling by, in cos. Wexford and Kilkenny, 75, 148, 238.
-, takes the oath of allegiance, 396.
-, Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir of the Earl of Ormonde, measures for her safety, 88, 89, 97, 102, 103.
-, fear of her being embezzled or forced into marriage, 97, 98, 299.

Butler, Lady Elizabeth—cont.

-, Tyrone does not mean to demand, as a wife for his son, 237, 240.
-, James, eldest son of Lord Mountgarret, 109.
-, James Galle, brother of Lord Cahir, surprise of Cahir Castle by, 247, 369.
-, offers to submit himself, 247, 369.
-, Piers, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, 181.
-, grant to, 501 (?).
-, Edmund son of, 181.
-, Margaret, daughter of, her daughter Mary marries Sir Terence O'Dempsey, 181.
-, Piers, a kinsman of the Earl of Ormonde, 101.
-, Richard, son of Lord Mountgarret, and son in law of the Earl of Tyrone, Tyrone writes to, 123.
-, burning and spoiling of, in co. Wexford, 148, 238.
-, letter to, from a friar in Ulster, 239.
-, is urged to continue to fight manfully for the Catholic faith, 239.
-, takes the oath of allegiance, 396.
- the Lady Margaret [O'Neill], his wife, 239.
-, Sir Walter [afterwards Earl of Ormonde], nephew of the Earl of Ormonde, claims to be his heir, 102.
-, orders given to, to aid Cahir Castle, 247.
-, horse company of, casting of men in, 506.
-, traitors taken and slain by, 474, 475.
-, Tibbott, son of Sir Edmund, release of, prayed for by Ormonde, 428, 432.
-, brothers of, in rebellion, 428.
-, a kinsman of Lord Mountgarret, slain, 103.
- Butlers, the, fear of a rising of, 89, 96, 97.
-, the chief men of, dealt with, to be careful to preserve Ormonde's country, 97.
- Byrnes, the. *See* O'Byrnes.

C

- Cadiz expedition, the, an officer serving in, 271.
- Cahir [Thomas Butler], Baron of, 128, 129, 248.
-, has recovered his castle of Cahir and holds it for her Majesty, 353, 369.
-, prays the restoration of his other castles, 370.
-, brother of. *See* Butler, James Galle.
-, sister of, said to be the wife of James Fitz Thomas, 460.

Cahir Castle, co. Tipperary, taken by the rebels, 247
 constable and garrison of, 247.
 recovery of, 353, 369.
 ordnance at, 354, 369.
 Calais, company sent to relieve, 271.
 Calbeg. *See* Killibeg.
 Callo, the, castle of (co. Roscommon), 84.
 Campbell or Cambell, Denis, Dean of Limerick, letter to, 194.
 allowance to, 111, 426.
 his man, 194.
 Elizabeth, his wife, letter of, 194.
 Campbells, the, may be trusted for service in Ireland, 118.
 Campion, William, the Earl of Ormonde's chaplain, recommended for the Bishopric of Ferns, 55.
 Cangan, near Dunalong, 407.
 Canterbury, Archbishop of [John Whitgift], 440.
 letter to, 76.
 Cantwell, John, a follower of the Earl of Ormonde, 188.
 letter of, 256.
 Thomas, son of John, 256.
 Cautyre or Cantire, McConnells of. *See* McConnells.
 lord of, 194.
 Captains, absent from their charge, 200, 215, 221, 272, 322, 505.
 in Dublin, 9, 176, 322, 366, 442, 505.
 in England, 176, 322, 330, 331, 334.
 lists of, 334, 335.
 reports to be given by, 389.
 must return to their charge, 9, 176, 331, 334, 366.
 ordered by the Queen to return or to be dismissed, 272.
 charges and entertainment of, 335.
 evils resulting from, 113, 357.
 fear of discouraging, 3.
 sent to Chester, 5, 34, 69, 95.
 meeting of certain, with James Fitz Thomas, 12.
 news brought by, 27.
 ill customs of, in entertaining one another's men, 31.
 are many of them in remote places, 34.
 miscarriage or misdemeanours of, 57, 326, 381, 503, 516.
 greedy demands of, 64.
 change of, to be advertised to Cecil, 64.
 the Lord Deputy's resolve to keep, in discipline, 82.
 emulation amongst, 83.
 statement of, before the Council, 86.

Captains—*cont.*

..... petition of, 94.
 list of, appointed for Lough Foyle, 95.
 default or death of, to be allowed for, 142.
 recommended to Cecil, 154.
 in Munster, foolish and malicious conduct of, complained of, 162, 178.
 holding lands in farm, 176.
 complaints by, of the commissaries, 176.
 loss of, for want of mustering, 196.
 many have been made, since the Lord Deputy arrived in Ireland, 200.
 their importunate suit for a muster, 203.
 certain of, have sold their companies in England, 215.
 holding companies of both horse and foot, 222, 414, 506.
 objection to, 221, 505.
 a list of those meet to be employed, has been sent to England, 230.
 list of, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 278, 279.
 the Lord Deputy desires to increase the companies of certain, 279.
 arrears of, to be paid, 268.
 cannot afford to buy beer, 270.
 "looseness" of, causes the soldiers to desert, 272.
 are not to be licensed to go to England, except on very urgent occasion, 272.
 must not give leave to their men to go to England, 272, 497, 505.
 dismissal of soldiers by, to be strictly examined into, 272.
 dividends for payments of, to be made at the Council table, 273.
 complaints made by, of extortionate fees, 275.
 no ways taken to ease, 275.
 in the garrisons, no service done by, to answer the Queen's charge, 278.
 are to send in monthly reports, 278.
 must not be drunkards or great takers of tobacco, 289.
 their lieutenants, 95, 506.
 murmuring of, 301.
 accounts of, auditing of, 305.
 Carew prays that those absent from Munster may be sent back, 322.
 the Queen complains of their ill conduct, 325, 352.
 negligence or ill conduct of, must be punished, 325.
 Lord Mountjoy's lax dealings with, 325, 326, 503, 516.
 going to Dublin, have promised to make their numbers complete there, 333.
 names of those having double charges, 335, 505.

Captains—*cont.*

-, pressing of post-horses by, for their private affairs, 340.
 -, the baseness of some, caused the first downfall of the English reputation, 350.
 -, those in Ireland are as good as anywhere else, 350.
 -, leave granted to, 350.
 - cannot arm their soldiers from their own purse, 381.
 -, pretences of, concerning their lands, 410.
 -, the companies of those slain, have reinforced other bands, 410.
 -, Carey prays that imprests to, may be paid by his own agents, 411.
 - have had to go to Dublin to make up their half yearly accounts, 442.
 -, number of Irish allowed in their companies, 445.
 -, good service done by, 467.
 - to be sent to Ormonde, 474.
 -, moneys deducted from, 483.
 -, appointment of, formerly in the General's disposition, 502.
 -, Lord Mountjoy defends his dealings with, 502, 503.
 -, appointment of men of small means, and "idle drones" complained of, 503.
 -, names of those appointed by the Lord Deputy, 503, 504.
 -, buying and selling of companies by, 503.
 -, complaints against, in relation to musters, refuted, 504.
 - try to entice away each other's men, 504.
 - only on urgent occasions licensed to go to England, 505.
 -, the size of their companies, 506.
 - are most of them older than Alexander was, when he conquered the world, 517.
 -, Irish. *See* Irish captains.
- Carbery, Carberry or Carbry, co. Cork, 363.
-, chief of. *See* McCarthy, Donald, *alias* McCarthy Reagh.
 -, the McCarties of. *See* McCarthys, the.
 -, pensions from, for the leaders of the rebels, 48.
 -, fight with the rebels in, 52, 116, 133.
 -, Captain Flower's account of his expedition into, 116, 117.
 -, wasted by the Queen's forces, 133, 160.
 -, rebel forces of, commanded by Florence McCarthy, 144.
 -, Florence McCarthy is heir to, 153.
 -, saved by Florence from being spoiled and burned by Tyrone, 154.
 -, O'Neill's buoities in, 155.
 -, the rebels move towards and threaten to destroy, 158.

Carbery, Carberry or Carbry—*cont.*

-, Florence McCarthy cannot undertake for the whole of, 160.
 -, chieftains of, are to keep it in quietness, 241.
 -, forces to be put into, 361.
 -, settlement of, 435.
 -, Sir George Carew is going to, 443.
- Carew, Sir George, President of Munster, 19, 24, 40, 56, 106, 133, 233, 379, 399, 433.
-, letters patents, appointing him President, 20.
 -, letters of, 27, 58, 61, 68, 72, 75, 76, 87, 100, 108, 111, 128, 131, 141, 150, 156, 163, 181, 182, 185, 187, 189, 231, 241, 246, 250, 260, 305, 316, 321 (2), 322, 336, 353, 358, 359, 360, 366, 374, 379, 384, 386 (3), 387 (2), 389, 391 (2), 404, 434 (2), 441, 442, 447, 451, 480, 485, 491, 497, 533, 537.
 -, alluded to, 65, 88, 96, 145, 160, 232, 246, 249, 256, 261, 265, 268, 353, 366, 367, 378, 384, 389, 400, 442, 445, 497.
 -, letters to, 90, 110, 112, 154, 175, 178, 185, 299, 359, 371, 373, 400, 435, 436, 497, 499.
 -, alluded to, 108, 109, 182, 262, 265, 359, 360, 363, 388, 439, 440, 443, 470.
 -, letters certified by, 157, 179, 339, 376.
 -, certificates of, alluded to, 134.
 -, notes or endorsements by, 110, 112, 179, 321, 336, 373, 387, 497.
 -, orders or warrants of, 379.
 -, alluded to, 163, 182, 210, 476, 477.
 -, orders or instructions to, 88, 232, 323, 389, 498.
 -, asked for, 58.
 -, appointments by, 305, 324.
 -, forces of. *See* Munster, forces of.
 -, pledges in the hands of, 261, 264.
 -, protections granted by, 109, 262, 320.
 -, recommendations by, 27, 58, 61, 68, 72, 75, 76, 131, 154, 181, 182, 185, 231, 264, 265, 321, 336, 353, 379, 386 (3), 387, 391, 404, 434 (2), 442, 447, 485, 537.
 -, suitors to, 494.
 -, shall be sent to his charge as soon as possible, 5, 47.
 -, cannot yet go to Munster, 29, 35, 36, 47.
 -, matters left in charge of, 34.
 -, munition examined by, 34.
 -, without him, the Lord Deputy's burden will be twice as heavy, 47.
 -, landing of, reported in Munster, 52.

Carew, Sir George—*cont.*

-, Florence McCarthy recommended to, by the Queen, 55.
-, looked for daily, in Munster, 71.
-, departure of, for Munster, 73, 83, 100, 104.
-, and the capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 89, 100, 102, 108, 109, 110, 111, 129, 139.
-, is to meet the Lord Deputy, 89.
-, at Kilkenny, 100, 102.
-, his own narrow escape from the rebels, 89, 101.
-, states that the gentlemen of the country are wavering, 101.
-, has sent forces to Kilkenny, 102.
-, at Waterford, 103, 108, 182.
-, interview of, with Mountgarret's son, 109.
-, with the White Knight's son, 110.
-, his opinion of the White Knight, 110.
-, is asked by Ormonde not to attempt to rescue him, 110.
-, prays that the Earl of Thomond may be encouraged, 111, 146.
-, and the bishop of Cork, 111.
-, Lord Thomond's affection for, 112.
-, is at Youghal, 113.
-, is at Cork, 123, 131, 143, 149, 257.
-, finds his province in great confusion, 123, 389.
-, dealings of, in relation to Florence McCarthy, 65, 123, 150-157, 162, 168, 178, 244, 248, 249, 315, 321, 359, 361, 367, 368, 371-376, 388, 435, 443, 491.
-, asks for supplies, 129, 130, 143, 184, 185, 245, 246, 251, 321, 385.
-, and Patrick Crosby's business, 141.
-, advice or opinion of, 142, 144, 390, 496, 498.
-, help given to, by Lord Thomond, 143.
-, rebels submitting to, 145, 153, 168, 241, 242, 257, 370, 387, 485.
-, complains of a ship's captain for having stolen away without her Majesty's letters, 163.
-, has drawn in some heads of the rebels, and cut off others, 163.
-, his care of the munition and provisions of the province, 182, 183, 245.
-, concerning Limerick Castle, 183.
-, is about to take the field, 184.
-, requests instructions in case of a Spanish invasion, 187, 249, 321.

Carew, Sir George—*cont.*

-, his wise handling of his province, 198.
-, care of, concerning Cahir Castle, 199.
-, and the taking of James Fitz Thomas, 199.
-, no news received from, in Dublin, 205.
-, proceedings of, against the rebels, 241-251, 257, 260-265, 316-320, 321, 331-363, 366-371, 434, 435. *And see* dealings of, with Florence McCarthy, *above*.
-, castles garrisoned by, or surrendered to, 242, 243, 318, 319, 324, 366, 369.
-, burns the O'Mulrians' country, 243.
-, finds the rebels beginning to stagger, 243.
-, concerning the repair of Limerick Castle, 246, 385.
-, his defence concerning the loss of Cahir, 247.
-, and the plot against John Fitz Thomas, 248, 249.
-, urges the sending of the young Earl of Desmond to Ireland, 249, 263, 390, 391.
-, attributes the obstinacy of the rebels to their priests, 250.
-, persuades Lord Barry not to go to England, 251.
-, and the seizure of the so-called Earl of Desmond by O'Connor, 251, 261, 262, 263, 265.
-, at or going to Limerick, 257, 261, 265.
-, and Dermot O'Connor, 232, 261, 263.
-, means to march to the Glynn, 264.
-, views of, concerning pledges, 264, 318.
-, on the proceedings in Ulster, 265.
-, command under, 279.
-, good success of, 289.
-, safe-conduct of, asked for, 299.
-, power of, to grant protections, 307.
-, marches towards the Glynn, 316, 317.
-, assaults and takes the castle, 317, 324.
-, returns to Limerick, 319.
-, proposes to settle the garrisons of Kerry and Cork, 320.
-, fears a famine, 321.
-, rebukes the Archbishop of Cashel, 323.
-, concerning lands for the young Earl of Desmond, 343, 344.
-, is to stop soldiers running away to England, 351.

Carew, Sir George—*cont.*

-, the Lord Deputy asks for men from, 359.
-, prays the Lord Deputy to withdraw his demand, 359, 361.
-, is hastening to the borders of Muskerry, 361.
-, hopes to bring the province to conformity, 362, 363.
-, goes into Kerry, 366, 385.
-, Florence McCarthy hangs like a dark cloud over, 368.
-, his maintenance of martial discipline, 369.
-, takes assurances of many gentlemen at Kilmallock, 370.
-, returns to Cork, 371, 384.
-, and the Archbishop of Cashel, 378, 379, 439, 476, 496.
-, accounts delivered to, 383.
-, concerning the charters of Cork, 384.
-, on the want of horses, 385.
-, desires that Lord Audley may have the castle of the Glynn, 386.
-, prays for some shipping, 389.
-, cannot end the rebellion unless young Desmond is sent to draw away McThomas's followers, 390.
-, if young Desmond comes, prays that it may be with the title of Earl, 391.
-, sends hawks to Sir Robert Cecil, 391.
-, has almost brought the province to quietness, 400, 442.
-, suggestions made to, 401-403.
-, prisoners to be sent to, 409.
-, is going to Youghal and Kinsale, 435.
-, intelligences sent to, 436.
-, heads sent to, 437.
-, and the commissaries of musters, 441, 442, 445, 480.
-, has received a humble letter from Florence McCarthy, 443.
-, and the command of the fort of Leix, 451.
-, and the Earl of Desmond, 460, 487, 495.
-, said to be gone against Florence McCarthy, 464.
-, the Earl of Desmond comes to, 486, 487.
-, journey about to be undertaken by, 487.
-, the Earl of Desmond's patent delivered to, 495.
-, statement by, concerning dead pays, 496.
-, on the petition of the Archbishop of Cashel, 496, 497, 499.
-, and the forces from England, 497.

Carew, Sir George—*cont.*

-, concerning the charters of Waterford, 498.
-, a company bestowed on, 503.
-, the Lord Deputy's affection to, 515, 518.
-, directions given to, for the casting of companies, 519.
-, on the Lady Sentleger's cause, 533.
-, prudence and prowess of, 537.
-, kindness of, to Cecil's kinsman, 538.
-, chaplain of, 316.
-, servant of, 368.
-, company of, 518.
-, kinsman of, 353.
-, his uncle Harry, 145.
- Carey, Sir George, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, and late Lord Justice, 11, 59, 163, 168, 194, 442, 452.
-, letters of, 9, 26, 31, 63, 74, 81, 121, 207, 224, 314, 829, 339, 398, 399, 467, 481, 482, 488, 490.
-, alluded to, 392.
-, letters to, 36, 209, 330, 468, 469, 489, 490, 534.
-, mentioned, 5, 81, 481, 510, 511, 513, 534.
-, intelligence in the handwriting of, 57, 305.
-, notes or memorials on behalf of, 64, 176, 410.
-, orders or warrants to, 37, 304, 416.
-, alluded to, 20, 352, 385, 392, 394, 399, 416, 468.
-, objects to the reduction of the army, 10.
-, desires to go to England, 26, 61, 64, 74, 176, 329, 398, 399.
-, asks for supplies for the army, 31, 121, 314.
-, matters left in the hands of, 34, 168.
-, applications made to, 39.
-, no arrears due to, 64.
-, in relation to wardships, 74.
-, payments by, 81, 304.
-, in relation to the victualling, 168.
-, entertainment of, as Lord Justice, 176.
-, contracts for bread in Dublin, 180.
-, has received the treasure from England, 205, 314.
-, accounts of, sent in, 203, 329.
-, to be viewed, 304.
-, not yet ready, 305.
-, to be sent to England, 346.
-, commission for taking, alluded to, 410.

- Carey, Sir George—*cont.*
 is not to meddle with the money for Lough Foyle, 233.
 money or tickets for provisions to be paid to, 286.
 swears that he meddles not with the Queen's money, 329.
 says there is or soon will be no money left, 339, 348, 350.
 Lord Buckhurst protests against, 342.
 recommendations by 339.
 information from, 351, 489.
 prays for the Queen's warrant for sending over his ledger book, 338, 309.
 grieves that the charge grows to so great a height, 398.
 moneys to be detained by, 399.
 entertainments or pay stayed by, 411, 423, 509, 537.
 permission to, to go to England, 416.
 declares that he has no money in store, 422.
 commission given to, to hear the complaints of the Pale, 423.
 matters referred to, or to be settled with, 426, 510.
 and the captains' accounts, 445.
 must be wary how he lessens his forces, 453.
 is desired to furnish means for the troops going to the Naas, 448.
 and the officers' complaints, 458.
 is prevented by storms from putting to sea, 467.
 the Lord Deputy thanks, for his care, 469.
 proceedings of, in the Lord Deputy's absence, 471.
 concerning the dismissal of Commissary Newcomen, 481, 482.
 is presently going into England, to pass his accounts, 483, 489.
 information sent to, 489.
 is to ask the Privy Council not to send fish to the army, 491.
 money imprested by, 499.
 agents of, 329, *And see* Hibbotts, Thomas; Watson, Thomas.
 in England, 411.
 deputy of. *See* Kennell, Christopher.
 servant of, 379.
 paymasters of. *See* Forces in Ireland, paymasters of.
- Cargyen, the, letter from, 30.
 Carrigolgh. *See* Carrigolgh.
- Carlingford, co. Louth, 467.
 commander of the forces at. *See* Bagenall, Sir Samuel.
 commissary for. *See* Bird, Henry.
 garrison of, 226.
 the Green Castle, near the harbour of, 56, 221.
 keeper of, 56.
 letters dated at, 171, 225, 341.
 magazine at, 481.
 paymaster at. *See* Dobb, John.
 munition at, 37.
 munition sent from, estimate of, 256.
 victuals, munition, &c. for, 271, 469, 491, 523, 525.
 victuals sent for, from, 227, 460, 523, 524.
 the Lord Deputy at, 225, 228.
 Sir Samuel Bagenall sent to, 489.
- Carlow, Catherlogh or "Caterlogha," city of, letter dated from, 87.
 the rebels near, 16.
 the Lord Deputy is to meet Ormonde at, 254, 256.
 the Lord Deputy goes to, 394.
 Carlow or Catherlogh, county of, is secured, 438.
- Carnarvon, harbour of, 340.
 Carrickbane or Carrick Bande, hill of, near the Newry, the Lord Deputy in camp near, 531.
 letter dated at, 534.
 the Lord Deputy at, 306.
- Carrickfergus or Knockfergus, co. Antrim, 227, 253, 481.
 governor of. *See* Chichester, Sir Arthur.
 commissary at, "buys fish there good cheap," 342.
 forces for, 9, 61, 73, 121, 510.
 garrison or forces (Sir Arthur Chichester's garrison) at, 62, 173, 438.
 will be able to master the Clandeboyas, 180.
 has fed on the stores at Lough Foyle, 269.
 good service done and prey taken by, 300.
 victuals for, 342, 345, 347.
 has laid the country waste for twenty miles about, 352.
 Irish company at, 507.
 letters from, 173, 192, 193, 209.
 munition or arms to be sent to, 28, 33, 345.
 ships to and from, 93, 125, 173, 207, 471.
 store at, victuals in, 173.
 victuals for or sent to, 61, 271, 471.
 needed for, 174, 270.
 the Lough Foyle fleet and forces at, 82, 200, 233.

Carriekfergus or Knockfergus, co. Antrim—
cont.

....., Sir Henry Dockwra expected at, 86.
....., forces at, killed by the McSorleys, 118.
....., Scots forces proposed to be sent to, 119.
....., Sir Arthur Chichester returns to the government of, 147, 255, 489.
....., fleet going from, to Lough Foyle, 168, 188, 192, 193.
....., Sir Henry Dockwra arrives at, 173.
....., Sir Henry Dockwra departs from, 194, 195, 208.
....., prisoner at, 240.
....., difficulty of communication with, 269, 304.
....., merchants trading to, 278.
....., danger to, from Chichester's absence, 330, 331.
....., sick soldiers shipped from, 449.
....., ship from, 454.
....., Sir Arthur Chichester's return to, wished for, 481.
Carrigfoyle or Carriggofoyle, on the Shannon, co. Kerry, a castle of John O'Connor Kerry's, 265, 319, 366, 367, 368, 372.
....., Carew intends to besiege, 243, 244, 256.
....., a former siege of, 318.
....., surrendered to and garrisoned by Carew, 318, 324, 373.
....., letters dated at, 336, 376.
Carrigrohane, near Cork, 15.
Carrignassey, co. Cork, Florence McCarthy's ward at, 116.
Carrigolough, Carrigolough or Carrigoholough, in Thomond, 361, 367, 375, 385, 404.
....., letter dated at, 353.
Carroll, James, Deputy Muster-master for Ireland, check-book signed by, 445.
Carter, William, grant to, 501.
Carty. *See* McCarthy.
Carver, Mr., 73.
....., Mrs., 73.
Cary. *See* Carey.
Carybragh, co. Cork, Lord President of Munster going to, 464.
Case, Maurice, 13.
Casheen or Cassan, the river, co. Kerry, 367.
Cashel, co. Tipperary, 43.
....., letters from, 10, 12.
....., forces for, 11.
....., Ormonde is drawing his force towards, 22.
....., Ormonde goes to, 23.
....., the passage to, from Limerick, freed, 242.
Cashel, the pass of, in Queen's County, 354, 396, 397.

Cashel, Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of, 110, 458.
....., letters of, 198, 268, 377, 426, 439, 461, 475, 494.
....., alluded to, 11, 376.
....., petition of, 496.
....., his choleric humour and malapert behaviour, 11, 12.
....., controversy of, with O'Dwyre, 11, 12, 376, 377, 378, 379.
....., is busily working, 145.
....., on the condition of Munster, 198.
....., his employment in relation to the taking of James Fitz Thomas (Desmond), 199, 249, 250, 251, 262.
....., is to be sent to England, 251, 260, 316.
....., will give an account of the failure of the plot, 260.
....., his extraordinary care in the business, 264.
....., desires to see his sons at liberty before going to England, 268.
....., his losses by the rebels, 316.
....., was promised a "preacher's stipend" but could not obtain it, 316, 426.
....., preferment, entertainment or relief desired by, 316, 426, 427, 440, 477, 495, 496.
....., his "untrue information" concerning Justice Goold, 323.
....., has gone to England, 376.
....., quarrel of, with Ormonde, 377, 378.
....., order for satisfying the just demands of, 379.
....., requests of, to the Queen, 426, 427.
....., is to have a prebend in England, 426, 429.
....., risk run by, if he returns to Ireland, 427, 440.
....., sends a draft of what he wishes written to Ireland, 439.
....., payment to, 450.
....., and the Earl of Desmond's patent, 461, 495, 496.
....., on behalf of the agents of Kilmallock, 461.
....., and the Earl of Desmond, 476, 477, 486, 488, 494, 495.
....., desires a living *in commendam*, 477.
....., notes by, concerning the chieftains of Ulster, 477, 480.
....., concealed bonds discovered by, 496.
....., cipher signature of, 496.
....., information given by, against the town of Waterford, 498.
....., letter concerning, received by Sir George Carew, 499.
....., grants to, 501.
....., lands of, 494.
....., sons of, given as pledges to O'Connor, 250, 264, 268, 496.
....., children of, 378, 379.
....., man of, 378.
....., tenants and followers of, 378, 379, 427.

- Cassan, the river of. *See* Casheen.
- Cassie, Ulick, son of, slain, 437.
- Castle Connell, Barons of. *See* under Burke.
- Castle Dermott, co. Kildare, 353, 394.
- Castlejordan, co. Meath, 302.
- Castlelshen, co. Limerick, a house of Dermott O'Connor's, 261, 371.
- Castlelyons or Castellyan, castle of, co. Cork, 18.
-, letter dated at, 52.
- Castlemaine, co. Kerry, 374.
-, , siege and surrender of, 132.
-, , the young Earl of Desmond desires to obtain, 486, 487, 494.
-, mountain of. *See* Slewlogher.
- Castlemartin, co. Kildare, 501.
- Castleton or Castletown, near Dundalk, letters dated at, 469, 491.
- Castletown, co. Cork, Lord Roche's manor of, 44.
-, , letters dated from, 44, 433.
- Cather [?] Cahir], castle, loss of, 199.
- Catholic camp, the, letter dated from, 17.
- faith. *See* Roman Catholic.
- Cavan or the Cavan, 365.
-, , a castle at, 420.
-, , news received from, 331.
- Cavan, county of, the Lord Deputy's intended journey to, 337.
-, , friars of, 365.
- Cawfield, Captain, Lieutenant of, wounded, 529.
- Cecil, Sir Robert, *passim*.
-, , letters of, 65, 345, 416.
-, , alluded to, 9, 59, 63, 104, 149, 210, 349, 404, 409, 499, 513, 515.
-, , asked for, 58, 200.
-, , letters to, 7, 9, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 30, 37, 40, 44, 45, 47, 50, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 93, 94, 95, 99, 103, 104, 107, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 121, 125, 126, 127, 131, 134, 137, 141, 147, 149, 150, 157, 163, 164, 165, 167, 171, 174, 177, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 189, 192, 194, 198, 202, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 236, 241, 246, 250, 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 266, 268, 270, 271, 273, 283, 286, 291, 299, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 314, 316, 321, 323, 324, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 346, 353, 354, 356, 358, 364, 376, 379, 380, 381, 383, 386, 387, 389, 391, 397, 399, 404, 409, 415, 416, 418, 424, 425, 426, 428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 451, 452, 457, 458, 460, 461, 464, 467, 470, 475, 480, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 488, 490, 491, 494, 499, 513, 520, 530, 533, 534, 537, 538.
- Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*
-, , documents endorsed or corrected by, 64, 66, 105, 175, 234, 256, 450, 460, 477, 486, 494, 510, 512, 524.
-, , certificates sent to, 226.
-, , drafts by, 328.
-, , memoranda or notes by, 24, 137, 181, 208, 242, 243, 275.
-, , memoranda addressed to, 279, 304.
-, , memorial or remembrances for, 64, 176.
-, , notes or lists sent to, 165, 189, 208.
-, , recommendations to, 19, 29, 56, 61, 63, 72, 75, 111, 141, 142, 172, 181, 211, 212, 224, 230, 231, 232, 255, 307, 316, 321, 335, 336, 337, 339, 353, 358, 387, 434, 443, 444, 485, 537, 538.
-, , for bishoprics, 55, 56, 58, 437.
-, , of captains, 27, 68, 72, 75, 76, 126, 149, 154, 217, 219, 230, 379, 386.
-, , gratitude to or friendship for, *passim*.
-, , mediation of, with the Queen, requested, 105, 147, 151, 162, 165, 166, 179, 182, 211, 216, 217, 231, 234, 288, 307, 329, 391, 398, 414, 426, 484.
-, , acknowledged, 387.
-, , with the Lord Deputy, requested, 459.
-, , the danger of reducing the army represented to, 5, 7, 10, 46.
-, , information concerning Tyrone sent to, 5, 19, 21, 37, 40, 44, 82, 127.
-, , information concerning the plantations at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon sent to, 5, 82, 121, 127.
-, , Sir George Carew praises the Lord Deputy to, 9.
-, , a continuance of his favour prayed for, 10.
-, , complaints to, concerning the Archbishop of Cashel, 12.
-, , Sir Nicholas Walsh writes to, concerning the Pale, 16.
-, , the Mayor of Waterford prays him to obtain them a culverin, 20.
-, , objects to barbarous proposals, 24.
-, , Sir George Carey submits his "project" to, 26.
-, , the Lord Deputy sends information to, 27, 45, 85, 88.
-, , is prayed to send money for the army, 23.
-, , Sir Samuel Bagenall recommended to, 29.
-, , the Lord Deputy sends him a letter from Sir Arthur Chichester, 30.
-, , information sent to, concerning Munster, 47, 50, 70, 247, 257, 260, 316, 379, 389, 434, 442, 452.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, and Florence McCarthy, 47, 70, 155.
-, candidates for the Bishopric of Ferns recommended to, 55, 56, 58.
-, is appealed to, for entertainment, 56, 58.
-, Lord Chancellor Loftus complains to, of the Queen's "hard conceit" against him, 59.
-, leave to come to England requested from, 61.
-, the Earl of Kildare recommended to, 61, 72.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, concerning the Lord Deputy's proposed journey to the North, 61, 67, 121.
-, desires that Florence McCarthy may have a grant of his father-in-law's lands, 65.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, on the distribution of the army, 67.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra writes to, concerning the men intended for Ireland, 68.
-, the Lord Deputy asks his favour for Sir Edward Blount, 72.
-, Sir Francis Stafford sends information to, 73, 95.
-, the Corporation of Kilkenny prays his furtherance of their suits, 74.
-, Sir Francis Shane and Sir Henry Harrington recommended to, 75.
-, Sir George Bourchier writes to, about Ordnance affairs, 76.
-, is prayed to haste away victuals, 82.
-, Sir Francis Shane sends thanks to, 83.
-, information to, concerning Connaught, 84.
-, information sent to, concerning the Earl of Ormonde's capture and imprisonment, 87, 88, 89, 96, 104, 122, 137, 143, 167, 177, 181, 299.
-, has reported complaints concerning horses for Ireland, 93.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra announces his speedy departure to, 94.
-, Vincent Skinner writes to, on the proportions of victuals, 99.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, concerning Captain Stanton's proposal for drawing in the O'Neills, 103.
-, asked for news how matters stand in England, 104.
-, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst writes to, concerning supplies for Ireland, 107.
-, the bishop of Cork represents his small payments to, 111.
-, Lord Thomond recommended to, 111.
-, favours received from, acknowledged, 112, 114.
-, information sent to, concerning Florence McCarthy, 112, 116.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, a discourse on the entertainment of Scots in Ireland, addressed to, 117.
-, is prayed to order Thomas Watson to Dublin, 121.
-, George Beverley writes to, concerning his accounts, 125.
-, information sent to, concerning the quarrels of the Maguires, 126.
-, Mr. Anias recommended to, 131.
-, the Bishop of Cork defends his conduct to, 134.
-, information sent to, concerning Tyrone, 139, 147, 166, 172, 174, 300.
-, Patrick Crosby recommended to, 141.
-, Sir George Carew answers his remarks concerning captains, 141.
-, the Munster loyalists recommended to, 142.
-, thanked by Carew, for being mindful of his suit, 145.
-, and the Earl of Thomond, 146.
-, Lord Dunkellin prays, to have him discharged from his command in Connaught, 147.
-, list of the army sent to, 148.
-, Captain Crofts and John Allen recommended to, 149.
-, Sir George Carew writes to, about Florence McCarthy, 150, 249, 443.
-, Captain Browne recommended to, 154.
-, Florence McCarthy defends his proceedings to, 157.
-, is prayed to cause runaway soldiers to be punished, 163.
-, is written to, concerning Sir Henry Wallop's accounts, 163.
-, Lady Ormonde writes to, about her husband's imprisonment, 164.
-, information sent to, concerning Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, 163, 192, 202, 314.
-, thanked by Commissary Bird, 171.
-, Sir Samuel Bagenall recommended to, 172.
-, is prayed to send more money, 176, 207.
-, is thanked for his care in sending supplies, 180.
-, Carew recommends John Fitz Edmunds, to, 181.
-, Lord Barry sends his son to, 182.
-, the Mayor and city of Cork recommended to, 185, 189, 234, 256.
-, Hugh Cuffe asks, to increase his pay, 185.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, Fenton writes to, concerning the danger of Spanish invasion, 187.
-, information sent to concerning the Lord Deputy's expedition into Munster, 188, 189, 213, 214, 219, 224, 225.
-, a brief of the delivery of summer suits sent to, 189.
-, Sir Richard Percy prays, for payment of his entertainment, 194.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel writes to, on the state of Munster, 198.
-, is reported to have said that Sir Christopher Blount was reconciled to the Pope, 209.
-, has promised to recommend Sir Fras. Stafford for the government of the Newry, 210.
-, recommendation of Sir Edward Herbert to, 211, 212.
-, information sent to, concerning the Pale, 211.
-, James Dillon asks, for a company, 212.
-, Sir Griffin Markham asks the furtherance of, 216.
-, Capt. Stanton recommended to, 217.
-, asked by the Lord Deputy, to send more men, 218.
-, Capt. Linley and Arthur Hyde recommended to, 219.
-, letters written to, concerning Connaught, 222, 223, 231, 286, 291, 328, 409.
-, Sir Henry Davers complains to, of his loss of entertainment, 222.
-, recommendation of Lord Southampton to, 224.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton is going over to see, 224.
-, captains recommended to, 230.
-, Carew writes to, in favour of Lord Barry, 231.
-, names of persons knighted by the Earl of Essex sent to, 233.
-, "agents" sent to, to disclose the grievance caused by bad governors, 236.
-, asked by Ormonde to send more forces, to suppress the rebels in Leinster, 241.
-, is urged to send money for Munster, 251.
-, suits to, from Lord Barry, 251.
-, the Lord Deputy excuses his conduct to, 252.
-, pilot from Spain sent to, 253.
-, intelligence sent to, 254, 324.
-, the Lord Deputy recommends Sir Arthur Chichester to, 255.
-, nominations to the command of companies asked for, from, 258, 270, 271, 278.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, and McWilliam, 259, 260.
-, information sent to, concerning affairs in Ulster, 266, 334.
-, and rewards for service in Ireland, 268.
-, a remembrance for Lord Bourke, addressed to, 279.
-, Sir Oliver Lambert's conduct discovered to, 283, 284, 285.
-, Sir Arthur Savage writes to, concerning O'Donnell, 291.
-, the Lord Deputy sends intelligence to, 299, 306, 335.
-, is prayed to send letters to Chester and Liverpool, to stay ships for the soldiers, 303.
-, Sir John Bolles sent over to, 304.
-, Christopher Peyton asks, for the office of Auditor of the Wars, 305.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, of the Earl of Essex, 308.
-, information sent to, concerning the reported landing of the Spaniards, 315.
-, Carew recommends the Archbishop of Cashel to, 315.
-, the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick recommended to, 321.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel complained of, to, 323.
-, the mayor of Chester writes to, 327.
-, Carey prays permission from, to go to England, 329.
-, hawks sent to, 330, 391.
-, is asked to send the Captains back to their charge, 331.
-, his pleasure asked, concerning the musters for Ireland, 332.
-, report to, concerning the army, 333.
-, Lady O'Carroll recommended to, 335, 337, 339.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, of his proceedings against the rebels in Leinster, 337.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, of his return journey to Ireland, 340, 343, 356.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra writes to, about Lough Foyle, 341, 380, 405.
-, is consulted by Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, concerning supplies for for Ireland, 341, 342, 346.
-, news sent to, of the Lord Deputy's journey into Offally, 344, 353.
-, writes to Buckhurst on the arrangements he has made for Ireland, 345.
-, believes that the Queen's Commissaries are the destruction of her service, 345.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, Lord Buckhurst differs in opinion from, concerning sending money into Ireland, 348.
-, Sir George Carew writes to, on behalf of a kinsman, 353.
-, information sent to, by Lord Chancellor Loftus, 354.
-, the misdemeanours of captains and soldiers stated to, 357.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, about a lady agent in Ireland, 364.
-, intelligences of the discovery of Spanish ships directed to, 365.
-, Florence McCarthy hopes for letters from, 373.
-, message from, to Florence McCarthy, 375.
-, the Earl of Ormonde writes to, of the Archbishop of Cashel, 376.
-, and of his own journey with the Lord Deputy through Leix, 376.
-, his care to "bear up" the Lord Deputy in his doings, 382.
-, is prayed to supply men for Lough Foyle before the winter, 382.
-, news of McSwine Ne Doe's escape sent to, 383.
-, Lord Andley recommended to, 386.
-, Lord Barry thanks, for his favours, and protests his loyalty to, 387.
-, the Baron of Upper Ossory sends information to, 387.
-, is prayed to send young Desmond to Ireland, 390.
-, his own "nephew and dear kinsman" Sir Anthony Cooke, recommended to, 391, 537.
-, the Lord Deputy complains to, of the imputations made against him, 397.
-, Sir Anthony Cooke states his case to, 399.
-, money paid by, for Sir Anthony, 399.
-, and Capt. Blage's offer for the overthrow of Tyrone, 415.
-, the Earl of Desmond sends letters to, 416.
-, matters laid before the Queen by, 416.
-, the corporation of Dublin appeals to, 418.
-, the Bishop of Meath defends himself to, 419.
-, Lord Chancellor Loftus writes to, concerning his long service, 424.
-, information sent to, concerning the Lord Deputy's journey, 425, 432, 433, 441, 452, 461, 464.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel appeals to, 426, 439, 440.
-, mediation of, on behalf of the Earl of Ormonde, 428.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

-, is prayed to procure the enlargement of Ormonde's nephew, 428.
-, the case of Lord Howth and the gentlemen of the Pale stated to, 429, 431.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, concerning his fresh journey to the North, 430.
-, and in defence of his conduct, 430.
-, Lord Roche prays, for a company, 434.
-, is begged to favour Justice Dillon's suit, 437, 439.
-, a candidate for the bishopric of Derry recommended to, 437.
-, Lord Dunsany writes to, concerning affairs in Ireland, 438.
-, the Bishop of Ferns writes to, about his diocese, 440.
-, is prayed by Capt. Yelverton for assistance, 441, 450.
-, Henry Pyne recommended to, 443, 444.
-, information sent to, concerning Captains' accounts, 445.
-, the Lord Deputy complains to, of his debts and charges, 445, 446.
-, is prayed to grant entertainment to a captain to suppress the rebels in Connaught, 447.
-, the young Earl of Desmond writes to, concerning his chaplain, 447.
-, Justice Saxey recommended to, 447.
-, is prayed to send the rest of the victuals contracted for, 448.
-, Patriok Crosby complains that he has been "disgraced" by, 451.
-, note for, touching Leinster, 451.
-, plan proposed to, for separating the rebels of Ulster and Munster, 452.
-, the young Earl of Desmond writes to, concerning his retainers, 457.
-, information sent to, concerning the young Earl, 458, 461, 464, 470, 486, 494.
-, Thomas Watson writes to, about the transport of treasure, 458.
-, the Earl of Desmond writes to, about his affairs, 460, 461, 485.
-, is prayed to remember "the poor agents" of Kilmallock, 461.
-, intelligence sent to, of affairs in Ulster, 467, 480, 483, 488, 489, 490, 530, 534-537.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, on the need for appointing learned and godly ministers, 468.
-, the Earl of Desmond expresses his gratitude to, 470.
-, notes sent to, by the Archbishop of Cashel, concerning the chieftains of Ulster, 475, 476.

Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*

....., his care of the young Earl of Desmond, 476.

....., petition left in the hands of, 477.

....., thanked for his favours, 480, 499.

....., Sir Oliver Lambert apologises for not having written earlier to, 482.

....., Sir Arthur Chichester sends intelligence to, 484.

....., Sir George Thornton recommended to, 485.

....., is prayed to prevent the town of Kilkenny from making a port town, 488.

....., Sir George Carew sends information to, from Munster, 491.

....., the Archbishop of Cashel writes to, concerning his former suit and his entertainment, 495.

....., to be dealt with on behalf of the Lord Deputy, 510.

....., the Lord Deputy defends himself to, 513-520.

....., his especial care for Munster, 518.

....., Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to, concerning affairs in Ulster and Leinster, 520.

....., is asked to afford favour to Lady Sentleger, 533.

....., information sent to, by Capt. Philips, 530.

....., is thanked for his timely and liberal supply of victuals, 534.

....., Justice Saxey asks, for preferment, 537.

....., the Corporation of Dublin recommended to, 538.

....., Sir Anthony Cooke complains of his "plainness in writing," 538.

....., father of. *See* Burghley, Lord.

....., kinsman of, 533. *And see* Cooke, Anthony.

....., secretary of. *See* Willis, Symon.

....., notes or endorsements by, 21, 501, 511.

....., servant of. *See* Smith, Thomas.

Cecil family, a member of the, 258.

....., a suspected spy of the, 283.

Chamberlain, Sir John, sent to prey O'Cahan's country, 267.

....., killed in a skirmish, 269, 270, 395, 406.

....., death of, alluded to, 537.

....., funeral of, 270.

....., company of, 309.

....., John, of Gloucestershire, 332.

..... [Michael], Alderman of Dublin, payment to, 209.

....., Robert, of Oxfordshire, 332.

Champen, John, grant to, 500.

Chancery, the Court of, suit in, 165.

Channel, the English, proposed sending of Spanish galleys to, 254.

Chester or West Chester, city of, 74, 200, 215.

....., letters dated from, 68, 94 (2), 327, 332, 333, 340, 387, 411, 430, 444, 445.

....., mayor of. *See* Hardware, H.; Brerewood, Robert.

....., captains sent to, 5, 34, 69.

....., ships or fleet coming from, for Ireland, 61, 68, 69, 81, 82, 98, 104, 121.

....., forces assembled at, for Ireland, 67, 69, 73, 342, 344, 360, 364, 430, 458.

....., viewing or mustering of, 333, 411, 444.

....., desertions from, 333, 444.

....., embarkation of, 444, 445.

....., artificers with, schedule of, 445.

....., sailors at, difficulty in keeping together, 68.

....., horses at or shipped from, 93, 309, 411, 444.

....., Sir Henry Dockwra still at, 94.

....., captains at, petition of, 94.

....., departure of the fleet from, 125, 227.

....., the fleet from, has reached Carrickfergus, 172.

....., treasure or victuals sent from, 176, 271, 333, 458, 471.

....., merchants of, to furnish beer for Ireland, 197, 348.

....., journey of the troops from, "discourse of," 199, 200.

....., ships of, 208, 303.

....., high price of provisions at, 271.

....., the Irish should not be allowed to purchase powder in, 295.

....., the shipping at, to be stayed for transport of the fleet, 303.

....., Sir Geoffrey Fenton at, 330, 331, 332, 333.

....., Sir Anthony Sentleger at, 331.

....., passengers arrived at, from Lough Foyle, 340.

....., commissioners at, to be ordered to lose no time in sending off the troops, 343.

....., "idle and vagrant persons" impressed at, 411.

....., farm near. *See* Huntington.

....., the citizens of, elect a new Mayor, 471.

Chester, county of, a company raised in, 232.

....., dearth feared in, 458.

Chester water, a bark in, 340.

- Chichester, Sir Arthur, Serjeant-Major General, letters of, 30, 147, 192, 193, 209, 484.
 alluded to, 208.
 ordered to draw the forces together, 30, 44.
 on the state of the forces, 31, 147.
 says that famine, not the sword, must reduce the country, 147.
 has resigned his office of Serjeant-Major, and returned to his government of Carrickfergus, 147.
 sends a note of the disposition of the army, 148.
 gives information concerning proceedings in Ulster, 192, 193, 209.
 does not seek revenge for his brother's death, 193.
 announces the arrival of the troops at Lough Foyle, 193, 203, 209.
 asks for a warrant for his doings with Angus McConnell, 194.
 prays for supplies of powder and apparel, 209.
 the Lord Deputy praises his loyalty and industry and begs that he may be made a Councillor, 255.
 is going to England on business, 255.
 in England, 330, 334.
 danger to his charge, from his absence, 330, 331.
 his wishes for the arming of his men, 341.
 advice of, concerning victuals for the soldiers, 342, 345, 347.
 his complaints of the commissaries, 345.
 his need of money, 345, 346.
 arms for, 346.
 is well-beloved round Carrickfergus, 481.
 return of, to Ireland, 484.
 on the doings in Ulster, 484.
 has arrived at Dublin, 489.
 company of, 484.
 spies employed by, 209.
 Sir John, killed by the McSorleys, 118, 119, 193.
 Chute or Shuit, Mr., wounded at a fight in the Moyerie, 192, 206, 213.
 Cinque Ports, the, Warden of. *See* Cobham, Lord.
 Clancarties, the. *See* McCarthys.
 Clancarty [late] Earl of [Donnell McCarthy More], 162.
 his rule over other lords, 65.
 lands of, 65.
 abolishment of his title of McCarthy More, 179.
 Clancarty [late] Earl of [Donnell McCarthy More]—*cont.*
 his daughter. *See* McCarthy, Florence, wife of.
 his bastard son. *See* McCarthy, Donnell.
 his country, 18. *And see* Desmond.
 titular Earl of. *See* McCarthy, Derby McOwen.
 or Clancar, title of Earl of, claimed by Florence McCarthy, 151.
 Clandeboyas or Clandeboy, the, eos. Down and Antrim, 168, 180, 479.
 danger to, from their commander's absence, 331.
 the O'Neills of, 478.
 Clandermonds, the, sept of, 116.
 Clandonnells, the, Art. McDonnell's sons, 92, 119.
 mother of, Sir Arthur O'Neill's sister, 92.
 Clangibbon, the, White Knight's country in Munster. *See* Fitzgibbon, Edmund, country of.
 Clanharris, the, of Ossory, 474.
 Clanmorris, in Kerry, forces sent to, 366, 372, 373.
 the Geraldines in, 372.
 Clanricard or Clanrickarde, Ulick Burke, Earl of, Commander in Connaught, 53, 54, 84.
 said to have sworn to Tyrone, 62, 63.
 may rather be called Earl of Connaught, 84.
 and his son are taking all the strength into their hands, 84.
 fear of his revolt, 214.
 cannot now be helped by O'Donnell, 214.
 knew of O'Donnell's coming into his country, 265.
 was expected to oppose O'Donnell, 291.
 the Burkes' antagonism to, 292.
 his murder of his brother, the Baron of Leitrim, alluded to, 323.
 skirmish of, with the rebels, 409.
 company of, 84.
 forces of, strength of, 291.
 a gentleman of, shot, 409.
 kern of, 84.
 lands or property of, the State dare not alter, 214.
 ancestors of, 84.
 his eldest son. *See* Dunkellin, Baron.
 his third son, 84.
 his brother's sons, are the chain which curbs him, 214.

- Clanricard or Clanrickarde, district of, co. Galway, 466.
 incursions of O'Donnell into, 265, 291, 305, 439.
 the people of, have borne their losses with such patience as they might, 291.
 the Burkes hoped to be settled in, 291.
 must not be exempted from the government of Connaught, 293.
 preys taken in the mountains of, 305.
 Clanwilliam, a country of the Burkes, the Lord President and army of Munster march into, 242, 243.
 Clare, Captain [Henry], the Earl of Thomond's Lieutenant-Colonel, letters of, 270, 483.
 recommended to Cecil, 19, 68.
 prays that he may be made Governor of Limerick, 270.
 absent from his charge, 334.
 companies of, 483.
 Clifford, Sir Conyers, as late Governor of Connaught, 437.
 Clondagawe, on the Shannon, 84.
 Clone or Cloyne, co. Cork, John Fitz Edmonds' house at, 485, 487.
 Clongell, co. Meath, church of, ruined by the soldiers, 419.
 Clonmell, co. Tipperary, forces for, 11.
 Ormonde and his army drawing near to, 23.
 sovereign of, ordered to aid Cahir Castle, 247.
 prisoners at, 247.
 ordnance sent to, 369.
 assizes at, 376, 378.
 Clonnary, King's County, castle of, 6.
 Cloyne. *See* Clone.
 Cluat, Richard, of Oriel College, Oxon, letter of, 258.
 Cobham, Henry Brooke, Lord, Warden of the Cinque Ports, K.G., money owing to, 488.
 Cockayne, Cockain, Cockin or Cocken, William, purveyor of victuals for Ireland, 471.
 victuals received from, 271.
 agreements with or orders to, 342, 345, 347.
 Colclough or Cokelye, Sir Thomas, proposed for special employment in Wexford, 136.
 Coldbrooke, co. Devon, letter dated at, 447.
 Coleraine, co. Londonderry, 253.
 abbey of, garrisoned by the rebels, 188.
 prey taken from the rebels near, 267.
 Collam, Robert, 500.
 Colmackatreyne, on Lough Swilly, 407.
 Colquhouns, the, of the Lennox, 118.
 Comerford, Gerrot or Gerald [Attorney-General of Connaught], 11, 378.
 intelligence from, 38.
 allowance requested for, 81.
 is a Councillor of Munster, 369.
 Philip, slain, 89, 101.
 Comyn, Nicholas, Alderman of Limerick, 13.
 Conan, Richard, register of the Bishop of Meath, 419.
 list signed by, 420.
 Condon, Patrick, 106, 248, 539.
 is a subject only "in personal show," 128.
 Condon's or Cundon's country, co. Cork, 23.
 Conehie or Conhye. *See* Conoghe.
 Conlye, John, 167.
 Connaught, province of, *passim*.
 Attorney General of. *See* Comerford, Gerrot.
 Chief Commissioner of, the late. *See* Bingham, Sir Richard.
 Chief Justice of, 81. *And see* Dillon, Thomas.
 clerk of the Council of, 81.
 Commander or Chief Commissioner of, forces to be left with, 237.
 a command under, asked for, 290.
 Commanders, Governors or Chief Commissioners of. *See* Thomond, Earl of; Dunkellin, Lord.
 Commander in, *pro tem*. *See* Savage, Sir Arthur; Lambert, Sir Oliver.
 Commissary of victuals for, 397, 482.
 Council of, lack of news from, 205.
 Governor of, former. *See* Clifford, Sir Conyers.
 government of, has dissolved, 84.
 danger of committing, to Irish Lords, 84, 143.
 few hearken after, as it now is, 292.
 Justice and Council of, commission sent to, to manage civil affairs, 35.
 Provost Marshal for, 237.
 Captains in, 34.
 forces in or for, 61, 287.
 weak state of, 2, 221, 291, 292.
 jurisdiction over, given to the Earl of Thomond and Lord Dunkellin, 35.
 money and victuals for, 107, 130, 176, 342.
 companies of, 214, 286, 507.
 note of, 214.
 in Lord Essex's time, 233.
 proposed distribution of, 282, 287, 341, 362.
 withdrawn from, 293.
 numbers of, 348.

Connaught—*cont.*

-, garrisons or wards of, 214, 292.
-, the principal, should be under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commander, 53.
-, lands in, 507.
-, rebels of or in, 43, 52, 53, 112.
-, head of. *See* O'Connor, Dermond.
-, the chief trainer of, 53.
-, and bonnaughts, in Munster, 70, 116, 154, 157, 178, 243, 244, 251, 257, 301, 320, 494.
-, withdrawal of, 299, 320, 324.
-, killing and drowning of, 320.
-, treachery and sinister dealings of, 492, 493.
-, O'Donnell reported to have passed through, 7.
-, reported to be slain in, 23.
-, service in, rewards for, 50.
-, Lord Dunkellin complains that he has not full powers in, 53, 54, 146.
-, Father Nangle going into, 63.
-, the Earl of Clanrickarde might be rather called Earl of, 84.
-, the Irish Lords are taking the principal forts of, 84.
-, more fear of, than of any part of Ireland, 141.
-, the whole of, is out, except a few followers of Lord Clanrickarde, 146.
-, Lord Dunkellin desires to resign his command in, 147.
-, complaints of the lack of good order or government in, 148, 221, 231, 292, 328, 410, 433.
-, no news lately received at Dublin from, 205.
-, fear of Lord Clanrickarde revolting in, 214.
-, her Majesty's subjects in, cannot be hurt, 214.
-, the Queen is at great charge in, to no purpose, 221.
-, Sir Arthur Savage prays to be settled in his government of, 222.
-, the government of, to be transferred from Lord Dunkellin to Sir Arthur Savage, 223.
-, other men suggested as Governors. *See* Davers, Sir Henry; Southampton, Lord.
-, the Earl of Southampton writes concerning the government of, 231, 323.
-, a captain employed in, 235.
-, O'Connor's former life in, 243.
-, a retreat from the troubles in, 259.
-, an Earldom in, wished for, 259.
-, McWilliam offers to bring, to her Majesty's use, 260.
-, O'Donnell's incursions into, 260, 265, 305, 489. *And see* Thomond and Clanrickarde.

Connaught—*cont.*

-, O'Rourke, O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo go into, to end a quarrel with the Burkes, 266.
-, need for the separation of, from Ulster, 280.
-, the forces in the north should be seconded through, 287.
-, might soon be quiet, save for stragglers and petty thieves, 287.
-, Athlone is a key of, but far from the service, 287.
-, the commander or chief commissioner of, fitting dwelling places for, 237.
-, noblemen and men of worth of, special service of, should be rewarded, 287, 288.
-, Sir Arthur Savage writes on the state of, 292.
-, the chief commander in, must have full powers, 292, 293.
-, return into, of the men of, in Munster, 299, 320.
-, Dermond O'Connor retires into, 314.
-, the Munster rebels need help from, 323.
-, the Earl of Southampton is not to be governor of, 323.
-, the government of, not a place to be greatly desired, 328.
-, letters sent by way of, 361.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon going on special service into, 410.
-, "the traitorous bishop" killed in, 420.
-, O'Donnell may be stopped from coming into, 446.
-, chieftains of, O'Donnell's claims over, 478.
-, Maguire's alliances in, 479.
- Connell, son of Niell Naygyallagh, ancestor of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, 478.
- Connello or Conolough, *co.* Limerick, burning and spoiling of the rebels in, 11, 319.
-, castles in. *See* Rathmore and Glanwhymn.
-, Desmond retires into, 51, 133.
-, is the rebels' chief fastness in Munster, 243, 362.
-, the Lord President means to reduce, 243, 244.
-, meeting of rebel chiefs in, 248.
-, Derby O'Connor seizes Desmond and other leaders in, 256.
-, the Lord President marches into, 316, 317.
-, gives greater relief to the Earls of Desmond than any other country, 319.
-, English forces in, 362.
-, is wholly reduced, 453.
- Connor Roe. *See* Maguire.

Conoghe, Conyhie, Conhye or Conehie, co. Cork, Desmond's castle of, 51.
 asked for by Lord Barry, 182, 251, 400.
 granted to Lord Barry, 233.
 is to be made a garrison, 251.
 Conolough or Conyloagh. *See* Connello.
 Constable, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.
 good service of, 529.
 [Sir William], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 Conway, Fulke, knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 Sir John, as Governor of Ostend, 283.
 Cooke, Sir Anthony, nephew of Sir Robert Cecil, letters of, 399, 538.
 recommended to Cecil, 391, 537, 538.
 his services and losses, 391, 399.
 defends his conduct, to Cecil, 538.
 complains of his wife, 538.
 his troop of horse, 134, 399, 537.
 Mr., servant of the Lord Deputy, 125.
 Coolye. *See* McCooley.
 Copinger, one, formerly a footman of Sir Walter Raleigh, 248.
 Copland Island, on the coast of co. Down, 200.
 Coppinger, Thomas, grant to, 500.
 Corduff, co. Dublin, 354.
 Corgrage, castle of, on the Shannon, surrendered to Carew, 319.
 constable of. *See* Stephenson, Oliver.
 Cork, city of, 153, 161, 373, 426.
 agents of, in London, 19, 189 (2), 256. *And see* Tirry, Edmund.
 alderman of, sent to England, 189.
 Bishop of. *See* Lyon, William.
 (Papal). *See* Creagh, Dermod.
 Commissary of victuals at, 386.
 estimate of, 141.
 deputy commissary. *See* Greatrakes, William.
 commissioners at. *See* Munster, commissioners of.
 corporation of, petition of, for a like incorporation to that of Waterford, 234.
 petitions of, alluded to, 384.
 jurators for, 235.
 magistrates of, disloyal feeling of, 494.
 mayor of. *See* Meade, William.
 recorder of, sent to England, 189.
 letters dated from, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 36, 61, 69, 112, 116, 123, 131, 134, 149, 157, 182, 185, 189, 194, 252, 256, 366, 379, 383, 384, 386, 387, 389, 391, 399, 404, 434, 442, 447, 537.

Cork, city of—*cont.*

....., a captain of, 19.
 castle in, 135.
 charter of, alluded to, 486.
 garrison or forces at, 59, 114, 133, 160.
 mustered, 386.
 harbour of, 70, 133, 163, 442.
 munition, treasure, victuals, &c., at, or sent to, 36, 37, 183, 322, 323, 364, 385, 499.
 needed for, 34, 129, 130, 184, 185, 232, 245, 385.
 sent for from, 245, 249, 319, 320, 367.
 more room required for, 256.
 munition at, breviate of, 56.
 rebels at or near, 14, 23, 117, 161.
 river of. *See* Lee, the.
 sessions at, 235.
 travellers to or from, 18, 135.
 victuals at, estimates of, 55, 386. *And see* Commissary of Victuals, above.
 alluded to, 385.
 report concerning, 252.
 Cormack McDermott at, 14, 18, 36.
 Tyrone in the neighbourhood of, 14, 15, 70, 135.
 Florence McCarthy at or near, 70, 71, 113, 161, 162.
 Lord President Carew and Lord Thomond going to, or at, 103, 162, 373.
 fight with the rebels near, 113, 133, 161.
 Capt. Flower's forces ordered back to, 116, 117.
 Carew at, 128, 145, 149, 156, 257.
 townspeople of, revolt of, to the Pope, 134.
 power of the Romish priests at, 135.
 uproar in, 135.
 Florence McCarthy hears that he is taken for a rebel at, 159.
 possible landing of Spanish forces at, 187, 254.
 is very weak, 187.
 Cecil is a patron and benefactor to the poor commonwealth of, 189.
 the best place to send troops to, 188.
 is one of the ancientest cities in the realm of Ireland, 234.
 citizens of, reduced to poverty by Tyrone's rebellion, 234.
 lands belonging to, 235.
 herring fishing of, 235.

- Cork, city of—*cont.*
 , tower near. *See* Blackrock.
 , roads between the neighbouring towns and, nearly cleared of the rebels, 244, 249.
 , a boat sent to, 245.
 , Carew's departure from, alluded to, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 265.
 , good dispatch of the business of, hoped for, 256.
 , reinforcements desired for, 321, 322.
 , will be the Lord President's frontier, 368.
 , accounts sent from, 383.
 , Carew's return to, 384.
 , the young Earl of Desmond going to, or at, 470, 486, 487.
 , accounts to be sent in to, 480.
 , the Earl of Desmond's ill reception at, 486, 494.
 , forces arriving at, 497.
 Cork, county of, pinnacles needed for the coast of, 71.
 , divers gentlemen of, have submitted, 145.
 , hopes of freeing, from the rebels, 154.
 , Tyrone's stay in, 158, 265.
 , the rebels formerly much stronger in, 244.
 , Carew means to place the forces in garrisons in, 320.
 , rebels of, fly into the Mc Carthy's countries, 368.
 , is in a good way of recovery, 453.
 Cork and Ross, William Lyon, bishop of, 361.
 , letters of, 19, 69, 110, 134, 497.
 , information given to, 71.
 , his lack of means, 110.
 , is paid no more than "one of the preachers," 111.
 , complaints of, against the people of Cork, 134, 135.
 , has exercised no pastoral jurisdiction there for two years, 135.
 , is present at Carew's interview with Florence McCarthy, 151.
 , intelligence sent by, to Cecil, 497.
 Corraneduffe, near Kilkenny, Ormonde's parley and capture at, 100.
 Corrib or Curb, Lough, co. Galway, 447.
 Cosbride or Cosbridy, co. Waterford, the Earl of Desmond's country, 12.
 , Lord Barry's lands in, 48.
 Cosby, Alexander, grant to, 501.
 Cosmay, in Thomond, 100.
 , submission of, 324.
 Cottesmore, Capt. Francis, recommended to Cecil, 321, 379.
 Coulie, John, 410.
 Courey's country, co. Cork,
 Court, the. *See* English court.
 Courtney, Capt. Francis, brother of Sir William, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 278.
 , Sir William, knighted by Essex, 234.
 , recommended by the Lord Deputy, 278.
 , seignory of, 402.
 Covert, Captain, 524.
 "Cowebabye," 39.
 Cowley, Sir Henry, grant to, 500.
 Cowlkirrie, in Upper Ossory, parsonage of, 328.
 Cranmer, George, 39, 74.
 , letter of, 73.
 Creagh or McCragh, Dr. Dermot or Dermott, *alias* Bishop of Cork, letters of, 17, 22, 53.
 , threatens Lord Barry with excommunication, 17.
 , curses Florence McCarthy, 158.
 , declares that Ormonde was treacherously taken, and must be released, 177.
 Creagh, the castle of, co. Cork, 142.
 Croft, Maurice, payment to, 449.
 Crofts, Capt. Alexander, recommended to Cecil, 230.
 , Capt. Henry, 230.
 , Capt. Richard, recommended to Cecil, 149.
 Croom or Cromme, castle of, co. Limerick, 316.
 , burnt by mischance, 317.
 Crosby, John, recommended for the Bishopric of Kerry, 437.
 or Crossan, Patrick, letters of, 451, 486.
 , letter to, 451.
 , in England, 141, 458, 470.
 , employed by Cecil into Ireland, 141.
 , information concerning, and accusations against, 294, 296, 298.
 , commendations of, 486, 495.
 , writes concerning the young Earl of Desmond, 486, 487.
 , is returning to England, 495.
 , brother and family of, 298.
 Cross, co. Tipperary, 379.
 Cufte [Henry, secretary to the Earl of Essex], letters to, 39, 73, 74, 115, 258.
 , asked to obtain a nomination to his college [Merton] at Oxford, 258.
 , kinsman of. *See* Cluat, Richard.
 , a ward of, 39, 73, 74, 115.
 , Hugh, commissary of musters in Munster, 189, 442.
 , letters of, 116, 185, 324, 379, 400.
 , as a member of the Council of Munster, 151, 186, 324, 391, 400.

Cuffe, Hugh—*cont.*
 list by, 386.
 advice of, concerning the Munster rebels, 400-403.
 as commander at Kilmallock, 305, 324.
 prays for an increase of pay, 185, 324.
 son-in-law of. *See* Northcott.
 servant of, 186.
 Culinagh Castle, in Leix, the Lord Deputy going to, 353, 354, 356, 394.
 Cullrathyne, on the Bann, 479.
 Culmore or Port Culmore, (Kylmore), co. Londonderry, English forces landed at, 193, 194, 195, 199, 201, 220, 535.
 castle of, 201.
 fort made at, 193, 195.
 forces left at, 202.
 Culters, Mr., 464.
 Cunninghams, the, are good men for Irish service, 118.
 Curb, Lough. *See* Corrib.
 Curlews, the, cos. Sligo and Roscommon, journey into, in Essex's time, 234.
 defeat at [in 1599], alluded to, 285.
 the Connaught forces should be drawn to, 282.
 Curraghboy, co. Roscommon, Justice Dillon's house, 437.
 Curraghmore, co. Waterford, letter dated at, 18.
 Currans, the, co. Kerry, castle of, 374.
 Cusack, John, grant to, 500.

D

Dale, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.
 Dalton, one, a rebel in Westmeath, slain, 167.
 Dantzig or Dansk, rye procured from, 418.
 Darcy, Edmond, a fencer, grant to, 500.
 George, payment to, for killing Con McCollo, 175, 203.
 the chiefest gentlemen of English descent in the Pale, 231.
 recommended for a company, 232.
 Mr., 115.
 Darell or Darrell, Marmaduke, Surveyor of Victuals for the Navy and Purveyor of Victuals for Ireland, 271.
 contract with, alluded to, 107.
 Davells, Henry, grant to, 500.

Davers, Sir Henry, and the government of Connaught, 222.
 letter from, 222.
 has lost his entertainment of Colonel and of Lieutenant of the Horse, 222.
 in command of the horse at the Moyerie, 529.
 companies of, 222.
 horse company of, 510.
 Davies, Sir John, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, 233.
 certificate by, 66.
 Dawtrey, Captain Nicholas, 364, 415.
 letters from, 412, 415, 530.
 passage of, is as slow as his body is unwieldy, 358.
 complains of his treatment, 412, 414.
 opinion of, concerning affairs in Ulster, 413, 414.
 his company of horse, 364, 412, 414, 415.
 Decies, the, co. Waterford, chief of. *See* Fitz Gerald, Garrett Fitz James.
 rebel force in, 132.
 settlement of, 435.
 Dee, the river, 69.
 ships leave, for Lough Foyle, 327.
 Deering, Anthony, grant to, 500.
 Delahide, Walter, 302, 303.
 Delahides, the, are on their knees, 438.
 Delft, in Holland, ship of, 208.
 Delvin, Christopher Nugent, baron of, letter of, 125.
 is discontented, 85.
 his interest in the friars of Multifarnam, 85.
 letters captured by, from a messenger of Tyrone, 122.
 sends intelligence to the Lord Deputy, 125.
 makes no defence against the rebels in Westmeath, though in command of the country, 166.
 grants to, 500.
 his company, 120, 206, 330, 507.
 his brother's son. *See* Nugent, Richard.
 Denny, Sir Edward, house of, at Tralee, ruined, 36.
 seignory of, 402.
 Dercy, "a," men of, 120.
 Derrinlare, co. Tipperary, a castle of Lord Cahir's, 370.
 Derry, the, co. Londonderry, Governor of. *See* Dockwra, Sir Henry.
 letters dated at, 194, 199, 202, 214, 266, 268, 270, 304, 334, 335, 380, 383, 404, 416, 447, 454, 534.
 plantation or garrison at, 192, 193, 195, 196, 208, 209, 214, 220, 266.

Derry, the, plantation or garrison at—*cont.*
 , plans for victualling,
 197.
 , importance of, 197.
 , more men needed for,
 198.
 , O'Dogherty's corn
 will be a great help to, 215.
 , need of supplies for,
 269, 304, 334, 335, 408.
 , provision of timber,
 &c. for, 405.
 , fortifying of, 407.
 , works at, irrecoverably
 damaged, 454.
 , troops at, 192, 193, 195, 199,
 200, 202, 206, 209, 266.
 , captains of, absent,
 200, 215, 535.
 , labours of, at the
 fortifications, 314, 405.
 , desertion of, to the
 enemy, 334, 407.
 , sickness amongst,
 380, 405-407, 535.
 , strength of, 455.
 , reinforcements for,
 needed, 334, 380, 381.
 , Sir Henry Dockwra at, 195,
 266, 267, 268, 334.
 , skirmishes near, with O'Don-
 nell's men, 196, 199, 202, 266, 334.
 , artisans needed at, 198, 380.
 , discontent of the ships'
 captains at, 202.
 , muster taken at, 203.
 , preys of the rebels brought
 to, 267.
 , attempt to draw traffic and
 merchants to, 269.
 , store of victuals at, Knock-
 fergus has fed upon, 269.
 , state of the victualling at,
 270.
 , lack of store room at, 270,
 405.
 , council at, 304.
 , difficulty of transport to, 304.
 , horses at, captured by the
 enemy, 334.
 , rebels near, 334, 407.
 , fear of a fresh revolt of the
 Irish at, 380.
 , horses sent to, 404, 411.
 , care taken for the furnishing
 of, 405.
 , distemperature of the air at,
 406.
 , old church at, made into a
 hospital, 406.
 , arrival of troops and supplies
 at, 454.
 , attack upon, repulsed, 455.
 , meeting between Dockwra and
 O'Dogherty near, 535.
 , severity of the weather at,
 535.

Desmond [Gerald Fitzgerald], the old Earl of,
 overthrow of, 237.
 , was slain by his own followers,
 434.
 , daughter of, married to Der-
 mond O'Connor, 48.
 , James Fitzgerald, the young Earl of
 ("James of the Tower"), son of the
 late Earl, 304, 438.
 , letters of, 416, 437, 447, 457,
 460, 461, 470, 485.
 , his presence in Ireland desired,
 199, 249, 343, 390, 391.
 , captivity of, in the Tower,
 261, 343.
 , if he returned to Ireland
 many would forsake James FitzThomas
 and join, 263, 391.
 , Carew urges his being sent
 over, 263, 390, 391.
 , enlargement of, would secure
 Dermond O'Connor and his wife (Des-
 mond's sister), 263, 264.
 , without him, the reduction of
 Munster is hopeless, 263.
 , should write to O'Connor,
 asking for his support, 263.
 , lands and houses of his father
 to be assigned to, 343, 344.
 , the need of dealing well with,
 343, 344, 391.
 , is at liberty and expected in
 Ireland, 363, 364.
 , the Queen has given permission
 to, "to write himself Earl of Desmond,"
 364.
 , is still in some degree a
 prisoner, 390.
 , would not be dangerous if he
 turned traitor, 390, 391.
 , sends advertisements to Cecil,
 416.
 , and the Bishopric of Kerry,
 437.
 , requests the appointment of
 a chaplain, 447.
 , moneys given to, 450.
 , discharge of, from the Tower,
 450.
 , instructions to, concerning his
 marriage, servants, religion, estate and
 course of life, 450.
 , arrangements concerning his
 retinue, 457, 458, 464.
 , and the Archbishop of Cashel,
 476, 477, 486, 488, 495.
 , at Bristol, 457, 458, 460, 461,
 464, 470.
 , gratitude and loyalty of, to the
 Queen, 460, 470, 485, 486.
 , patent of, signed, and to be
 sent to him, 461.
 , promises to follow Cecil's
 advice, 464, 476.
 , hopes soon to be at Cork, 470.

Desmond, James Fitzgerald—*cont.*

-, lands at Youghal, 485, 486, 500.
-, joyful reception of, 485, 486, 487, 494.
-, movements of, 485, 486, 487.
-, inhospitable treatment of, at Cork, 486, 494.
-, people flocking to, 486, 487.
-, hopes to perform his "greatest task," the killing or taking of James Fitz Thomas, 486, 487.
-, and to get Castlemaine, 486, 487, 494.
-, is honest and loyal, but needs care and counsel, 487, 495.
-, none of his own people should "hold the reins of his bridle," 487.
-, promises and offers of help made to, 494.
-, patent of, delivered to Sir George Carew, 495.
-, the people will desire to see, 496.
-, sister of, 450. *And see Roche, Lady, and O'Connor, Dermott, wife of.*
-, followers of, discouragement of, 390.
-, nurse of, 450.

Desmond, Earl of, the people will ever find a Geraldin to make, 263.

-, the Earls of, lands seized by, 182.
-, country giving greatest relief to. *See Connello.*
-, the chiefest house of. *See Kerry, island of.*

Desmond, the, styled Earl of, by the Irish. *See Fitzgerald, James Fitz Thomas.*

....., John of. *See Fitzgerald, John Fitz Thomas.*

Desmond, country of, cos. Cork and Kerry, 44, 153, 248, 368, 388.

-, rebel chiefs in, 43, 52.
-, claimed by Florence McCarthy, 47, 151, 152.
-, rebel forces of, commanded by Florence McCarthy, 144.
-, Florence bound to live quietly in, 152.
-, Florence fears being dispossessed of, 154, 155, 157, 159, 162, 163.
-, O'Neill's buonies in, 155.
-, Dermont O'Connor comes to the edge of, 157.
-, the signory of, to be settled by arbitration, 158.
-, the rebel chiefs threaten to settle, upon Donnell McCarthy, 158, 160, 162.
-, is wild, strong, and inaccessible, 163.
-, bonnaughts in, 248.
-, the river of, 106.
-, the McCarthys of, 129. *And see McCarthys, the.*

Desmonds, the, rebellions of, 50.

Dier, Cornelius, foster-brother to Lady Roche, 460.

Dillon, Captain, 437, 474.

-, company of, 491.
-, James, son of Sir Lucas, 166.
-, letter from, 212.
-, prays for a company, 212.
-, James, nephew of Sir Theobald, slain, 167.
-, Sir Lucas, deceased, 437.
-, son of. *See Dillon, James.*
-, grant to, 500.
-, Sir Robert, deceased, 437.
-, Sir Theobald, letters of, 165, 286, 409.
-, sends information to Cecil, concerning proceedings against the rebels, 165, 409.
-, Tyrone destroys his houses and lands on his refusal to join him, 166, 167, 289, 290.
-, knighting of, by Essex, alluded to, 234.
-, his journeys to England, 289, 291.
-, the Queen was angry with, but afterwards desired he should be countenanced, 289.
-, desires to command in Athlone under the Governor of Connaught, 290.
-, protests that the rebels have no more religion than dogs, 291.
-, moneys due to, 291.
-, accused by Sir Arthur Savage of abetting the rebels, 293.
-, prisoners taken by, 409.
-, skirmish of, with the rebels, 409.
-, is about to depart for Connaught, 410.
-, his wife and family, 167.
-, his brothers and kinsmen spoiled by the rebels, 166, 167, 289.
-, kinsmen of, slain, 167, 289.
-, his company, 473.
-, in garrison at Athenry, 167.
-, casting of, 289.
-, his horse company, men cast in, 506.
-, house of. *See Gallie.*
-, Thomas, Chief Justice of Connaught, letter of, 437.
-, losses of, 409, 437.
-, recommended to Cecil, 439.
-, sons of, death of, 437.
-, house of. *See Curraghboy.*
- Dinglecush or Dingle, the, co. Kerry, 70.
-, foreign ships at or near, 364, 388.
- Disert. *See Dysart.*
- Dobb, John, paymaster at Newry and Carlingford, account signed by, 306.
- Dobbing, Nicholas, 481.

Dockwra, Docwra, Sir Henry, 28, 107, 114, 327.
 letters of, 68, 94, 121, 173, 194, 202, 268, 304, 380, 383, 404, 447, 454.
 expected in Ireland, 5.
 captains sent to meet, at Chester, 34.
 certificates examined by, 54.
 troops under. *See* Lough Foyle, forces at.
 as Governor of Lough Foyle, 35, 92, 215, 216, 520.
 the limits of his command, 40.
 landing place of, 82.
 expected at Carrickfergus, 86.
 is still at Chester, 94.
 orders sent to, 103, 104.
 complains of lack of men and urges reinforcements, 121, 380, 381.
 the Lord Deputy will deliver, from Tyrone, 164.
 has reached Carrickfergus, 173.
 urges the sending of more provisions, 174.
 arrives at Lough Foyle, and begins to settle the plantation at the Derry, 194, 195, 201, 220.
 parley of, with O'Dogherty, 199, 202.
 has many friends to prefer, 200.
 his ship had the vanguard of the fleet, 201.
 conference of, with the mutinous ships' masters, 202.
 and the planting of Ballyshannon, 202.
 has had a muster taken, 203.
 no news received from, 206, 208.
 letters sent to, by the Lord Deputy, 227.
 a captain recommended by, 230.
 a messenger sent to, 256.
 should draw with his forces to take Ballikip, 282.
 proceedings of, at Derry, 266, 267, 269.
 skirmishes of, with the rebels, 266, 269, 270, 334.
 writes concerning the Ballyshannon service, 268.
 desires a supply of victuals, 269, 304.
 valiant conduct of, 270, 334, 335.
 has his horse twice shot under him, 270.
 to be consulted about boats for Lough Foyle, 277.
 has settled a garrison at Dunalong, 304.

Dockwra, Docwra, Sir Henry—*cont.*
 wounded in a skirmish, 334, 357, 364.
 hopes of, that Tyrone cannot long stand, 344.
 miscarriage of, would hazard the whole service of Lough Foyle, 357.
 writes concerning Sir Arthur O'Neill, 380, 381, 418, 456.
 and McSwine NeDoe, 383, 384, 418.
 concerning the strength of the forces, 404.
 and his proceedings at Lough Foyle, 405, 406, 407, 455, 456.
 Neal Garve's demands to, 408, 416, 447.
 answers of, to Neal Garve's demands, 408, 416, 447.
 complains of the non-arrival of horses from Chester, 411.
 disagreement of Sir John Bolles with, 416, 417, 418.
 the demands of, for reinforcements, cannot yet be complied with, 417.
 mistakes and negligence of, 418.
 is recovered of his wound, 435.
 on the arrival of the fresh forces, 454.
 on the perfidiousness of the Irish, 456.
 rebels coming in to, 481, 484, 489, 490.
 a rebel's head brought to, 488.
 the Lord Deputy's good opinion of, 516.
 will himself give an account of his government, 518.
 the Lord Deputy accused of allowing, to dispose of companies, 518.
 orders to, for casting divers companies, 524.
 gives forces to Neale Garve, for taking Lifford, 534.
 meeting of, with O'Dogherty, 535.
 care and pains of, in his command, 535.
 goes to settle the garrison at Lifford, 536.
 troops cased by, 536.
 and Captain Willis, 537.
 company of, 31.
 lieutenant of, slain, 395.
 Dologhan, Æneas, pensioner, slain, 449.
 relic of. *See* Mitchell.
 Dorington, one, broke his neck from the steeple of St. Sepulchre's, 139.
 Done, Mr., recommended by the Lord Deputy, 232, 279.
 Donegal, county of. *See* Tyrconnell.

Donegal, town of, 41.
 , proposed garrison for, 83.
 , meeting of the Ulster chiefs with the King of Spain's "ambassador" at, 254.
 , Abbey of, may be taken easily, 281.
 , , a favourite resort of O'Donnell's, 259.
 , the descent on Ballyshannon might be made from, 281.
 , castle of, should be fortified, 281.
 Donnell, ancestor of the O'Donnells, 478.
 Douglas, the Dean of Limerick's man, 194.
 Dowallo. *See* Duhallow.
 Dowdall, Sir John, letter of, 22.
 , , on the proceedings of Ormonde and Tyrone, 23.
 , , orders sent to, 247.
 Downkillen, co. Galway?, 84.
 Down McPatrick, castle of, co. Cork, 160.
 Dredah. *See* Drogheda.
 Dregedneferin, a castle of Ormonde's, 10.
 Drogheda, Dredagh, Tredath or Tredagh, co. Louth, 207.
 , letters dated at, 149, 163, 164, 174, 354.
 , Recorder of. *See* Lynch, Mr.
 , forces to be sent to, 31.
 , ships taken up at, for transport, 33, 35, 42.
 , the Lord Deputy going to or at, 73, 121, 172, 174, 203, 207, 219, 227.
 , danger of loosing the rein in, 79.
 , forces to be embarked from, 99.
 , ships of, 203, 209, 254.
 , the city of Cork desires a like incorporation to that of, 235.
 , merchants of, to sell beer to the army at Lough Foyle, 278.
 , a merchant of, 420.
 , a rebel escaped from, 420.
 , goods shipped at, 511.
 Dromana or Dromany, castle of, co. Waterford, 106.
 Dromfynin or Drumfennin woods, co. Cork, belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, 435.
 , , rebels haunting, 251.
 Dublin, city of, *passim*.
 , Alderman of, 76. *And see* Weston, Nicholas.
 , Archbishop of. *See* Loftus, Adam.
 , , Roman. *See* Oviedo, Mathias.
 , , captains at, 9, 95, 129, 176, 233, 322, 366, 442, 499.
 , , castle, 8.
 , , knights created at, 234.
 , , letters dated at, 9, 141, 223, 230, 231, 307.
 , , prisoners committed to, or confined in, 76, 78, 238, 409, 428, 432, 509.
 , , victualling of, in fear of a siege, 513.

Dublin—*cont.*

..... , city of, commissioners of accounts at, 385.
 , , corporation of, agent of. *See* Weston, Nicholas.
 , , payments due to, 418.
 , , suit of, 418, 538.
 , , forces at, or to be sent to, 31, 73.
 , , garrison at, provisions for, 418.
 , , government or "Estate" at, 312, 482. *And passim*.
 , , harbour of, 303.
 , , hospitals at or near, 505.
 , , payment for the erecting of, 209.
 , , letters from, 1, 5, 7, 9, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 37, 40, 41, 44, 45, 56, 58, 59, 61, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81, 85, 87, 88, 91, 93, 95, 96, 99, 103, 104, 114, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 137, 141, 146, 147, 149, 163, 165, 167, 177, 180, 188, 203, 207, 209, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 230, 231, 232, 235, 252, 255, 271, 291, 299, 302, 304, 306, 307, 314, 328, 329, 337, 339, 344, 354, 356, 358, 364, 381, 392, 398, 399, 409, 412, 415, 418, 420, 424, 425, 428, 431, 432, 433, 437, 440, 441, 448, 452, 464, 467, 471, 480, 481, 482, 484, 488, 490, 499, 520, 534, 538.
 , , magazine or store at, 481, 491.
 , , notes of arms, munition or victuals in, 5, 37, 337.
 , , low state of, 271.
 , , the nursery for all the rest, 34.
 , , mayor of. *See* Young, Gerald.
 , , money or treasure sent or to be sent to, 98, 205, 232, 233, 303, 342, 471, 499.
 , , paid in, 283.
 , , borrowed from, 34, 176.
 , , mountains near, rebels in, 211, 310.
 , , munition, victuals, &c., at, or to be sent to, 67, 188, 232, 233, 232, 444, 452, 523.
 , , declaration of, 271.
 , , needed for, 34.
 , , residents at, 76, 354, 418. *And passim*.
 , , shipping of, needed for transport, 33, 35, 42.
 , , ships at, or going to or from, 15, 172, 173, 174, 188, 209, 227, 411, 523.
 , , travellers to or from, 16, 63, 73, 134, 322, 332, 383, 385, 409, 415. *And passim*.
 , , Trinity College at, grants to, from the Queen, 307, 501.
 , , pensions and allowances to, 308.
 , , Provost of. *See* Temple, W.
 , , workmen sent from, 380.

Dublin, city of—*cont.*

-, Lord Mountjoy's arrival at, 1.
-, Tyrone threatens to cut off the water from, 6.
-, difficulty in reaching, 16.
-, the Lord Deputy returns to, 40, 42.
-, apparel for the soldiers given out at, 59, 207.
-, Lord Ormonde at, 73, 171, 354, 474.
-, mass sung in, in "pricksong," 76.
-, the parts about, kept by the Lord Deputy, 78.
-, danger of loosing the rein in, 79.
-, the kennels of the streets of, are full of the heads of the rebels, 35.
-, Lord Thomond at, 112.
-, Sir Thomas Wingfield's arrival at, 114.
-, treasure sent to, 121, 176.
-, Donnell Spainagh has been at, 123, 441.
-, rumours in, 139, 512.
-, Florence McCarthy offers to go to, 160.
-, alarum in the suburbs of, 175, 204, 208.
-, commissaries' accounts to be examined at, 176, 384, 481.
-, bakers of, contracts made with, 180.
-, offers from, for the victualling of the troops, 197.
-, the fleet from, reaches Carrickfergus, 200.
-, citizens of, are put in arms, 204.
-, the Lord Deputy's return to, 212, 220, 302, 397, 525.
-, men, munition and shipping gone from, 227.
-, the Lord Deputy's departure from, 227, 394, 461, 524, 525, 530.
-, remainder of lead at, 232.
-, the Earl of Essex's departure from, alluded to, 233.
-, The Lord President of Munster at, 251, 265.
-, pestered by discharged soldiers, 272.
-, the mass frequently used in, 274.
-, "plank" sent from, 277.
-, merchants of, to sell beer to the army at Lough Foyle, 278.
-, increase of popery in, 295.
-, O'Donnell's escape from prison in, alluded to, 310.
-, companies to be filled up at, 333.
-, a brewhouse at, 348.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill to be sent to, 381, 418.

Dublin, city of—*cont.*

-, dangers of the journey to, 383.
-, accounts given in at, 383, 442, 480, 481.
-, conveyance of letters to, 403.
-, can provide no timber, 405.
-, the "Fathers of the law" at, opinion of, 411.
-, chambers in, 414.
-, McSwyne NeDoe should have been executed at, 418.
-, post bark between Lough Foyle and, 423.
-, submissions received at, 441.
-, "the mountain foot" at, troops garrisoned at, 441.
-, Captains' accounts no longer to be made up at, 442, 445.
-, orders received from, 445.
-, losses at, 456.
-, Ormonde expected at, 481.
-, dismissed soldiers in, 505.
-, artisans sent from, 524.
-, protected rebels within two miles of, 533.
- Dublin, county of, 79.
-, burning and spoiling in, by the rebels, 204.
-, commander in, during the Lord Deputy's absence. *See* Howth, Lord of.
-, hosting in, 204.
- Dublin, diocese of, most part of the churches in, ruined, 273.
-, the Queen orders the churches in, to be repaired and furnished with pastors, 273.
-, the people of, meet on hills, &c., and spend their Sabbaths in wicked devices, 273.
- Duckworth (Henry), accusation by, against the priest Fitzsimmons, 77, 81.
- Dudson, Lieutenant, 327.
- Duff, Gibbon, "Ton Buy Rueghe's brother," slain, 186.
-, Hugh Duff McHugh, country of, 41.
-, sons of, 41.
-, Hugh McHugh, and his men, 282.
-, James, sovereign of Ross, intelligence sent by, 143.
-, Stephen, letter of, 354.
- Duhallow or Dowallo, district of, co. Cork, 368.
-, the McCarthys of, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
-, O'Neill's buonies in, 155.
-, controversy amongst, 492.
- Duke, Sir Henry, grant to, 500.

- Dunalong, on the river Foyle, a castle of Sir Arthur O'Neill's, 195, 268, 334, 407.
 Sir Henry Dockwra goes to view, 266.
 plantation of a garrison at, 269, 270, 304, 305, 380.
 a fight near, 305.
 soldiers at, run to the enemy, 334.
 quarrel at, between the garrison and the Irish, 380, 381.
 Sir Arthur O'Neill withdrawn from, 381.
 a brewhouse to be set up at, 455.
 Sir Arthur O'Neill's men at, 456.
 Sir John Bolles has been building at, 536.
 Sir Arthur O'Neill dies at, 536.
 Dunboyne, Lord [James Butler, brother of Viscount Mountgarret], is only "in personal show" a subject, 128.
 his defeat of John Fitz Thomas, 186, 233.
 orders given to, to aid Cahir Castle, 247.
 a castle in the keeping of, 370.
 men of, rebels killed by, 186.
 Dundalk, co. Louth, 26, 169, 310, 311, 525.
 letters dated at, 482, 483, 490.
 the Lord Deputy at, 168, 174, 189, 219, 225, 227, 425, 461, 490.
 troops sent to, 169, 190, 510.
 forces gathered from, 189.
 the Earl of Southampton and his troops at, 190, 191, 205, 219, 227.
 fastness near. *See* Moyerie, the.
 garrison or forces of, 205, 438.
 apparel needed for, 207.
 with the Lord Deputy, 227.
 has banished McHenry, 352.
 preyed by McHenry, 313.
 rendezvous appointed at, 421, 461, 525.
 camp near, 448. *And see* Faugher, the.
 victuals, munition, &c., at or for, 454, 469, 471, 523, 525.
 asked for, 473.
 the army retires to, 469, 483, 489, 491, 523, 530.
 magazine at, 481.
 the Lord Deputy intends to remove from, 489.
 gates of, shut during musters, 504.
 ships unable to reach, or stayed at, 523, 524.
 march from, 526.
 Dunfert, co. Kildare, 302.
 Dungannon, co. Tyrone, 62, 63, 310, 334.
 letters dated from, 61, 122, 123, 186, 187, 239.
 Tyrone at, 45, 62, 122, 148, 205, 227.
 Sir Arthur O'Neill's town near, 57.
 Spanish gentlemen to be received at, 124.
 Tyrone is assembling his forces at, 521.
 Dungarvan, co. Waterford, forces to be left at, 142.
 Dunkellin or Dunkellyn, Richard Burke, Baron of, son of the Earl of Clanrickarde, 62, 463.
 letters of, 53, 54, 146, 147.
 and the command in Connaught, 35, 53, 63, 222, 223.
 complains that he has not full powers, 53, 54, 146, 147.
 his late return from England, 62, 63.
 the Lord Deputy believes that he will never quit his allegiance, 141.
 Lord Thomond will not serve under, if paid in Munster, 143.
 states that almost all Connaught is out, 146.
 prays that someone else may be appointed in his place with more power and countenance, 147 (2).
 writes to Cecil concerning his accounts, 163.
 no news lately received from, at Dublin, 205.
 weak management of, 221.
 the government of Connaught to be transferred from, 223.
 knew of O'Donnell's being in Connaught, 265.
 is discontented at leaving his charge, 289.
 writes to the Lord Deputy to come to him, as his own and his father's forces are so weak, 291.
 ill-feeling between other chieftains and, 292.
 has been very forward in service with the Lord Deputy in Offaly, 339.
 forces of, 291.
 company or companies of, 84, 214, 286, 473.
 father of. *See* Clanrickarde, Earl of.
 brother of. *See* Burke, Sir Thomas.
 Dunsany, Patrick Plunket, Lord of, letters of, 236, 438.
 writes to Cecil concerning the grievances of the Pale, 236.
 is ordered to draw towards Longford, 306.
 fight of, with the rebels, 307.
 recommended to Cecil, 307.
 desires permission to go to England, 438.
 on the state of Ireland, 438, 439.
 kinsman of. *See* Dillon, Thomas.
 is to command the 'risings' out of county Meath, 473.
 rank of, as Colonel, 505, 506.
 Irish company of, 507.

Dutch or Hollanders' fleet, going to the [Spanish] islands, 254.

Dutchman, a, 145.

Dutton, Lieutenant, buys a company, 215.

....., Captain, 458, 504.

....., company of, 491.

Dwyne, Dermott, skirmish of, with the rebels, 148.

Dyngan, the fort of the, in Offally, 344.

Dyvers, Andrew, ship's master, 497.

E

East, the, ships from, or Easterlings, 366.

East Meath. *See* Meath.

Edenduffcarrick, co. Antrim, castle of, 484.

Edmond, Captain, Irish company of, 507.

Edward VI., not six noted papists in Dublin, in the days of, 295.

....., service of the Wallops under, 457.

Effin, near Kilmallock, Sir George Carew encamps at, 242.

Egerton, Sir Thomas, Lord Keeper of England, 342.

....., letter to, 230.

....., a captain recommended by, 230.

....., livings in the gift of, are but small, 477.

....., Colonel or Captain [Charles], absent in England, 330, 331, 334.

Eight Mile Water, the, near the Newry, 532.

Eirke, in Upper Ossory, parsonage of, 328.

Eliogarty or Elyogerty, barony of, co. Tipperary, 43.

Elizabeth, Queen, *passim*.

....., letters of, 20, 224, 327, 328 (2).

....., alluded to, 122, 166, 176, 238, 309, 314, 378, 464, 485, 501, 515, 516.

....., copies of, 304.

....., asked for, 136, 259, 338.

....., letters patent of, alluded to, 279.

....., letters to, 37, 424.

....., alluded to, 241, 299.

....., bishop appointed by, 467.

....., bonds entered into with, 445.

....., chapel of, Irish worshippers at, to be observed, 236.

....., charter granted by, quoted, 235.

....., charges of, in Ireland, book of, 364.

....., fines due to, 74.

....., grant of, to Trinity College, Dublin, 307.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

....., instructions from, 272.

....., alluded to, 351, 506.

....., lands and castles in the hands of, 344, 370, 535.

....., lands held from, composition paid for, 289.

....., letting of, 106.

....., by Captains, names of those in arrears, 175.

....., letter concerning, 176.

....., by Sir Walter Raleigh, 51.

....., by Sir Edward Moore, 58.

....., surrendered to, and held again from, 165.

....., rents of, remitted, 428.

....., livings in the gift of, 477.

....., orders concerning, 277.

....., mediation with. *See* Cecil, Sir Robert, mediation of, requested.

....., her ministers in Ireland, 208. *And see under their names.*

....., note, holograph, by, 328.

....., oath of supremacy to, to be administered, 296.

....., patents of, alluded to, 478.

....., pensioners of, 449.

....., petitions to, from the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, 285, 286, 302.

....., from Lady Burgh, 328.

....., from Lord Barry, 400.

....., from the Archbishop of Cashel, 496.

....., alluded to, 477, 508.

....., picture of, put behind the door, 396.

....., recommendations to, 29, 72, 211, 216, 224, 231, 255, 316.

....., rents of, 535.

....., from tithes, &c., 83, 419.

....., from Lord Ormonde, remitted, 428.

....., ancient servants of, 337, 457, 504. *And see* Ormonde.

....., tenants of, 286.

....., warrants of, 37, 416.

....., alluded to, 9.

....., grants passed by, brief of, 500.

....., will have her army in Ireland reduced, 2.

....., the need for maintaining the forces represented to, 3, 4, 8.

....., her resolution thereupon, prayed for, 4, 8.

....., pleasure of, concerning Carey's entertainment, 10.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, writes to Mountjoy concerning
extraordinaries, 20.
-, her gift of a culverin to
Waterford, 20.
-, will not give Carey leave to
go to England, 26.
-, but orders him to give Cecil
"a taste" of his project, 26.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill hopes to
deserve what she will give him, 29.
-, Lady Kildare thanks, for her
princely favour, 37.
-, Lord Mountjoy prays for
support from, 46.
-, her favours to Florence
McCarthy, 47, 55, 150, 315, 375.
-, said by Florence, to wish him
to confer with Desmond, 48.
-, Lord Barry is going to Eng-
land to give information to, 51, 52.
-, wishes Lord Dunkellin to
command in Connaught, 53.
-, protestations of loyalty to,
54, 70, 77, 95, 289, 290, 302, 313, 337,
358, 433.
-, has recommended Florence
McCarthy to Carew, 55.
-, persons favoured by, 57.
-, her 'hard conceit' of Lord
Chancellor Loftus, 59.
-, debts claimed from, 65.
-, has authorised the Lord
Deputy to grant Florence McCarthy
lands held by the late Earl of
Clancarty, 65.
-, agrees to keeping up the
strength of the army, 66.
-, Florence McCarthy declares
his loyalty to, 70, 150, 151, 179, 371.
-, the Earl of Kildare recom-
mended to, 72.
-, an agent sent to, from Kil-
kenny, 74.
-, the Pope, her mortal enemy,
76, 80.
-, bull of Pius V. against,
mentioned, 77.
-, is said to have directed the
governors of Ireland not to meddle in
matters of religion, 79.
-, the Bishops of Dublin and
Meath pray to know her pleasure in
this behalf, 79.
-, gave Mountjoy leave to make
three knights at his coming to Ireland,
86.
-, is prayed to allow Mountjoy
to reward some of the loyal Irish with
money or knighthood, 86, 87.
-, belief, the last year, that she
would have to fight for her crown, 93.
-, suggestion that the Earl of
Ormonde's daughter should be sent to,
97.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, money sent by, to Leinster,
98.
-, Mountjoy asks her pleasure,
concerning such as come in to him in
the North, 104.
-, Fenton has served, without
recompense, for twenty-two years, 105,
216, 224.
-, Lord Buckhurst prays that
his absence may be excused to, 108.
-, the Earl of Thomond's zeal-
ous faith to, 111, 143, 249.
-, one Udall boasts of favours
received from, 127.
-, the disaster of the Earl of
Ormonde may be of good service to,
127.
-, loyalty to, of chiefs in
Munster, 131.
-, offer to raise men without
charge to, 136.
-, Ormonde would have her
yield to nothing, for his sake, that
would touch her honour, 137, 171.
-, Ormonde prevented, in Mun-
ster, from doing a day's service to, 138.
-, trust reposed by, in Lord
Dunkellin, 146.
-, Dunkellin prays, to appoint
someone in his stead with more power,
147.
-, Tyrone formerly thought a
greater traitor than her Majesty a
prince in Ireland, 147.
-, Carew accuses Florence Mc-
Carthy of ingratitude to, 150.
-, her passing of Desmond to
the late Earl of Clancarty, 151.
-, is prayed by Florence to pass
the same to him, 151, 162, 178.
-, the Countess of Ormonde has
written to, 164.
-, favour of, to Sir Theobald
Dillon, 166.
-, her desire for Lord Ormonde's
release, 171, 293.
-, is advised to set rewards on
the chief rebels' heads, 173.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill's loyalty
to, 174, 229, 312.
-, letter of, for the extra troops,
not sufficient warrant to pay them, 176.
-, granted the country of Des-
mond to any of English birth who
should marry Lord Clancarty's daugh-
ter, 178.
-, Florence McCarthy refers
himself to her "divine" consideration,
179.
-; Fenton hopes she may soon
hear of something done in recompense
of her great charge, 180.
-, Lord Barry is a suitor to, 182,
251.
-, rebels in Munster, willing to
submit to her mercy, 185.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, Tyrone writes of the time he has borne arms against, 187.
-, Sir Arthur Chichester and, 193.
-, her pleasure concerning those who return to obedience, 195.
-, the delay in musters will be no loss to, 196.
-, the benefit of the garrison at Derry to, 197.
-, the Council of Ireland are grieved to see her drawn to such excessive charges, 205.
-, money due to, 208.
-, Udall is to deal in some weighty services for, 210.
-, Loftus prays that of her princely regard, she will recompense Sir Edward Herbert's losses, 211.
-, is not to 'trouble her thoughts' with the burning of villages in the Pale, 212.
-, must make an end of the war, or the charge will still grow upon her, 213.
-, Fenton recommended to, as 'a faithful and painful' servant, 216, 224.
-, is prayed to increase her forces in Ireland, 217.
-, dangerous state of her affairs, 218.
-, is at great charge to no purpose in Connaught, 221, 438.
-, pleasure of, concerning Sir Arthur Savage, 221, 222, 223.
-, is advised to bestow the government of Connaught on the Earl of Southampton, 223.
-, profit to, from checks and defalcations, 226.
-, favour of, prayed, for Lord Barry, 231.
-, the Earl of Southampton hopes to recover her 'good conceit,' 231.
-, abuses concerning her charges, 233.
-, declaration to, of the state of the Pale, 236.
-, the Earl of Ormonde writes to, concerning his capture and imprisonment, 237.
-, reported resolution of, to send great forces to Leinster, 237.
-, papers sent to, 238.
-, letters of, to Lady Ormonde and on behalf of the Earl, mentioned, 238.
-, the title of McCarthy More will cost her more crowns than Desmond is worth, 248.
-, is prayed to send young Desmond into Ireland, 249, 263, 391.
-, her favour to Lord Thomond, 249.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, those who submit to, threatened with damnation, 250.
-, Lord Barry offers to make a garrison for, 251.
-, Sir Arthur Chichester recommended to, 255.
-, Lord Burghley "required" nothing but the service of, 257.
-, McWilliam prays, to restore him in blood and make him an Earl, 259.
-, protection of, granted to Dermond O'Connor, 262.
-, is desired to give rewards for services in Ireland, 268.
-, pleasure of, for the stay of the Ballyshannon journey, 268.
-, proposals of Captain Baynard presented to, 271.
-, pleasure of, concerning the captains, 272, 273, 275, 278.
-, is greatly pestered by "suitsors" from Ireland, 273.
-, orders of, concerning the bishops and clergy, 273.
-, concerning the friaries and the Clerk of the Council, 274.
-, concerning munition and allowances, 275.
-, concerning the sheriffs and the commissaries, 276.
-, concerning unlettered ministers and supplies for Lough Foyle, 277.
-, her grant of the title to Lord Burke, alluded to, 279.
-, is near the bottom of that treasure at, which she is thought to value Ireland, 280.
-, protections granted by, Lambert accused of selling, 284.
-, has bestowed great sums of treasure to little end, 288.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon's interview with, 289, 291.
-, her doubts of the loyalty of Lord Clanrickarde and his sons, 292.
-, Sir Arthur Savage's offer to, concerning Connaught, 293.
-, intelligences for her service, in Leinster, 294.
-, at the beginning of her reign, there were not six noted papists in Dublin, 295.
-, may at her pleasure dissolve the city charters in Ireland, 297.
-, Ormonde's ancient service to, and affection for, 299.
-, mercy of, abused by the men of Leinster, 300.
-, must determine to ruin Tyrone, 300.
-, Carey's payments confirmed by, 304, 314.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, is offended with Dillon, 305.
-, if it please her, the war may be brought to an end, 307.
-, "articles of detection" laid down for her service, 309.
-, notes to be made known to, 312.
-, and the title of O'Neill, 312.
-, Tirlagh MoHenry a bloody enemy to, 313.
-, letter of a friar sent to, by Ormonde, 314.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel recommended to, 316.
-, Carew offers to establish a ward without charge to, 319.
-, rebukes Mountjoy for his remissness, 324.
-, complains of his encouragement of suitors, negligences in punishing erring captains, &c., 325. *And see* 501-510, 516.
-, insists on the redressing of these evils, and is well content that Mountjoy should be her instrument, 326.
-, congratulates her "faithful Lucas" [Ormonde] upon his delivery, and assures him of her belief in his loyalty, 327.
-, commands of, in relation to Lady Burgh, 328 (2).
-, writes in favour of the Baron of Upper Ossory, 328.
-, her "ill-conceit" of the Earl of Southampton, 328.
-, leave from, to go into the Low Countries, desired by the Earl, 329.
-, has "hallowed the work" in Ireland with all reasonable help, 340.
-, suggested grant of lands by, to the young Earl of Desmond, 344.
-, Lady Rich sends thanks to, 346.
-, her gracious allowance of Mountjoy's services, 349, 515.
-, insupportable charge of, in Ireland, 349.
-, her dislike of license being granted to captains to go to England, 350.
-, allowance of powder by, to the troops in the Low Countries, 351.
-, her complaints concerning the captains, answered by Lord Mountjoy, 352, 502-505, 516.
-, Piers Lacy prays to be received into her favour, 358.
-, and the Archbishop of Cashel, 376, 377, 378, 379.
-, her good opinion of Lord Mountjoy, 381, 382, 515.
-, Lord Audley a suitor to, 386.
-, Donnell McCarthy offers to serve, if pardoned, 387.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, letters from, to her ambassador in France, "were very necessary," 388.
-, is advised to give young Desmond the title of Earl, 391.
-, Mountjoy declares he has done better service to, than any deputy before him, 397.
-, Carey prays for a warrant from, 398, 399.
-, foreign wars of, men to be drawn away to, 401.
-, favour of, to Sir Arthur O'Neill, 404.
-, wishes Sir Henry Dockwra to render an account of the musters, 404.
-, and Sir Nicholas Walsh's fees, 411.
-, pleasure of, that Capt. Dawtrey should be governor at Armagh, 412.
-, wishes to be eased of some of her charge, 413.
-, Dawtrey prays, to continue him in his charge, 414.
-, gives Carey leave to repair to England, 416.
-, her dissatisfaction with the quarrels between Dockwra and Sir John Bolles, and her determination in relation to them, 416, 417, 418.
-, the Bishop of Meath has been maliciously accused to, 418, 419.
-, and desires to come and justify himself to, 420.
-, Lord Chancellor Loftus in disgrace with, 424, 425.
-, relief given or to be given by, to the Archbishop of Cashel, 426, 427, 440, 477, 497.
-, private enemies of, 427.
-, generalities exhibited to, concerning the quartermasters, 429.
-, and the Lord of Howth, 431.
-, loss of time and treasure by, 431.
-, the country agents in Ireland, are proclaiming her goodness, 438.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel draws up a paper to be submitted to, 439.
-, Mountjoy prays, to remit his bonds, 446.
-, and O'Connor Sligo, 446.
-, favours of, to the young Earl of Desmond, and his gratitude to, 447, 450, 457, 460, 461, 470, 476, 485, 486, 487.
-, Dockwra regrets that he cannot send her news of more "complete content," 450.
-, Sir Arthur Chichester admitted to speech with, 484.
-, clemency of, 486.

Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*

-, offer from the Archbishop of Cashel to, to discover concealed bonds, 496.
-, charges of, against Mountjoy, noted and answered by him, 501-510, 512, 515, 516, 519.
-, has directed that Irish companies be employed out of their own countries, 507.
-, her allowance to Lord Mountjoy for transportation, 511.
-, money lent to Mountjoy by, 514.
-, if she had lessened her forces, she had hazarded her kingdom, 514.
-, God working for, 520.
-, is mightily abused in the numbers of her men, 521.
-, the charge of, to be forthwith abated, 524.
-, the people in Ulster are for, "if they might," 532.
-, expects the plantation of Armagh, 534.
-, O'Dogherty's conditions to, if he comes in, 535.
-, offer of Justice Saxey to discover "concealed rights of," 537.
-, her favour to Sir Robert Cecil, 538.
-, her father, brother and sister, servants of, 457.
-, her progenitors, charters of, alluded to, 75.
- Ellaugh, castle of, belonging to O'Dogherty, on the river Foyle, 201, 215, 267, 535.
- Elliott, Thomas, grant to, 500.
- Elmer, commissary. *See* Aylmer.
- Elphinstone [Alexander], Lord, 119.
-, Sir George, "one of the Chamber," 119.
-, brother-in-law of. *See* Beltreis.
-, James, son of Lord, Scottish secretary, 119.
- Ely O'Carroll, country of O'Carroll, King's County, 307.
-, inhabitants of, 337.
- Emperor [Rudolph II], the French King in the hands of, 181.
- Enes, the, in Leinster, taken by the rebels, 301.
- England, *passim*.
-, Kings of. *See* Henry VIII; Edward VI.
-, Queen of. *See* Elizabeth.
-, Chancellor of the Exchequer of. *See* Fortescue, Sir John.
-, Chief Secretary of. *See* Cecil, Sir Robert.
-, Lord Chamberlain of. *See* Hunsdon, Lord.
-, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of. *See* Egerton, Sir Thomas.

England—*cont.*

-, Lord Treasurer of. *See* Buckhurst, Lord.
-, the late. *See* Burghley, William, Lord.
-, Council of. *See* Privy Council of.
-, forces levied in or sent from, for Ireland. *See* Forces, English, for Ireland.
-, agents sent to, from the Pale. *See* Howth, Lord; Barnewell, Sir Patriok.
-, with suits from the Irish towns, 130. *And see* Tyrre, Edmond.
-, auditors in, 305, 483. *And see* Gofton, Ware and Sutton.
-, breviate of moneys received from, 31.
-, captains absent in, or going to. *See* Captains.
-, crown of, loyalty to, 75, 181, 265.
-, estates in, of Irish noblemen, 172.
-, government of, hatred to, 572.
-, Irish gentlemen in or going to, 71, 72, 131, 182, 194, 212, 255, 296, 330.
-, payments made in, 411.
-, penal statutes in, not observed, 503.
-, permission to go to, desired, 21, 61, 176, 255, 329, 398, 420.
-, given, 337, 353, 386, 387, 416.
-, refused, 21, 26, 142.
-, the Lord Deputy defends himself for granting, 502.
-, port towns of, warlike provisions transported from, 296.
-, order to be taken in, concerning deserters, 5.
-, traffic with, 488.
-, travellers to and from, *passim*.
-, victuals, money and munition from, for Ireland. *See* Victuals, &c.
-, west part of, port in, 163.
-, if the Lord Deputy is well backed out of, good service may be done, 9.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel declares he is as good a subject as any in, 11, 12.
-, Chief Justice Saxey goes to, 21.
-, the State of, groans under the burden of the Irish wars, 26.
-, directions received in, by Lord Mountjoy, 27.
-, complaints of soldiers passing into, 31.
-, no one has come from, since the Lord Deputy's arrival, 33, 46.
-, Lord Barry's intended journey to, 51, 52, 251.
-, enemies of Lord Chancellor Loftus in, 59.
-, rumoured intention of Spain to invade. *See* Spain, King of.
-, Fitzsimmons, the Jesuit's, journey through, 76.
-, imprest given in, 81.

England—*cont.*

-, all supplies for Ireland must come from, 83, 168, 342.
-, suggestion that Lord Ormonde's daughter should be sent to, 88, 97.
-, report that a Spanish invasion is looked for in, 103.
-, news from, asked for, 104.
-, Florence McCarthy's late sojourn in, 144.
-, rumours of tumults and civil wars in, 146.
-, ordnance officer sent to, 149.
-, Florence McCarthy offers to go again to, 152.
-, persons "ready to fall off" in, 170.
-, Sir George Carey wishes to go to, 176.
-, land sold in, 219.
-, the last conquest of, 259.
-, custom of, as regards choosing of sheriffs, 276.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon's late visit to, 286, 289.
-, preachers of the Gospel should be sent from, 295.
-, Irish clergy absent in, should be made to return, 297.
-, report that Fenton was sent into, to complain of the Pale, 303.
-, employment in, 305.
-, as much harmed by robberies as is the Pale, 307.
-, some of the border men should be sent to, 311.
-, a chaplain brought from, 316.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton passes through, on his return to Ireland, 340.
-, sick soldiers sent to, 341, 449.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel in. *See* Cashel, Archbishop of.
-, horses sent from divers shires of, list of, 386. *And see* Chester.
-, books, warrants, &c., to be sent over to, 398.
-, the best subjects in, have not such privileges as the Irish towns, 403.
-, names "laid down in" by Owen O'Neill, 412.
-, the Bishop of Meath's former visit to, 420.
-, ships from the south and west parts of, 425.
-, preferment in, asked for, 426.
-, lies in great security, 480.
-, Sir George Carey reported to be going to, 483.
-, Tyrone declares that troubles may shortly be expected in, 492, 493, 495.
-, the Earl of Southampton's absence in, 510.

English counties, Lord Lieutenants of, to be asked to choose fitter men for service in Ireland, 184.

- Court, the, 399, 480, 519.
-, letters dated from, 416, 426. *And see* Greenwich, Hampton Court, Nonsuch, Oatlands, Richmond and Westminster, letters dated from.
-, letters addressed to, 200. *And passim.*
-, suitors at, 503.
-, persons at or going to, 379, 387, 449, 488.
-, departure or absence from, 53, 375, 440.
-, favourites of, 55.
-, Irish suitors out of taste at, 68.
-, Irish gentlemen at, 135, 165, 303, 354.
-, matters mentioned at, 146.
-, repair of suitors to, to be stopped, 273.
-, danger of allowing disloyal persons to attend, 294.
-, obedience or service required by, 297.
-, suits at, recommended, 521.
-, Irish captains at, to return to their charge, 331.
-, Sir Walter Raleigh has left, 375.
-, complaints made at, 414.
-, the young Earl of Desmond at, 450.
-, Mountjoy hears little from, 515.
-, information brought from, 424.
-, descent, gentlemen of, 231.
-, government in Connaught, dissolved, 84.
-, Scots, names of, 118.
-, servitors, ancient, in the King's County, 60.
-, stock, the ancient, now Irished altogether, 70.
-, "bandogs, or rather able and worthy preachers," should be sent to Ireland, 295, 297.
-, towns, cess of soldiers in, 411.
-, Universities, clergy willing to go from, to Ireland, 297.
- Englishmen, a good strength of, must be given to the army in Ireland, 4.
-, the people of Limerick boast that they have buried many, 13.
-, Florence McCarthy accused of being a betrayer of Ireland to, 157.
- Enishowen, country of, co. Donegal, 202.
- Enny Water. *See* Inny, the river.
- Erne, Lough, 479.
-, the rebels' cotts on, 230.
-, islands on, 479.
- Erne, the river, 60, 282.
-, fords on, must be commanded or done away with, 280.

Ersfield, Anthony, Surveyor of the Ordnance in Ireland, certificates by, 37 (2).
 can give Cecil an honest relation concerning the munition, 163.
 recommended for the post of Surveyor of the Ordnance Office, 164.
 note of the powder sent from the Newry, delivered by, 256.
 Esk, Lough, O'Donnell's chief magazine on, 231.
 Esker, the, castle of, King's County, taken by the O'Connors, 6.
 Esmond, Captain, good service of, 529.
 Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, Earl Marshal, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 216.
 letter of, 476.
 letter to, 463.
 warrants of, alluded to, 74.
 the time of his government, alluded to, 1, 23, 29, 73, 212, 233, 263, 475 ?, 510.
 the great sums spent during, on extraordinary, 20.
 book delivered to, alluded to, 1.
 "escape" of, from the Star Chamber, 39.
 castle taken by, 51.
 affection for, 54.
 the staff on which Lord Chancellor Loftus leaned, 60.
 ordnance sent over with, 76.
 note of allowances made to, 117.
 one Udal boasts of having overthrown, 127.
 false information given to, 192, 311.
 executions ordered by, 192, 311.
 departure of, from Ireland, alluded to, 212, 233.
 his journeys in Ireland, alluded to, 233.
 names of knights created by, 233, 234.
 his "Island voyage" 271.
 submissions to, alluded to, 235, 311.
 defeat of his forces. *See* Curlews, the, defeat at.
 company cased by, 239.
 was tied to a list of captains, 239.
 accusation of "ill offices" towards, 293.
 a spy employed to watch, at his landing in Ireland, 293.
 enlargement of, 308, 463.
 and Lord Mountjoy, 308.
 ordnance left at Cahir Castle by, 369.
 news sent to, from the camp at Faughar, 463.

Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of—*cont.*
 recommendation by, 466.
 appointment made by, 482.
 authority of, restrained, 483.
 matters referred to, 483.
 his return to England, alluded to, 234, 510.
 Essex, Captain, 497.
 Eton, Provost of (Sir Henry Savile), 73.
 Eustace, Captain, company of, men cast in, 507.
 William, of Castlemartin, grant to, 501.
 Everard, John, learned in the law, 11, 373.
 Exchequer, the, of England, Chancellor of. *See* Fortescue, Sir John.
 of Receipt, money in, can do no better service than to save a kingdom, 348.
 is to be very quiet until Hallowtide, 348.
 the, of Ireland. *See* Ireland.

F

Farney or Ferney, co. Monaghan, the Lord Deputy going to, 300.
 the rebels are fortifying in, 466.
 Faughar, Faughart, Fagher, Faher, Fagarte, or Phaor, the, near Dundalk, 191.
 the Lord Deputy's camp at, 453, 459, 462, 463, 464, 471, 472, 480, 483, 489, 490, 513, 522, 525, 526, 527, 530, 531.
 deserters from, 531.
 letters dated at, 454, 461, 463, 465, 468, 469, 473.
 skirmishes near. *See* Moyerie, the.
 advertisements from, 465.
 the camp withdrawn from, 469, 483, 489.
 Tyrone's forces at, 525.
 the "market place of the camp" at, only half a mile from the enemy's entrenchments, 525.
 chapel of, 530.
 extremity of the weather and sickness of the troops at, 531.
 Fenton, Sir Geoffrey, Secretary in Ireland, *passim*.
 letters of, 5, 37, 40, 44, 61, 67, 72, 81, 87, 104, 124, 127, 141, 149, 167, 177, 188, 209, 211, 303, 330, 332, 333, 339, 343, 356, 358, 364, 381, 425, 431, 432, 448, 452, 464, 467, 480, 481, 482, 490, 520, 534, 538.
 alluded to, 68.
 letters to, 6, 38, 128, 193, 335, 468, 481, 490, 564.

Fenton, Sir Geoffrey—*cont.*

-, notes, endorsements or memoranda by, 62, 87, 105, 128, 169, 365, 366, 465, 466, 474, 491, 501.
-, notes or memorials for, 64, 176, 232, 451.
-, grant to, 501.
-, papers delivered by, 203.
-, payments to, 9.
-, for riding charges to Court, 449.
-, information or intelligences sent to, 6, 38, 61, 62, 128, 169, 171, 193, 331, 365, 465, 521.
-, recommendations by, 72, 149, 358, 465, 533.
-, on the danger of reducing the army, 5.
-, on the proceedings of Tyrone, 5, 38, 40, 44, 67, 82, 127, 174.
-, complains that Tyrone is but casually prosecuted, 37, 40, 67.
-, has been considering the boundaries for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, 40.
-, gives information of the doings of the Lord Deputy, 40, 44, 61, 67, 82, 125, 168, 169, 177.
-, on the garrison for Lough Foyle, 45, 61, 82, 168, 177, 382.
-, on the state of the army, 61, 67.
-, urges the sending of treasure and victuals, 67, 82, 83, 168.
-, is troubled by clamorous suitors, 68.
-, announces the arrival of troops from Bristol, 81.
-, on the disciplining of the army, 82.
-, hears daily of the killing of rebels in Leinster, 83.
-, praises the Lord President of Munster, 83.
-, on the capture and imprisonment of the Earl of Ormonde, 87, 124, 127, 167, 177, 183, 212.
-, writes of the zeal and industry of the Lord Deputy, 88.
-, has received no recompense for his long service, 105, 218.
-, has sent an agent to find out about the Spanish ships come to Tyrconnel, 124.
-, does not believe that the Leinster rebels will surrender the Earl of Ormonde to Tyrone, 124.
-, believes the boasted preparations of Spain to be but 'Spanish drifts and subtleties,' 127, 170, 382.
-, in relation to Captain Tyrrell, 167, 169, 170.
-, is left in charge at Dublin, by the Lord Deputy's commission, 168.
-, is grieved to find so empty a store, 168.

Fenton, Sir Geoffrey—*cont.*

-, sends an Irish messenger to the Earl of Ormonde, 170, 171.
-, finds it a tough matter to digest the victualling affairs, 178.
-, acknowledges the arrival of victuals, 188.
-, debt due to, 208.
-, is charged to write that Sir Christopher Blount has been reconciled to the Pope, but does not believe it, 209.
-, on the burnings in the Pale, 211, 212.
-, blames the people for raising no strength for their own defence, 211.
-, is going to meet the Lord Deputy, 212.
-, is sent to England, 216, 217, 218, 221, 222, 224, 229, 277.
-, is a long experienced servant of her Majesty, 229.
-, papers sent over by, 230.
-, the clerk of the Crown is to receive directions from, 274.
-, Cecil referred to, for information, 301.
-, divers things to be propounded by, to the Privy Council, 302.
-, illness of, 304.
-, is believed to have been sent to England to complain of the Pale, 303.
-, on the need of shipping for transport of soldiers, 303.
-, news sent to, by Sir George Carey, 314.
-, letters or despatches sent from England by, 326, 328, 393, 394.
-, on his return journey, 330.
-, prays Cecil to command the Captains in England to return to their charge, 331, 334.
-, his examination of one Hetherington, 332.
-, at Stroud, 333.
-, has viewed the troops at Chester, 333.
-, intends to pass for Ireland with the first wind, 334.
-, sends a list of the absent Captains, 334.
-, Capt. Willis asks, to use his influence for him, 335.
-, is at Holyhead, waiting for a wind, 339, 343.
-, hopes he may quicken the Lord Deputy, 340.
-, asks Cecil for a taste of the proceedings in Munster, 343.
-, suggests lands to be given to the new Earl of Desmond, 344.
-, commission issued to, 352.
-, has reached Ireland, 356.
-, further complaints by, on the evils caused by absentee captains, 357, 366, 381.

Fenton, Sir Geoffrey—*cont*

-, sends information of the Lord Deputy's intended expedition into Ulster, 364, 382, 425, 448, 480, 521, 534.
-, has privately acquainted the Lord Deputy with the views of the Privy Council, 381, 382.
-, brings papers and letters from the Privy Council to the Council of Ireland, 392, 420.
-, men brought over by, 393.
-, might have answered the objections against the Lord Deputy, 398.
-, his opinion concerning Capt. Dawtrey, 413.
-, his intercourse with Weston, 414.
-, goods begged for, by, 420.
-, commission to, to hear the grievances of the gentlemen of the Pale, 423, 426.
-, complains of the dilatoriness of the contractors, 425, 432.
-, wishes that the Earl of Ormonde would act in person, in Leinster, 426, 452.
-, the cause of Sir William Warren [formerly] referred to, 430, 509.
-, desires that the Lord of Howth may be sworn of the Council, 431.
-, remonstrates against the enlargement of Tibbott Butler, 432.
-, on the evils resulting from the absence of two of the judges, 433.
-, has sent a messenger to the Lord Deputy's camp, 448, 452.
-, advice sent to, concerning the reduction of Leinster rebels, 451.
-, acknowledges the arrival of victuals, 448, 452, 534.
-, on the "well-prospering" of the service in Munster, 453.
-, sends news from the camp and from the Earl of Ormonde to Cecil, 464, 465, 467.
-, believes the plough of Leinster will make no better furrows, till some other [than Ormonde] be put to guide it, 465.
-, has received no advertisements from the Lord Deputy, 467.
-, prays that men of good life and learning may be chosen for church livings in Ireland, 468.
-, Sir Francis Stafford writes to, concerning a skirmish with the rebels, 468.
-, is desired by the Lord Deputy to send up victuals, 469, 491.
-, is now putting victuals aboard ship, 471.
-, says that Tyrone has not shown the skill of a great soldier, 480.
-, sends letters from the Lord Deputy, to Cecil, 480, 534.

Fenton, Sir Geoffrey—*cont*.

-, writes concerning the victualling, 481, 482, 490.
-, praises Commissary Newcomen's honesty and good carriage, 482.
-, the Lord Deputy sends word to, of his proceedings, 490.
-, Cecil has written on behalf of, 499.
-, matters committed to, when he went to England, 517, 522.
-, letters sent to, by the Privy Council, 519.
-, has sent a priest to find out what Neale Garve is doing, 520.
-, declares that since the Lord Deputy's departure they have done little more than "cry ayme," 520.
-, sends advertisements out of Fermanagh to Cecil, 521.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, that all things prosper very well, 534.
-, recommends the suit of the Corporation of Dublin, 533.
- Fercall, King's County, 337.
- Fermanagh, county of, 408, 536.
-, Coconaght Maguire desires to have, 30.
-, Maguire's country in. *See* Maguire's country.
-, invasion of, advised, 282.
-, is divided in arms between the two Maguires, 266.
-, Coconaght Maguire draws into, and burns the upper part of, 266, 267.
-, news from, sent to Fenton, 521.
-, forces collected in, under [Connor Roe] Maguire's son, 530.
- Ferney Abbey, co. Leix, the army encamps at, 395.
- Ferns, the late bishop of. *See* Allen.
-, former bishops of, unconscionable dealings of, 440.
-, cathedral church of, Chancellor of, 56.
- Ferns and Leighlin, bishop of. *See* Grave, Robert.
-, bishopric of, candidates for, 55, 56, 58.
-, again void, 468.
-, diocese of, ruined condition of, 440.
-, five English baronies in, 440.
- Ferney. *See* Farney.
- Fethard, co. Tipperary, forces for, 11.
- Fews, the, co. Armagh, espials in, 128.
-, forces sent towards, 454.
-, Lords of the, 91.
-, Captain of the. *See* McHenry, Tirlogh.
- Feynnett, the, co. Kerry, 375.
- Finch or Fynsh [Sir Theophilus], knighting of, by Essex, 234.

Fisher, Captain [Edward], 163.
, recommendation of, 223, 465.
, arrival of, in Ireland, 357.
 Fitton, Alexander, recommended to Cecil, 387.
 FitzDerby, Cormack. *See* McCarthy.
 FitzEdmonds or FitzEdmunds [FitzGerald],
 John, 154.
, letter of, 499.
, letter to, 22.
, the rebels spoil his country,
 20.
, is sent to interview Florence
 McCarthy, 143, 144.
, is present at Carew's inter-
 views with Florence, 150, 151.
, is god-father to Florence
 McCarthy, 152.
, Florence offers to be sworn
 to, 155.
, loyalty of, 181.
, the Lords of the Council are
 prayed to give encouragement to, 181.
, the Earl of Desmond visits,
 at Cloyne, 485, 487.
, gratitude of, to Cecil, 499.
, son of, landed with the Earl,
 459, 500.
 Fitzgerald or Fitzgarrett, Alice, mother of
 Sir Edward, grant to, 500.
, Edmund Fitzgibbon. *See* Fitzgibbon.
, Captain Edmund, recommendation of,
 21.
, Edward, grant to, 500.
, Edward Fitz Thomas, knight of the
 Valley, grant to, 500.
, Captain Edward, recommendation of,
 72.
, Sir Edward, house of, 120.
, absent from his charge, 359.
, company of, 359, 361, 507.
, town of, 330.
, kern of, 468.
, mother of. *See* Alice, *above*.
, Garrett or Gerald Fitz James, Chief
 of the Decies, is to surrender Shane
 Castle, 106.
, is a subject only in personal
 show, 128.
, is dead, 435.
, brother of. *See* Fitzgerald,
 Thomas Fitzjames.
, Gerald, slain by Onie McRory, 356.
, James Fitz Thomas (son of Sir
 Thomas Roe Fitzgerald) *alias* the Earl
 of Desmond, *alias* the Sugane Earl, 52.
, letters of, 17, 22 (4), 53.
, alluded to, 373, 374.
, letter to, 122.
, alluded to, 125, 128.
, with Tyrone, 6, 17, 18.
, Ormonde frustrates his design
 of going to Holy Cross Abbey, 10.
, is forced to hold himself in
 woods and bogs, 10.

Fitzgerald or Fitzgarrett, James Fitz Thomas
 —*cont.*
, wine sent to, from Limerick,
 12.
, gifts from, to Limerick, 13.
, threats of, to those who do not
 join him and Tyrone, 17, 22.
, project for surprising his per-
 son, dividing his troops, and destroying
 his cattle, 24.
, his support of Donnell Mc-
 Carthy, 47.
, conferences of, with Florence
 McCarthy, 47.
, "is of English race," 48.
, has pensions out of Carberry,
 Muskerry, &c., 48.
, if Tyrone did not aid him,
 could no longer resist, 51.
, retires into Connello, 51, 133.
, made chief commander of the
 English Irish rebels, by Tyrone, 70.
, Tyrone announces the capture
 of the Earl of Ormonde to, 122.
, and states that he has written
 to the King of Spain on behalf of, 123.
, forces needed for the prosecu-
 tion of, 129, 144.
, Tyrone brought to Munster
 by means of, 132.
, has drawn his forces to a
 head, 143.
, malice between the White
 Knight and, 144.
, Carew hopes for better leisure
 to prosecute, 152, 154.
, will no longer be aided by
 Florence McCarthy, 153.
, has written to Dermond
 O'Connor for buonies, 155.
, tries to persuade Florence
 McCarthy to enter into rebellion, 158.
, news sent to, of Spanish
 preparations, 185.
, hope that he may be given up
 to Carew, 199.
, "great brags" of, concerning
 Carew, 244.
, Carew has little enough force
 to encounter, 247.
, has written to Florence
 McCarthy (as McCarty More), pray-
 ing his assistance against the Queen's
 army, 248.
, Florence has been with, 248.
, apprehension of, by Dermond
 O'Connor, 256, 261, 262, 265, 439.
, an actor in the service against.
See Cashel, Archbishop of.
, is to be delivered up to Carew,
 261.
, is set free by O'Connor's men,
 261, 262.
, his delivery to Tyrone would
 have been agreed to, but not his sur-
 render to the English, 262.

Fitzgerald or Fitzgarrett, James Fitz Thomas
—*cont.*

-, the cause between O'Connor and, to be awarded by Tyrone, 262.
-, belief that many will forsake, if "James in the Tower" return, 263, 391.
-, the loss of, is of no great consequence, 262, 264.
-, will not again be taken alive, but may be slain, 265.
-, delivery of, announced to Tyrone, 306.
-, help promised by, to the Knight of the Valley, 317.
-, lay close to the Glin, but made no move, 318.
-, importance of Connello to, 319, 362.
-, may probably before long be either killed or made a wood-kern, 320, 324.
-, has sent for help to Tyrone, 320.
-, reported marriage of, to Cormack McDermott's sister, 359, 361, 363, 367.
-, Spaniards with, at Castle-maine, 364.
-, and Florence McCarthy, 367, 368, 373, 374.
-, vaunts that he will be the greatest Earl of Desmond that ever was in Ireland, 368.
-, Donnell McCarthy offers to join, 373.
-, goes into co. Kerry, 174.
-, is an unnatural traitor, usurping counterfeit titles, 375.
-, is no better than a wood-kern, 375, 434, 443.
-, marriage of, frustrated by Sir George Carew, 387.
-, desires the return of the Connaught bonnaughts, 388.
-, the greatest pillar (except Tyrone) of the Pope, in Ireland, 390.
-, is ill of an ague, 435.
-, chasing and expected capture of, 435.
-, skirmish with, 436.
-, is gone no man knows whither, 443.
-, is in, or going towards, Leix, 453, 474.
-, is reported to have carried off McDermott's sister "by policy," 460.
-, said to be already married to Lord Cahir's sister, 460.
-, the young Earl of Desmond's designs against, 486, 487, 494.
-, Tyrone writes concerning, 492, 493, 494.
-, offers made, to betray, 494.

Fitzgerald or Fitzgarrett, James Fitz Thomas
—*cont.*

-, on the borders of Leinster, 518.
-, bonnaughts with, 50, 51, 247, 318.
-,, killed, 367, 453.
-,, are tired of following, 435, 436.
-,, castles of. *See* Loughgirr and Glanwhynnie.
-,, castle and lands held by, given to Lord Barry. *See* Conoghe and Kynaltalown.
-,, castle quitted by, 51.
-,, his followers or forces, 24, 143, 247, 318, 372, 374, 379.
-,, slain, 435, 436, 437.
-,, friends of, hopes of drawing away, 144.
-,, his lands, 51.
-,, pledges given by, 262.
-,, his receiver. *See* Fitz Nicholas, Garrett.
-,, his standard-bearer, 437.
-,, his tenants, 50.
-,, his brother. *See* Fitzgerald, John Fitz Thomas.
-,, his brother-in-law. *See* McCarthy Reagh.
-,, his base son. *See* Fitz James, Garrett.
-,, his cousin, the mother of Cormack McCarthy, 48.
-, James Fitzmaurice. *See* Fitzmaurice.
-, Sir James Fitz Piers (son of Sir Piers Fitz James), has given an overthrow to Onie McRory, 85.
-,, good service of, 87, 228.
-,, help of, asked for, 136.
-,, proceedings of, in Leix, 394.
-,, protects Castle Rebane, 533.
-,, his father, 87.
-,, his wife, 87.
-,, his company or companies, 136, 206.
-,, company of, sent for by Ormonde, 10.
-,, his house, 533.
-, John Fitz Thomas, brother of James Fitz Thomas, 24, 539.
-,, has a pension from the rebels, 48.
-,, to be blocked at Loughgirr, 106.
-,, Carew hopes to raise a faction against, 154.
-,, defeated by Lord Dunboyne and O'Dwyre, 186, 233.
-,, assassination of, planned by Carew, 248.

- Fitzgerald or Fitzgarrett, John Fitz Thomas
—*cont.*
 saved by a former footman of Sir Walter Raleigh, 248.
 has not been captured, but is of no reputation, 249.
 given as a pledge by his brother, 262.
 has gone for help into Ulster, 388, 494.
 is on the borders of Leix, 474.
 servants of, 248.
 John or Shane McRedmund, 370.
 forces under, in Imokilly, 132.
 banished from his country by the Queen's forces, 132.
 John Fitz William, knight of Kerry, 375.
 promises to come in, 159, 373.
 prays to be received into favour, 244.
 followers of, 373.
 is Florence McCarthy's cousin, 373.
 submission of, 388.
 brother of, is his pledge, 388.
 Maurice Fitz John, is expected from Spain, 51.
 Richard, wounded, 186.
 Thomas, knight of the Valley or Glin, 379, 491.
 letter to, from Tyrone, 493.
 castle held by, 51.
 captured. *See* Glin, the.
 prays to be received into favour, 244.
 refuses to come in, and watches his castle being battered and taken, 317.
 his best followers, killed at the taking of the Glin, 317.
 follows the steps of his traitorous ancestors, 386.
 stands aloof, but does no hurt, 453.
 losses of, 493.
 scouts and spies of, 318.
 son of, a pledge in Carew's hands, 264, 317, 318.
 son of. *See* Fitz Gerald, Edward Fitz Thomas.
 Thomas Fitz James, brother of the Lord of the Decies, 132.
 comes in to the Lord President, 145.
 forces with, 132.
 Thomas Oge, 372, 374, 379.
- Fitz Gibbon or McGibbon, Edmund [Fitz Gerald] *alias* the White Knight [of Munster], 437.
 threatens to leave Desmond, 51.
 service "done upon" by Ormonde, 51.
 is an uncertain man, 110.
 was found by Sir Henry Power, ready to take the field with an army, 132.
 led away a prisoner by Tyrone, 133, 159.
 a more faithless man, never lived, 144.
 is coming to speak with the Lord President, 144.
 malice between Desmond and, 144.
 states the terms on which he will come in, 153.
 his terms accepted by Carew, 153, 154, 485.
 Florence McCarthy boasts that he won, for her Majesty, 159.
 has promised assuredly to come in, 185.
 is no longer in rebellion, 241, 247, 370.
 is a good neighbour to Kilmallock, 242.
 with the Lord President, 370.
 news sent by, 388.
 Sir George Thornton undertakes to "contain" as a subject, 485.
 is the wisest and most valiant man in Munster, 485.
 grant to, 501.
 his sons, established by the Earl of Ormonde, 133.
 loyalty of, 133.
 his eldest son, 110.
 his second son, 370.
 his daughter, married to Donogh McCormack, 12. *And see* McCarthy, Donogh McCormack, wife of.
 followers of, slain, 370, 371.
 messengers of, 144, 153.
 pledges of, taken by Tyrone, 241.
 country of, or Clangibbon, 12, 23, 133, 370.
 wasted by Sir Henry Power's orders, 132.
 his chiefest town, 370.
 Maurice, son of the White knight, 24.
 Fitz James, Garrett, Lord of the Decies. *See* Fitzgerald.
 Garrett, base son of James Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, given as a pledge by his father, 262.
 was a gallant young fellow, 485.
 slain, 437, 453.
 his head sent to Carew, 497.
 Thomas. *See* Fitzgerald.

Fitz John, Maurice. *See* Fitz Gerald.

Fitz Morris, James [Fitzgerald, grandson of the 14th Earl of Desmond], the arch-traitor, 48, 249.

....., his sister, mother of the Lord of Muskerry, 48.

....., slaying of, alluded to, 237.

..... [Thomas], Lord Baron of Lixnaw, 298.

....., castle held by, 51.

....., his castle of Lixnaw taken, 366, 367.

....., dies of grief, 367.

....., followers of, 372.

....., his son and heir, 379.

....., as malicious a traitor as himself, 367.

Fitz Nicholas, Garrett, receiver to James Fitz Thomas (Desmond), 262.

Fitz Patrick, Teig, son of the Lord of Upper Ossory, 396.

....., his castle and town, 396.

Fitz Piers, James. *See* Fitzgerald, James Fitz Piers.

Fitzsimmons, Henry, a Jesuit priest, relation concerning, 76.

....., apprehension and imprisonment of, 76, 78.

....., pernicious libels believed to be penned by, 77.

....., proposal that he be sent over to England, 80.

....., father of, an alderman of Dublin, 76.

Fitz Thomas. *See* Fitzgerald, James, John and Maurice Fitz Thomas.

Fitzwilliam, Brian, grant to, 500.

Flahertys. *See* O'Flaherties.

Flanders, trade with, 488.

Fleetwood, Mr., father [in-law] of Sir Oliver Lambert, 483.

Fleming, Captain, 63.

....., Captain (Navy), 454, 455.

....., McSwine Ne Doe committed to his ship, 383.

....., John, 29, 91, 92.

....., letter to, 29.

....., sent to Lough Foyle, 104.

Flemish ships, 439.

Floudd, David, payment to, 208.

....., Thomas, grant to, 501.

Flower, Captain, Sergeant Major of Munster, 112, 162, 435.

....., expedition of, into Carberry, and fight with the rebels, 113, 116, 160.

....., relation of, by himself, 116, 117.

....., forces of, 112, 116, 117.

....., wounded, 133.

....., wrongs received by Florence McCarthy from, 160, 161.

....., horses, &c., given to, 161.

....., his valour at the taking of the Glin, 317.

....., is wounded in four places, 317.

....., has done good service at Lismore, 363.

Floyd, Captain, at Lough Foyle, 215.

....., Captain Walter, absent in England, 215.

Folliott, Sir Henry, 11.

....., gallant service of, 115, 120, 191, 529.

....., proceedings of, in Leix, 394.

....., wounded at the Moyerie, 529.

....., foot company of, 191.

....., one of his men, killed, 528.

Forces in Ireland, auditors for, 9.

....., will not pay on the Queen's letter alone, 176.

....., captains of. *See* Captains.

....., carriage-masters for, need of, in time of service, 502.

....., chaplains or preachers for, reckonings of, 64.

....., allowances of, orders concerning, 275, 276.

....., stipends of, 316.

....., only one in Munster, instead of three, 316.

....., colours of, 191.

....., commanders for, lack of, 113.

....., commissaries for. *See* Musters.

....., comptroller and commissaries of the victuals for. *See* Victuals.

....., corporals of the field, need for, 502.

....., field officers of, reduction of, 5.

....., Lord Lieutenant General of. *See* Ormonde, Earl of.

....., Marshal of. *See* Wingfield, Sir Richard.

....., muster master of. *See* Lane, Sir Ralph.

....., paymasters of, 5, 9, 10, 305. *And see* Dobb, John.

....., certificate of, 149.

....., orders to, 64.

....., alluded to, 245.

....., quarter master general of, office of, abolished, 126.

....., quarter masters, the newly invented office of, petition for the abolition of, 286.

....., abuses in the employment of, 501, 508, 512.

....., complaints of the conduct of, 429.

....., the Lord Deputy has employed none, save once, since his coming, 430, 502.

....., the companies have no such officer, 508.

....., surgeons or physicians for, 505, 532.

....., note of their reckonings, 64.

....., mode of their pay, 275, 276.

....., Trenchmaster for, 502.

....., Treasurer of. *See* Carey, Sir George.

....., agents of. *See* Watson, Thomas; Bicknell, William.

....., keep no sums in their hands, 329.

Forces, asked or needed for Ireland, 7, 17, 93, 121, 130, 184, 198, 217, 218, 220, 232, 233, 253, 321, 329, 334, 330, 381, 536.
 the Queen cannot supply more, 417.
 levied for Ireland, 4, 69, 217, 223, 268, 332, 353, 359.
 commanders for, 222.
 deserters from, 5, 333, 444.
 expected from Bristol and London, 83.
 sent from Chester. *See* Chester.
 for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. *See* Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.
 mustering of, at Bristol, 332.
 conductors of, 333.
 are in Worrall, ready to embark, 339.
 a note of those sent from Chester and Bristol, 360.
 bad behaviour of, 430.
 complaints concerning the chopping and changing of, 444.
 driven back by foul weather, 453.
 sent to Ireland, 81, 129, 303, 357, 358, 364; *and see* Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, forces for.
 insufficiency of, 130.
 shipped at Chester, 200. *And see* Chester.
 the new, hardly escape sickness, 341.
 ships for transport of. *See* Ships.
 Forces in Ireland, the, abuses or disorders amongst, 113, 503.
 reform of, 9, 67, 86, 110, 382, 503.
 arms, ammunition and provisions for. *See* Ordnance and Victuals.
 billeting or dieting of, 102.
 money due for, 418.
 cessing of, on the people, 58.
 check book of the charge of, 445.
 clothing for, 342, 464.
 received, 15, 499.
 defalcations taken from, 66, 351, 497.
 accounts for, must be included with the other accounts, 176.
 the summer, 189.
 has come very seasonably, 184.
 is consumed by the labour at fortifications, 314.
 a brief of, 210.
 needed or asked for, 207, 314, 455, 491.
 money for, 267.
 mantles asked for, instead of cassocks, 314.

Forces in Ireland, clothing for—*cont.*
 abuses in relation to, 324.
 overplus of, 333, 411.
 provant master of, 363.
 checks in, 450.
 packed up and shipped, 444.
 coat and conduct money for, 268.
 companies in, casing of, 8, 30, 46, 57, 94, 133, 215, 216, 239, 306, 433, 451, 518, 519, 524, 531, 536.
 amalgamation of, 410, 413, 532.
 bestowing of, 503, 504, 518.
 buying and selling of, 503.
 checks and defalcations from, 226, 232, 363.
 distribution of, 509.
 in Connaught, note of, 214.
 in Munster, certificates for, 450.
 list of, 464.
 raising and re-inforcement of, 133.
 concordatums for raising, found fault with, 74.
 cowardice of, 113.
 dead pays in, 142.
 allowance of, to the Archbishop of Cashel, 495.
 rate of, 496.
 defeat of, 60.
 deserters or desertions from, 8, 69, 121, 184, 351, 407, 505, 531.
 must be punished, 31, 163, 342, 505.
 conveyed away in ships, 9, 31, 163, 351, 369.
 one amongst, disguised as a woman, 69.
 executed, 94, 351.
 proclamation issued against, 184, 351, 369.
 discipline in, maintenance of, 9, 67, 82, 521.
 discontent or disobedience in, 46.
 distribution of, 3, 7, 8, 10, 27, 61, 66, 142, 148, 204, 207, 330, 359, 433. *See also under the several provinces.*
 suggested, 136, 271.
 establishment of, the new, began before Mountjoy arrived, 7, 64, 81, 126.
 extraordinary charges for, 351, 398.
 money for, requested, 246.
 considered in all wars, a third of the whole, 349.
 general hostings for, 364, 392, 508.
 horses for, 93, 94, 309, 404, 412.
 loss of, 94, 335, 339, 363, 382, 418, 456, 517, 532.
 horses sent to, note of, with names of their riders, 386.
 hospitals for. *See* Hospitals.
 Irish in, 86.

Forces in Ireland, Irish in—*cont.*

-, not to be trusted, 4.
-, must be overtopped by the English, 4.
-, readiness of, to run to the enemy, 4, 326, 407.
-, cashiering of, 142, 506.
-, in Connaught, should be removed or cased, 223.
-, the habit of, is to rebel, 295.
-, are spies, and furnish the traitors with necessaries, 326.
-, should not be employed in their own countries, 326.
-, complaints that the companies are "stuffed with," 445.
-, raised from the rebels, 507.
-, ill-conduct or misdemeanours of, 331, 429.
-, lendings of, 66, 99.
-, must be paid, 46, 75, 82.
-, declaration of, desired, 64.
-, defalcations not to be taken from, 66, 177, 351.
-, the soldiers' arms to be answered out of, 442.
-, checks in, brief of, 450.
-, lists, estimates, notes or certificates of or concerning, 87, 134, 140, 354.
-, in Leinster, 230.
-, wanted, 2.
-, losses of, 202, 269, 270, 305, 317, 437, 465, 467, 468, 472, 473, 524, 528, 529, 530, 536.
-, very small, 369.
-, money for, needed, 4, 28, 31, 34.
-, borrowed, 9, 11, 31, 34, 525.
-, received, 379.
-, monthly charge of, 348, 423.
-, munition for. *See* Ordnance.
-, officers of, lists of, 175, 464.
-, negligence and corruption of, 121.
-, discharged, 59, 60.
-, complaints of the Lord Deputy's conduct in relation to, 503, 505, 507.
-, commissions for, 5.
-, commissions as, asked for. *See* Captains.
-, gallant conduct of, 529.
-, pay of, 64, 130, 143, 149, 268, 348, 464.
-, ill-consequence of irregularity in issuing, 28, 30.
-, no money for, 39.
-, complaints of not having had, 64.
-, lack of, will cause the men to run into oppression of the country, 66.
-, Privy Seal for, to be amended, 176.
-, money borrowed for, 176, 329.

Forces in Ireland, pay of—*cont.*

-, money for, to be sent, 232.
-, notes from the Privy Seal concerning, 267.
-, dividend for, to be made at the Council table, 273.
-, her Majesty's letter concerning, 304, 314.
-, rate of, 415.
-, sickness in, 184, 243, 324, 334, 369, 380, 382, 405, 406, 407, 456, 469, 490, 522, 531, 535.
-, caused by foul weather, 243, 455, 473, 489, 531, 532.
-, amongst the new men, caused by change of diet and air, 341, 406, 415.
-, sick or hurt soldiers, 120, 130, 142.
-, injured in a riot, 14.
-, should be cured, not sent home, 341.
-, sent to England, 341, 449.
-, payments to, 449.
-, in Dublin, 505.
-, sent to the towns to recover their health, 532.
-, surgeons, physicians and divines sent to, to give them bodily and ghostly comfort, 532.
-, skirmishes of, with the rebels. *See* Irish rebel forces, skirmishes with.
-, strength of, 2, 140, 142, 190, 204, 217, 220, 225, 413, 414, 501.
-, successes of, 16, 18, 67, 103, 115, 117, 120, 133, 186, 193, 213, 215, 269, 302, 305, 307, 336, 338, 367, 368, 369, 371, 395, 409, 415, 434, 436, 471, 484, 522, 523; *and see* Moyerie, the.
-, sufferings and necessities of, 4.
-, transportation of, 9, 33; *and see* Lough Foyle, forces going to; *and* Chester *and* Bristol, forces shipped from.
-, charges of, allowances for, 116.
-, advantage of a sea route for, 231.
-, victuals for. *See* Victuals.
-, voluntaries for or with, 218, 223, 308, 338, 527, 528.
-, the procuring of, urged, 417.
-, weak state of, 2, 115, 142, 217, 318, 362, 369, 407, 418, 421, 520, 532.
-, the Lord Deputy inquires into the condition of, 1, 61.
-, the true estate of, cannot be known, 2.
-, proposed reduction of, objected to, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 46, 413, 501.
-, postponed till further orders are received, 3.
-, a strong force will be needed in the North, 3, 5.
-, for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. *See* Lough Foyle *and* Ballyshannon.
-, are distracted into many parts, 3.

Forces in Ireland—*cont.*

-, with the Earl of Ormonde in Munster, 8, 10, 16, 22, 27, 41, 43, 46.
-, lying near Waterford, 5, 9.
-, sent from the Pale, 11.
-, numbers of, 23, 27.
-, arrears due to, 165.
-, burning and spoiling of the rebels by, 11, 112, 116, 133, 148, 172, 188, 192, 243, 266, 267, 300, 319, 320, 332, 337, 338, 339, 344, 352, 355, 356, 363, 364, 369, 393, 394, 396.
-, "bearing" of, a great burden to the towns, 12, 75.
-, riot with, in a church, 13, 14.
-, the slack payment of, has put all into confusion, 28.
-, if order be not taken, a third part of, will be lost, 31.
-, to be drawn towards Trim and Athboy, 32, 41, 45.
-, with the Lord Deputy, 37, 38, 41.
-, the only confidence, either to defend or offend, lies in the strength of, 42.
-, nearly a thousand of, lost, in "turning over," 46.
-, were formerly cessed upon the country, 49.
-, the composition now paid for, a great weakening to the country, 49.
-, are kept in towns, when they should be scattered abroad in castles, 50.
-, are to be quartered on the north borders, 61.
-, not mustered on the last northern journey, 64.
-, are more cheerful than formerly, 66.
-, the Queen has consented to keep at full strength, 66, 81.
-, preys rescued from, 67.
-, expenses of, will increase, 67.
-, the Lord Deputy's efforts to re-model. *See* Mountjoy.
-, a gallant army, in Tyrone's teeth, yet put to do nothing, 67.
-, irregular raising of, has brought the lists to 19,000 men, 74.
-, sent to Offally, 86.
-, must be kept strong and in good heart, 89.
-, sent to Kilkenny, 90, 97.
-, desire nothing more than to fight, 92.
-, are to be sent to victual the Fort (Philipstown), and repair the Togher of Offally, 98.
-, are to take the like course for Maryborough, 98.
-, going with the Lord Deputy to the North, 98.
-, will be in hazard to break for want of victuals, 99.
-, sent to Kilkenny, 102, 103.
-, Ormonde prays that they may be withdrawn from Kilkenny, 108.

Forces in Ireland—*cont.*

-, proceedings of, in Munster, against the rebels, 112, 116, 117.
-, narrow escape of, from being cut off, 118.
-, lack of arms amongst, 113.
-, repair the Togher of Offally, 114, 115.
-, advantage of the entertainment of Scots as part of, 117.
-, have victualled the fort of Offally, 125.
-, the Queen is prayed to erect anew the principal officers of, 126.
-, will be needed against Florence McCarthy, 129.
-, better care to be made in the choice of, 130.
-, in Carberry, 133.
-, offer to raise, 136.
-, removal of, from Leix, demanded by Onie McRory, 140.
-, none can be spared for private ends, 143.
-, numbers needed, to prosecute James Fitz Thomas, 144.
-, are in better heart, and as good men as any in Christendom, 147.
-, hindrance to the service of 165.
-, expedition of, with the Lord Deputy, to the North, 163, 174, 177, 180, 189, 193, 205, 219, 220, 225, 227.
-, difficulty of raising provisions for, 178.
-, strength of, 190, 207, 228.
-, are good and perfect soldiers, 190.
-, skirmishes with the enemy during. *See* Moyerie, the.
-, more money for, needed for this season's campaign, 176, 177, 205, 207.
-, the Privy Council's care in sending provisions, a great comfort to, 180, 188.
-, the whole army is hungering to do service, 180.
-, the infinite decay of, by sickness and desertion, 184.
-, the re-inforcements sent for, weak and unserviceable, 184.
-, with the President on his journey in Munster, 184, 185.
-, the continual abiding of, near the rebels, is what will harm them, 193.
-, artisans and workmen needed for, 198, 233.
-, offer to raise, for defence of the Pale, 204, 236.
-, general hosting of, to be dispensed with this year, 204.
-, in the Pale. *See* Pale, the English.
-, the treasure arrived for, is about to be cast into dividend, 205.
-, are much heartened by the success at the Moyerie, 206.
-, companies of, left in the Pale, 206.
-, the Treasurer fears he may have to issue money for, without warrant, 208.

Forces in Ireland—*cont.*

-, the Lord Deputy has brought back, from the North, "sound and in heart," 213.
-, in Connaught, are unprofitable, 214, 221.
-, main proceedings of, are much weakened, 217.
-, an augmentation of, prayed for, 217, 220.
-, Sir George Carey prays that if they are increased he may have warrant for extraordinary charges, 224.
-, left in Leinster, 228.
-, in Leinster, are drowned in petty wards and in the guard of towns, 228.
-, the soldiers of, used to cast their own bullets, 233.
-, report that large, are to be sent to Leinster, 237.
-, expedition of, under Sir George Carew, to Limerick and Kerry, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 261, 262, 265, 316, 317, 318, 366, 367, 368.
-, division of, into garrisons, 243.
-, the Lord Deputy has to be everything in, from a sergeant to a general, 252.
-, have now more health and strength than before, 253.
-, Sir George Carew is marching with, to Askeaton and the Glinn, 264.
-, sent to the Earl of Thomond, 265.
-, in the North, "not so fearful" as might be wished, 265.
-, the lack of beer a great hurt to, 270, 278.
-, a paper concerning, alluded to, 271.
-, the soldiers of, run on the country or to England, owing to the absence of their captains, 272.
-, , are not to go to England without a pass from their chief commander, on pain of death, 272.
-, , orders concerning the dismissal of, 272.
-, , to be placed by "the constables of towns and such like," 286.
-, with the Earl of Clanrickarde, for his "defence and safety," 291.
-, the "foot do play the men, but the horses are jades," 305.
-, their possession of Ulster, feared by the rebels, 306.
-, have had the better in all encounters since Mountjoy reached Ireland, 307, 352.
-, castles taken by, in Limerick and Kerry, 317, 318, 319, 366, 367, 368, 369.
-, are weakened by lodging in the field, 318.
-, have left nothing unspoiled and unburnt within their reach, 319.
-, the countenance of, is grown fearful to the rebels, 320.

Forces in Ireland—*cont.*

-, the Queen writes concerning abuses in, 324, 325, 326.
-, said to be only profitable to the men of war, 325.
-, faults of, must be punished, 325.
-, with the Lord Deputy, in his journey into Offally, 330, 331, 332, 337, 338, 344.
-, , are suffered to pass without one blow, 339.
-, with other commanders in Leinster, 336, 337, 344, 353, 354, 355, 356.
-, superiority of the old to those newly sent over, 341, 359.
-, have been so divided that they were insufficient to make an end of the war, 349.
-, have three times been called together only to victual the forts, 352.
-, with the Lord Deputy in Leix, 353, 354, 376, 394, 395, 396.
-, soldiers in, licentiousness and disorder of, 357, 366.
-, Carew cannot spare any, from Munster, 359, 360, 361, 362.
-, those in Connaught, might assist in the Northern journey, 362.
-, march unfought, in Munster, 363.
-, burn one of the White Knight's houses by mistake, 371.
-, insolencies of, are a blemish to the government, 381.
-, the Lord Deputy's choice of, to go with him to the North, 393.
-, needed to guard the borders of the Pale, 394, 421.
-, the Irish chiefs should be made to contribute to the maintenance of, 401.
-, put the enemy to flight, near Athlone, 409.
-, lessened by the combining of companies, 410.
-, night drafts drawn by, on the enemy, 413.
-, if insufficiently paid, "never front the enemy," 415.
-, are grown so delicate that few wear their arms, 415.
-, no more levies can be made in England for, 417.
-, insufficiency of, for the northern journey, 421.
-, rendezvous of, at Dundalk, 421, 461, 530.
-, hopes of, depend upon the changing of the wind, 422.
-, left in Leinster, under the Earl of Ormonde, 422, 426, 428, 433, 484.
-, , list of, 423.
-, , languid doings of, 452.
-, appointed for the northern service, list of, 423.

Forces in Ireland—*cont.*

- with the Lord Deputy in his journey to the north, 430, 433, 453, 459, 462, 463, 465, 467, 468, 469, 470, 472, 480, 481, 483, 484, 489, 490, 501, 521, 522, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 534, 537.
-, poorly answered with money and victuals, 432.
-, in camp, near Dundalk. *See* Faugher, the, camp at.
-, proceedings of, in the Moyerie. *See* Moyerie, the.
-, decay in the "shot," 473.
-, list of "shot" to be sent to, 474.
-, fish objected to, as food for, 491.
-, hindered by the weather, 522, 526, 531.
-, in Munster, have "taken new spirits unto them," 435.
-, going into Offally, 441.
-, sent to the Naas, 448, 472, 474.
-, have no pots or pans in camp, and but few in garrisons, 491.
-, said by Tyrone to be on all sides of him, 493.
-, charges against the Lord Deputy in relation to, and his answers, 501, 510, 516.
-, matters concerning, not so well ordered as they might be, 502.
-, insolencies in, left unpunished, 503.
-, coupling of the command of horse and foot in, 505, 506.
-, complaints that the country is wasted by, 507.
-, as much assisted by the rebels as by the Pale, 508.
-, clamoured against by the villagers when they have taken nothing, 508.
-, orders for the marching of, 508.
-, the Lord Deputy has lost the use of 4,000 of, for Lough Foyle, 518.
-, the killing and pillaging of, promised to his men by Tyrone, 527.
-, engage in one of the greatest fights ever seen in Ireland, 528.
-, are withdrawn to Dundalk, 530.
-, honourable behaviour of, 531.
-, the Lord Deputy well knows the state of, 532.
-, hopes of restoring, to their pristine state, 532.
- Ford, Dr., 500.
- Formoye, ford of, over the Blackwater, 23.
- Fortesque ("Fosque"), Sir John, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, 346, 391, 392.
-, letters of, alluded to, 103.
-, letter to, 412.
-, William, 415.
- Four Miles Water, the, or *Bollen Clare*, in the Moyerie, barricadoes at, 530, 531.
-, skirmish with the enemy at, 190, 191, 219.
- Fox, Hubbert, grant to, 501.
- Fox to Hole, a game, 13.
- Foyle, Abbey of, letter dated at, 299.
- Foyle, Lough, *passim*.
-, captains designed for, 46, 230.
-, at, 404.
-, who have served at, 230.
-, absent from their charge, 200, 215, 221, 357, 505, 535.
-, castle near. *See* Ellaugh.
-, commander for. *See* Dockwra, Sir Henry.
-, commissary of musters for, 81.
-, extraordinaries for, 398.
-, forces for, or Sir Henry Dockwra's forces, 4, 5, 27, 29, 30, 33, 45, 61, 62, 63, 67, 73, 82, 94, 95, 99, 114, 121, 122, 127, 207, 213, 215, 233, 444.
-, the rebels mean to resist the landing of, 3, 45, 57, 62, 82, 213.
-, list of the captains appointed to take, 95.
-, defect in the numbers of, 121.
-, hope that they have landed, 169, 177, 190.
-, have arrived and are settling the plantation, 192, 203, 208, 209, 225, 228. *And see* Derry, the.
-, landed without striking a blow, 213.
-, need of winter apparel by, 314.
-, forces at, 413, 483.
-, correspondence to be given to, 217.
-, are not so fearful to O'Donnell as might be wished, 265.
-, weakness of, from drinking only water, 278.
-, from loss of their horses, 382.
-, from sickness 382, 405, 406, 407, 455, 456, 517, 520, 522, 535.
-, provision of beer to be made for, 278, 345, 347, 348, 352.
-, may perhaps assist against O'Donnell, 282.
-, advice concerning the re-inforcement of, 341.
-, are well supplied with money, 342.
-, the times at which victuals are to be sent for, 347.
-, Sir Arthur Chichester desires fish for, 345, 347.
-, re-inforcements for, asked for or needed, 382, 417, 535, 536.

Foyle, Lough, forces at—*cont.*

-, mustering of, alluded to, 404, 454.
-, provisions for, have to be kept in a ship, 411.
-, numbers of, 455.
-, supplies for, needed, 455.
-, laziness of, 456.
-, are declared by Tyrone not to have much prevailed as yet, 493.
-, casing of, 518, 519, 524, 536.
-, skirmish of, with the enemy, 536.
-, fortifications at. *See* Derry.
-, government of, limits of, appointed, 40.
-, money, provisions or munition for, 4, 9, 20, 28, 29, 34, 37, 38, 42, 67, 76, 95 (2), 99, 107, 108, 176, 207, 233, 271, 327, 471.
-, munition sent to, estimate of, 256.
-, paymasters at, 398.
-, plantation of, or garrison at, 3, 4, 5, 9, 28, 29, 33, 34, 62, 62, 66, 89, 121, 125, 300.
-, Tyrone's alarm concerning, 38, 45, 175, 220, 255, 331.
-, importance of, 145, 148, 168, 180, 181, 340, 345, 382, 423, 438.
-, importance to, of a garrison at Armagh, 220, 426.
-, would be hazarded if the king of Spain sends forces, 253.
-, Tyrone and O'Donnell plan an ambush for, 256.
-, McSwyne has become a betrayer of, 433.
-, ships to sail "under colour to victual," 439.
-, was expected to divert the rebel's forces, 522.
-, ships or fleet, going to, 9, 81, 82, 104, 121, 125, 168, 194, 200, 201, 207, 411.
-, expected arrival of, 172, 174, 188.
-, the men on, said to have landed, and burned and preyed the country, on their way, 188.
-, names of, 208, 209.
-, charges of, 208.
-, have arrived, 192, 193.
-, the Lord Deputy diverts Tyrone from, 42, 44, 213, 220, 225, 511.
-, Tyrone is sending forces to, 57, 62, 172.
-, the rebels are raising sconces at, 68.
-, messengers sent to or from, 92, 104, 433.
-, negotiation proposed for, 95.

Foyle, Lough—*cont.*

-, if well maintained, will cause many to revolt from Tyrone, 96, 172.
-, delay of the forces going to, a great hindrance to the service, 165.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill is about, 173.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra is about to "set away" to, 174.
-, the forces arrive at, 194, 200, 201.
-, the fleet goes aground in, 194, 201.
-, burning and spoiling on the shores of, 201, 206.
-, plantation on. *See* the Derry, plantation at.
-, journey to, discourse of, 200.
-, O'Dogherty's [the Donegal] side of, 201.
-, Tyrone's side of, the enemy appears on, 202.
-, soldiers straggling on the shores of, slain, 202.
-, Tyrone's withdrawal from, 213, 227.
-, the Lord Deputy's journey hath wrought the settling of, 219.
-, news brought from, 221.
-, Tyrone has returned towards, 226.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill has gone to, 229.
-, the way between the Newry and, should be cleared, 253.
-, the Lord Deputy writes of the good successes at, 265.
-, rebel forces in camp near or attending, 266, 306, 493.
-, timber and boats needed at, and to be supplied for, 277.
-, merchants trading to, 278.
-, the Ballyshannon garrison still at, 300, 352.
-, commander at, may grant protections, 307.
-, sea traffic from, southward, to be stopped to the rebels, 313.
-, cold climate of, 314.
-, certificates of extraordinaries not received from, 329.
-, passenger arrived in England from, 340.
-, misery and want of good victuals at, 340.
-, no fishing at, in winter, 345.
-, a brewhouse to be erected at, 348, 352; *and see* Dunalong.
-, timber or boards sent to, 352, 405, 455.
-, boats needed for, 352.
-, a blow received at, 357, 358.
-, a meet man should be sent to, in case Sir Henry Dockwra should miscarry, 357.

Foyle, Lough—*cont.*

-, lack of news from, 364, 423.
-, need of a store-house at, 411.
-, band of horse sent to, 412.
-, "desperate advertisements from," 416.
-, need of agreement amongst the commanders at, 416-418.
-, post bark for, 423.
-, reports of proceedings at, 481, 484.
-, the Lord Deputy defends his conduct in relation to, 517.
-, horses lost at, 517.
-, cannot be thoroughly planted without extreme care and provision, 518.
-, the Lord Deputy has most reason to complain of the small effect of, 518.
-, advertisements of affairs at, 534.

Foyle, the river, 380.

-, country at the mouth of, wasted by the Queen's troops, 192, 209.
-, boats on, 278.
-, defence of, 194.
-, one of the fairest and fittest for navigation in Ireland, 195.
-, a punt needed for, 198.

France, 477.

-, King of [Henry IV.], 389.
-, in the hands of the Emperor, 181.
-, officers who have served in, 230, 278.
-, English ambassador in, 388.
-, ships to or from, 425, 499; *and see* French ships.

Franke, John, printer, payment to, 456.

Freckleton, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.

French, Patrick, bailiff of Galway, 447.

Frenchmen in Ireland, 259, 388.

French ships or bottoms, 19, 499.

Friar or Fryer, a servant of Lord Thomond's, 391 (2).

Friar, a, arrived from Spain, letter of, alluded to, 237.

Friars, Franciscan, Provincial of. *See* Angelos.
....., Commissary General of. *See* Oviedo.Fryer. *See* Friar.

Fyngall, in the heart of the Pale, 136.

Fynsh. *See* Finch.

G

Gainsford, Captain, wounded, 463, 465, 529.

Galballye, Abbey of, co. Limerick, 436.

Galeballie, William, wounded by the rebels, payment to, 175, 208.

Galicia, in Spain, 175.

Galde, James. *See* Butler.

Gallie or Galye, near Roscommon, a castle of Sir Theobald Dillon's, 409.

Galway, county of, 287.

Galway, town of, 84, 446.

....., bailiffs of, 447.

....., letters dated at, 258, 446, 480.

....., garrison at, 292.

....., importance of, 53.

....., gates of, one company could keep, 287.

....., mayor of. *See* Lynch, Myghell.

....., munition to be sent to, 34, 67.

....., munition at, 37.

....., to be sent to Lough Foyle from, 95, 269.

....., notary of, 447.

....., victuals at, 107.

....., Lord Dunkellin complains that he is debarred from, 53, 146.

....., to be kept from Lord Clanrickarde, 214.

....., is guarded by Sir Robert Lovell, 221.

....., and Athlone, the only two secure places in Connaught, 223.

....., victuals sent to, 245.

....., danger of the way from, to Dublin, 260.

....., "means" may be sent from, 287.

....., is not a fit dwelling place for the chief commissioner of Connaught, 287.

....., difficulty in communicating with, especially in winter, 269.

....., building materials to be sent from, 405.

....., ships of, or bound for, captured, 446, 447.

....., grant to, 500.

Galye, the castle of. *See* Gallie.

Gankegh [or Ganco], William McHugh, 112.

Gardener, Sir Robert, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, 77, 309.

....., letter of, 217.

....., alluded to, 354.

....., letter signed by, as one of the Council, 524.

....., advice of, 91.

- Gardener, Sir Robert—*cont.*
 unkindness between Sir George Carey and, 176.
 recommends Capt. Stanton to Cecil, 217.
 his government (as Lord Justice), alluded to, 275.
 and the cause with Lady Burgh, 428.
 advice of, to be asked, 499.
 commission given to, in relation to musters, 505.
 Garlones, the, gentlemen of, slain by the rebels, 313.
 Garrett, Lieutenant, 115.
 Oge, son of, 120.
 Garter, Knight of the, 488.
 Gascoigne, "Gasken" [Sir William], knight-
 ing of, by Essex, 234.
 Geare, Mitchell, widow, 449.
 late husband of. *See* Dolaghan, Aeneas.
 Gelaspee. *See* Gillespie.
 Geraldine, a, will ever be found, to be Earl of Desmond, 263.
 the Munster rebels will have, as their leader, 390.
 Geraldines or Geraldmen, the, rebellions of, 75.
 hope of working something through, 93.
 may help to banish Florence McCarthy, 155.
 taking and release of, 371.
 forces of, 372.
 bastard, are on their knees, 483.
 Gernon, George, payment to, 175, 203.
 Gessill [? Geashill], in Offally, 466.
 the Lord Deputy goes to, 330, 337, 338.
 skirmishes at, with the rebels, 338.
 Ghest, Captain Lionel, writes to Cecil against Sir Oliver Lambert, 283.
 Gillespie or Gelaspee, a Scot, 330.
 Glamwyerie, co. Cork, letter from, 22.
 Glanwhymme, castle of, in Connello, 435.
 Glin. *See* Glin.
 Glin, the (Munster), knight of. *See* Fitzgerald, Thomas.
 or Glin, the, castle of, co. Limerick, 319, 372.
 Carew intends to besiege, 243, 244, 264.
 camp at, letters dated at, 305, 379.
 taken and garrisoned by Carew, 317, 318, 324, 368, 373.
 constable of. *See* Mordaunt, Captain.
 attempts of the rebels to recover, 368.
 loyalty of the garrison at, 368.
 Lord Audley wishes to hold, 386.
 Glinns, the, co. Antrim, burning and spoiling of, by sailors landed from the ships, 188.
 Glins, the, near Newry, 26.
 Gloucestershire, 332.
 Glynn's, the, in O'Byrne's country, 127.
 Godolphin [Sir William], knight-
 ing of, by Essex, 234.
 charges the enemy at the Moyerie, 529.
 Goeghe, Edward, Mayor of Waterford, letter of, 488.
 prays that the people of Kilkenny may not prejudice his town, 488.
 Gofton, Auditor, 383, 459.
 as Commissioner for viewing the accounts of the Treasurer at Wars, 304.
 Goodman, George, grant to, 500.
 Goold, Justice [James], second justice in Munster, letter from, offering his services, 257.
 appointed to survey victuals at Limerick, 246.
 has returned a certificate, 246.
 on the war in Munster, 257.
 defence of, against the information of the Archbishop of Cashel, 323.
 James, grant to, 500.
 Piers, grant to, 501.
 Gorme, Donnell. *See* McVic Donnell.
 Donnell Oge McDonnell. *See* McConnell.
 Gilliasbeg McDonnell, 39.
 Gortnacleagh, Gortenele or Gorteneleagh, castle of, between Ossory and Leix, the Earl of Ormonde imprisoned at, 124, 396.
 letters dated at, 90, 110.
 Gough, Edward, grant to, 501.
 Goulding or Golden Bridge, on the Suir, 23.
 Grant, Richard, clerk of the munition at Waterford, 66.
 Captain Walter, debt due from, 208.
 Graves or Grave, Robert [Dean of Cork], recommended for the Bishopric of Ferns, 58.
 informed against for pluralities, 73.
 as Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, letters of, 440 (2).
 on the state of his diocese, 440.
 drowned with his wife and family, 467, 468.
 Gray, Edward, the castle of Liscahane held by, 319.
 Greame or Greames, Captain, 474.
 Captain George, heads sent by, 149.
 horse company of, men cast in, 506.
 George, grant to, 500.
 Patrick, grant to, 501.

Greame or Greames—*cont.*

....., Captain Richard, letters of, 435, 436.
 , recommended to Cecil, 386,
 434.

..... , as commander at Kilmallock,
 service done by, 434-437.

..... , wounded, 437.

..... , nephew of, 437.

Great Island, the. *See* Barry, Lord, island of.

Greatrakes, William, deputy commissary at
 Cork, certificate of victuals signed by,
 141.

Green Castle, the. *See* Carlingford.

Greenwich, co. Kent, letters received at, 93,
 94, 96, 99, 103, 104, 112, 125, 128, 139,
 164, 167, 174, 178, 181, 189, 198, 203,
 208, 212, 239, 241, 252, 267, 291, 294,
 304.

..... , letters dated at, 304, 324, 333.

..... , instructions dated at, 272.

Grenville, Sir Richard, grant to, 501.

Grey, Arthur, Lord [of Wilton], former Lord
 Deputy of Ireland, time of, alluded to,
 63.

..... , allowances of, 511.

Grime, Lieutenant, slain, 113.

Grise, Captain, recommended to Cecil, 230.

Gromwell or Gromell [James], a former
 Mayor of Limerick, 14.

Grooma, Owen, surrenders the castle of
 Loughgirr, 242.

Groome, Edmund, 25.

Groyne, the [Corunna], in Galicia, the Spanish
 fleet at, 254.

..... , boats making ready for Ire-
 land at, 254.

Gyfforde, the widow, 39.

H

Hadger, Mr., 167.

Hagan, Henry or Harry, foster brother to
 Tyrone, 192, 311.

..... , his boy, 311.

Hales, Captain, 504.

Hamiltons, the, might do good service in
 Ireland, 118, 119.

..... , friends and retainers of, 118.

Hamon, Robert, grant to, 500.

Hansard, Captain, recommended by the Lord
 Deputy, 278, 279.

..... , offices executed by, 430, 431.

..... , in charge of the munition,
 502.

Harding, Richard, grant to, 501.

Hardware, H., Mayor of Chester, 68, 69.

..... , letters of, 327, 411, 444.

..... , victuals provided by, for the
 fleet, 173, 333.

..... , commission given to, to send
 victuals to Lough Foyle, 271.

..... , is to stay the shipping for the
 troops, 303.

..... , arms and apparel stayed in
 the hands of, 333.

..... , orders sent to, 348.

..... , has impressed divers idle and
 vagrant persons, 411.

..... , list signed by, 445.

Hargrave, Edward, "a scholar and a preacher,"
 447.

Harlowe, 388. *See* Arlow.

Harpole, Captain, company of, men cast in,
 507.

Harrington, Sir Henry, defeat of, alluded to,
 60.

..... , recommended to Cecil, 75,
 164.

..... , is now a Councillor, 164.

..... , absent from his charge, 334.

..... , grant to, 500.

..... , his company, 206.

..... , Sir John, letter of, 233.

..... , sends a list of knights made
 when he was in Ireland, 233, 234.

..... , knighting of, by Essex, 234.

Harris, Mr., 444.

Hart, Captain, 200, 233, 536.

..... , arrives at Lough Foyle, 404,
 411.

Hartpoole, William, letter of, 87.

Harvey, Captain, Sir George Carew's cousin,
 company given to, 518.

..... , Captain, 101, 173.

..... , Capt. Gawen, 389.

..... , refuses to go to Florence
 McCarthy, 249.

..... , Sir Gerrard, in Connaught, 84.

..... , his company, 84.

..... , Capt. Philip, and his command of the
 fort at Leix, 451.

..... , Capt. Roger, in command at Moyallo,
 marches against the rebels, 370.

..... , wounded in a skirmish, 371,
 529.

..... , his chasing of James Fitz
 Thomas, 435.

..... , valiant conduct of, 504.

..... , Captain William, scoutmaster in the
 Ulster expedition, wounded, 460, 463,
 465.

Hatton, Sir Christopher, grant to, 500.

Hawks, sent as a present, 330, 391, 480.

Hayes, Captain Edward, Commissary of Mus-
 ters, sent to England, 26.

Heath, Captain, wounded, 536.

..... , company of, 200.

Heganius or Hoganus, Eugenius, Vicar Apos-
 tolic, letters of, 17, 22, 53.

- Henry VIII., rebellion in Ireland in the time of, 312.
-, service of the Wallops to, 457.
- Herbert, Sir Edward, 78.
-, his children, prisoners in the hands of the O'Connors, 78, 126, 211.
-, his services and losses, 126, 211.
-, proposed for special employment in Leinster, 136, 503.
-, recommendations of, 211, 212, 278.
-, as commander in Offally, 433, 441, 474.
-, orders sent to, by Ormonde, 474.
-, is not "sufficient" for any general command, 504.
-, house of, taken and defaced, 211.
-, regiment of, 357.
-, forces under, in Offally, 433.
-, Sir William, the Island of Kerry held by, 367.
- Heriot, —, 250.
- Hetherington, David, examination and statement of, mentioned, 332, 333.
- Heydon [Sir John], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
- Hibbotts, Thomas, agent of Sir George Carey, memorial by, 410.
- Hilbree, co. Chester, troops shipped from, 200.
-, ship of, 209.
- Hills, Mr., of Bristol, 497.
- Hilton, Capt. Henry, letter of, 430.
- Hoby, Sir Edward, 221.
- Hoen, Sir Patrick, 112.
- Hoeth, Mr., 112.
- Hoganus. *See* Heganius.
- Holland, a ship of, 203.
- Hollanders. *See* Dutch.
- Hollowood or Hollywood, William, a messenger of Sir Garrett Moore, 192, 311.
- Holy Cross, Abbey of the, co. Tipperary, 23.
-, Ormonde frustrates Tyrone's intention to go to, 10.
- Holyhead, co. Anglesea, letters from, 56, 339, 343.
- Holy Land, indulgence to those fighting for the recovery of, mentioned, 83.
- Honora or Imperia Romana, a gentlewoman employed to obtain access to the Earl of Ormonde, 167, 168, 181.
-, gives messages from the Lord Deputy and Fenton to the Earl, 170, 171.
-, and "tells him a token" from Fenton, 170.
-, information received from, 364.
-, messenger sent with, declaration of, 170, 171.
-, friend of, 168.
- Hornehead, in Tyrconnell, 40.
- Horsley, Surrey, 342.
- Hospitals for the forces in Ireland, 406, 505.
-, erecting of, 209.
- Hovenden or Ovington ("Oveton"), Henry, foster brother to the Earl of Tyrone, sends his son as a pledge to Spain, 122.
-, slain by Neal Garve, 488, 521.
-, head of, brought to Dockwra, 488.
- Howth, Nicholas St. Lawrence, Baron of, letter of, 423.
-, left in command of the county of Dublin, 204.
-, journey of, to England, to state the grievances of the Pale, 236, 301, 303, 304, 325, 326, 381.
-, character or praise of, 236, 301, 431, 432.
-, return of, to Ireland, 393.
-, is heard by the Lord Deputy, concerning the Pale causes, 422, 429.
-, Fenton prays that he may be made a Councillor, 431.
-, complaints of, first made before Mountjoy's time, 508, 516.
-, brother of, wounded, 465.
- Howth, Head of, near Dublin, the Lord Deputy arrives at, 1.
- Hubbard, William, desires protection, 109.
- Huet, Charles, under treasurer to Sir Henry Wallop, 399, 511.
- Huetson, Mr., Chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin, 77.
- Hugh Boy [O'Davitt], a creature of O'Donnell's, 195.
-, Rice Ap, grant to, 501.
- Hughes, Michael [Clerk of the Ordnance], certificate of munition by, 56.
- Hume, Sir George, 119.
- Hungerford, Anthony, grant to, 500.
- Hunsworth, Christopher, payment to, 449.
- Huntingdonshire, men from, going to Ireland, 69.
- Huntington, near Chester, letter dated at, 471.
- Hurley or Hurlye, Maurice, 436.
-, recommended to Cecil, 265.
-, sister of, is foster sister to O'Connor's wife, 265.
- Hussey, James, 374.
- Hyde, Arthur, 135, 384, 385.
-, letter from, 332.
-, recommended to Cecil, 219.
-, his son and servants, 219, 384.
- Hyde's Castle, ford of, over the Blackwater, 23.

I

Ibawne, barony of, co. Cork, 48.
 , lands in, spoiled by the rebels,
 52, 72.
 Idough or Ydough, co. Kilkenny, 353, 394.
 , borders of, 100.
 , assembly of rebels
 on, 474.
 Ilfracombe, Devonshire, bark cast away at,
 399.
 Imokilly, barony of, co. Cork, spoiled, 18, 20.
 , rebel garrison in, 132.
 , Queen's garrison in, 132.
 Inchiquin, barony of, co. Cork, 18.
 Indies, the, armados of the King of Spain gone
 to, 257.
 Iniskayne, co. Cork, letter dated at, 178.
 Ink and writing paper, sent to Lough Foyle,
 95.
 Innishowen, co. Donegal, the Irish of, to be
 kept with Sir Henry Dockwra, 282.
 Inny or Enny, the river, in Westmeath, Tyrone
 crosses, 40, 41, 44, 45.
 Intelligencers, 6, 33, 170, 305, 365, 464, 520.
 Ireland, Auditor General of, 305; *and see*
 Peyton, Christopher.
 , Auditor of the Wars, office of, 305.
 , Chief Baron of the Exchequer in. *See*
 Napper, Sir Robert.
 , office of, Justice Saxey recom-
 mended for, 61.
 , vacant, 432.
 , reversion of, asked
 for, 537.
 , Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in.
See Gardener, Sir Robert.
 , Chief Justice of Common Pleas in.
See Walsh, Sir Nicholas.
 , Judge of the Queen's Bench in. *See*
 Saxey, William.
 , former. *See* Walsh, Sir
 Nicholas.
 , Lieutenant General of the Army in.
See Ormonde, Earl of.
 , Lord Chancellor of. *See* Loftus, Sir
 Adam.
 , Marshal of. *See* Wingfield, Sir
 Richard.
 , Master of the Ordnance in. *See*
 Bouchier, Sir George.
 , Master of the Requests in. *See*
 Rookeby, Mr.
 , Master of the Rolls in. *See* Sentleger,
 Sir Anthony.
 , office of, vacant, 432.
 , Muster-Master General in. *See* Lane,
 Sir Ralph.
 , Deputy of. *See* Carroll,
 James.

Ireland—*cont.*

..... , Queen's Serjeant at law in. *See*
 Snagg, Mr.
 , Serjeant at arms in, 76.
 , Serjeant Major General in. *See* Chi-
 chester, Sir Arthur; Lambert, Sir
 Oliver.
 , Secretary in. *See* Fenton, Sir Geoffrey.
 , Solicitor General in. *See* Wilbraham,
 Sir Roger.
 , Treasurer at Wars in. *See* Carey,
 Sir George.
 , Commissioners for viewing
 the accounts of, 304, 305.
 , Lord Deputy of. *See* Mountjoy, Lord.
 , Lord Deputies of, the Queen writes
 of the duties of, 325.
 , "often and sudden change
 of," 169, 303.
 , he whom "the now Deputy"
 raises the next throws down, 169, 303.
 , former, 350, 427. *And see*
 Essex, Earl of, Burgh, Lord; Grey,
 Lord; Polham, Sir William; Perrot,
 Sir John; Russell, Sir William.
 , errors of, to be eschewed, 382.
 , Mountjoy declares he has done
 better service than any, 397.
 , the Privy Council states that
 the "known journeys of" have small
 effect, 516.
 , have been deceived in the
 persons they employed, 475.
 , allowances to, 117, 309, 511,
 513.
 , "the calamity of misinfor-
 mation" has affected all, 512.
 , Lord Justice of, a. executed by the
 people of Limerick, 13.
 , Lords Justices of, the late, 17, 44, 73.
And see Carey, Sir George, Loftus,
 Adam, and Gardener, Sir Robert.
 , cassing of a company by, 8.
 , letter sent to, 17.
 , letters to, alluded to, 43, 44.
 , course held with, by the forces
 of the country, 43.
 , persons brought before, 76,
 77.
 , entertainments of, to be paid,
 64, 176.
 , wary proceedings of, 483.
 , their fear of being besieged,
 518.
 , large forces with, 518.
 Ireland, the Council of, *passim*.
 , letters of, 1, 31, 41, 66, 96,
 126, 167, 203, 216, 217, 392, 420,
 453, 471, 472, 522, 534.
 , alluded to, 93, 224,
 428, 448.
 , letters to, 139, 205, 328, 448,
 453, 465, 472, 474, 475.
 , alluded to, 43, 193,
 346, 439.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

-, advertisements to be made to, 277.
-, advice or opinion of, alluded to, 65, 81, 142, 352, 384, 449, 501.
-, certificate to, 522.
-, commission given to, during the Lord Deputy's absence, 227.
-, concordatum signed by, alluded to, 166.
-, extraordinaries granted by, 330, 449.
-, instructions for, 272.
-, matters to be signified to, 428, 439, 440.
-, members of, or Councillors, 362, 413, 419, 424.
-, suggested, 255, 431.
-, with the Lord Deputy in the North, 453, 467, 471, 472, 522, 534.
-, who have gone long round in this Kingdom like mill-horses, 516.
-, orders or warrants of, alluded to, 248, 392, 472, 474, 533.
-, persons brought before, 76, 77.
-, recommendations by, 21, 35, 126, 216.
-, suits to, alluded to, 78, 428.
-, the Lord Deputy consults with, 1, 7, 217, 392.
-, inform Lord Mountjoy of the state of the realm and army, 1.
-, remonstrate against the reduction of the army, 2, 3, 4, 8, 42.
-, and the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, 4, 33, 67, 522.
-, send certificates of victuals and munition, 4, 5, 34, 394.
-, ask for money, munition, victuals, &c., 4, 35, 43, 66, 67, 99, 393, 421.
-, on Tyrone's proceedings in Munster, 31, 41, 42.
-, have sent spies into the Irish countries, 32.
-, order Ormonde to send his army to Dublin, 42.
-, had "no inkling" that Tyrone had passed back to the North, 44.
-, on the distribution of the army, 66.
-, believe that the rebels begin to waver, 66.
-, are sending forces to Kilkenny to protect Lady Ormonde, 88, 97.
-, believe that the times require a greater force, 93.
-, and the capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 93, 96, 205.
-, are sending to victual Philips-town, 98.
-, statement of victuals to be sent to, 107.
-, advertisements formerly given to, 134.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

-, asked for a safe-conduct, 140.
-, suits not commended by the Lord Deputy and, to be rejected, 145.
-, proceedings of, in regard to Sir Henry Brouncker's moneys, 167.
-, on the proceedings of the Leinster rebels, 203, 204.
-, send the Lord Deputy's letters to England, 205, 471.
-, are urged to speed away the soldiers' apparel, 207.
-, send Sir Geoffrey Fenton to England, 216, 217.
-, pray for an increase of the forces, 217.
-, the Lord Deputy propounds his northern journey to, 227.
-, are against the removal of wards from private houses, 229.
-, burdens laid by, on the people, 236.
-, orders to, concerning captains, 272.
-, Bishops to be called before, 273.
-, moderate fees to be established by, 275.
-, are to be wary in issuing munition, 275.
-, charged to redress all abuses, 276.
-, some members of, should be natives of the Pale, 286.
-, and Sir Theobald Dillon's grievances, 290.
-, matters known to, 290, 358.
-, write to Munster in favour of Lord Burke, 323.
-, surplussage of arms and apparel to be sent to and distributed by, 333.
-, distribution of business to divers of, 352.
-, letters read by, 381, 393.
-, are to expedite all things for the Northern journey, 394.
-, and the sale of the *Popinjay*, 411.
-, preparations of, for the northern expedition, 421.
-, have published orders concerning the Pale, 422.
-, proposal that Lord Howth be sworn of, 431.
-, the agents of the Pale have "lost the hearts of," 438.
-, are doing all they can to send men and munition to the Lord Deputy, 471.
-, regret that Ormonde has not taken up his charge in Leinster, 472.
-, the Lord Deputy complains that he has received no real help from, 516.
-, and the proposed garrison at Armagh, 522, 523.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

-, and Donnell Spainagh, 530.
-, clerk of, 509.
-, deputy of, 509.
-, office of, is to be followed in person, 274.
-, files in the office of, 429.
-, or his deputies, excessive fees taken by, 275, 509.
-, former, acts of, alluded to, 511.
-, Council book, 429.
-, table or board, 301, 509.
-, the dividend of the treasure to be made at, as formerly, 273.
-, dishonour of, by extortionate fees, 275.
-, causes heard at, 433.
-, speeches uttered at, 518.
-, abbeys in, 259, 328, 436, 479; and *see under their names.*
-, abuses or disorders in, reform of, 106, 275-277.
-, are not punished as they should be, 325.
-, agents for, 236, 509; and *see the Pale, Cork, Limerick, Kilmallock, agents for.*
-, ambassador to, from the King of Spain. *See* Oviedo.
-, ancient English gentlemen or stock of, 17.
-, are now Irished altogether, 70.
-, arrearages of rent in, abstract of, 65.
-, auditors for, the late, 410.
-, auditors in, 63.
-, authorities in, non-interference with, 538.
-, bishops of. *See under the several Sees.*
-, not ten worthy that function, 295.
-, bonnaughts of, 123, 244, 248, 264; and *see under the several Provinces.*
-, captains in. *See* Captains.
-, absent from, to be be commanded back, 9, 176, 331, 332, 334, 357, 366.
-, lists of, 334, 335.
-, castles in, 337, 370, 446, 479; and *see under their names.*
-, garrisoned, 368, 370.
-, taken by the rebels, 116; and *see* Cahir.
-, taken from the rebels, 116; and *see* Munster, castles in.
-, victualling of, 258.
-, repair of. *See* Limerick, castle of.
-, betrayal of, 484.
-, surprised, and nearly taken by the enemy, 533.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, character of the people of, 51, 71, 264, 294, 295, 343, 390, 401, 456, 475, 508, 518.
-, charges in, estimates or breviate of, 31, 364, 539.
-, imprests upon accounts of, 208.
-, checks in, briefs of, 63, 450.
-, Church in, the, careless government of, 440.
-, reform of, 402.
-, Roman Catholic. *See* Roman Catholic Church.
-, churches in, 479.
-, ruined condition of, 273, 440.
-, to be repaired, 273, 420.
-, used as a hospital, 406.
-, injured by the soldiers, 419.
-, list of, in good reparation, 420.
-, ruined, soldiers in, 455.
-, cities and corporations in, aid given by, to the rebels, 297, 403.
-, charters of, mentioned, 235, 498; and *see* Cork.
-, liberties, franchises or privileges of, 235, 402.
-, spread of popery in, 295, 296, 402, 498.
-, none should travel from, without license, 106.
-, reform of, 402, 498.
-, evil practices in, 495.
-, forfeited bonds in, to be dealt with, 497.
-, sympathy of, with the feeling in the country, 498.
-, clergy of. *See* Priests.
-, protestant, 58, 111, 273.
-, allowances or stipends of, reduction of, 275.
-, absentees should be made to return or resign, 297.
-, lack of, 273.
-, unfit or unworthy, 277, 440, 441.
-, care to be taken in choosing, 277, 468.
-, said to be ambitious and covetous, cold and without zeal, 468.
-, commissaries in. *See* Munsters and Victuals, commissaries for.
-, commissioners in, 509.
-, going to, 69.
-, for accounts in, 176, 329.
-, instructions for, 276, 277.
-, expected in Ireland, 480.
-, should be sent to, to inquire into abuses or disorders in, 275, 311.
-, concordatums paid in, 175.
-, conquest of, alluded to, 234, 389.
-, contributions to be raised in, 106.
-, country disease of [dysentery], 337, 531.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, dangerous or miserable state of, 1, 8, 39, 66, 79, 208, 211, 217, 218, 224.
-, Earldom in, asked for, 259.
-, Ecclesiastical Commission in, should be revived, 296.
-, English parts of, 118; *and see* Pale, the.
-, establishment of, the new, 5, 7, 64, 464.
-, Exchequer of, the sheriffs to pass their accounts in, 276.
-, pension out of, 279.
-, excommunication, the Pope's bull of, published in, 135, 211, 250, 257.
-, extraordinary charges for, 9, 20, 176, 177, 207, 224, 246, 330, 398, 410, 435.
-, granted by the Lord Deputy and Council, 449.
-, certificate of, 208.
-, fees in, to be reduced to reasonable rates, 275.
-, forces in. *See* Forces in Ireland.
-, garrisons in, *passim*; *and see* under their names.
-, commanders of, to send in regular reports, 278.
-, must certify the receipt of victuals, 345.
-, good service done by, 352, 369.
-, perils and charges of, 226.
-, plaoing of, 242, 243, 269, 406, 419, 532; *and see* Armagh.
-, order for maintaining of, 106.
-, victualling of, 35, 43, 98, 129, 163, 271, 342, 347, 385, 392; *and see* Philipstown and Maryborough, victualling of.
-, winter suits for, 499.
-, should be placed in castles, 106, 479.
-, in private houses and castles, importance of maintaining, 229.
-, are now in their harvest, 369, 383.
-, general pardon in, advised, 106.
-, general hostings in, 392.
-, goods sent from, in French ships, 499.
-, Governors or authorities of, 427, 538.
-, are not to stir in matters of religion, 79.
-, recommendation to, prayed for, 37, 477.
-, ignorance and corruption of, 236.
-, burdens laid by, on the people, 236.
-, may be stirred up by action in England, 298.
-, changes of, 423.
-, directions to, desired, 439.
-, deceived in the choice of their assistants, 475.
-, wars are sweeter to, than peace, 479.
-, the people are ready to take any advantage against, 512.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, Great Seal of, pardons, commissions, &c. passing, 275.
-, matters which must be given under, 227, 440.
-, grievances of, 236; *and see* the Pale.
-, harvest in, 519, 522.
-, havens and creeks in, are so many that it is impossible to prevent deserters running to England, 505.
-, hawks from, 330, 391, 430.
-, High Commission in, discontinuance of, 79, 106.
-, horses for. *See* Forces in Ireland, horses for.
-, hospitals for. *See* Hospitals.
-, impost of wines in, money to be allowed on, 167.
-, invasion of, fear of. *See* Spain, forces and ships of.
-, justice, "ministry of," in, 294.
-, knights created in. *See* Knights.
-, lands in, held by the "several stirps of the Irish," before the conquest, books concerning, 17.
-, list of, purchased by Ormonde, 165.
-, held from the Queen. *See* Elizabeth, Queen, lands held from.
-, attainted, a grant of, asked for, 451.
-, livings in, 477.
-, usurped by papists, laymen and children, 297, 440.
-, should be filled by men of good learning and life, 468.
-, lords of, 123; *and see* Irish lords.
-, lords of countries in, poverty of, 497.
-, magazines of victuals in. *See* Victuals, &c., magazines for.
-, maritime or port towns of, pestered by dismissed soldiers, 272.
-, escape of soldiers from, 369.
-, searchers in, 369.
-, mayors or sovereigns of the towns of, papist, 295.
-, memorials or memoranda concerning the rebel chiefs in, 137.
-, the "metropolitan city" of. *See* Dublin.
-, money to be sent to, 342, 346, 348.
-, needed in. *See* Victuals, money, &c., need of, in Ireland.
-, munition for. *See* Ordnance.
-, musters in. *See* Musters.
-, north of. *See* Ulster.
-, officers in, concealments by, 496.
-, officers of the kingdom and of justice in, 539.
-, officers of justice, patentees, pensioners, warders and almsmen of, are behind their pay, 99.
-, payment of, 196.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, plantations in. *See* Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.
-, Pope's legate in, 296.
-, port corn in, claimed by Lady Burgh, 328, 428.
-, post-boats in, 340, 423.
-, preachers in, lack of, 295, 297.
-, priests and Jesuits in. *See* Priests and Jesuits.
-, primate in, by the Pope's consecration. *See* Oviedo.
-, Princes, Earls, Barons and people of, indulgence to, from the Pope, if they will assist Tyrone, 83.
-, Privy Seal of, 267.
-, proclamation in, payment for printing, 450.
-, proclamations in, not put into effect, 503.
-, protections and passes in. *See* Irish rebels, protections for.
-, power of giving, curtailed, 307, 369.
-, abuses in the granting of, 284.
-, provinces of, condition of, 148, 301, 438; *and see under their names.*
-, governors of, 176.
-, the Queen's displeasure at the state of, 272, 324, 516.
-, the Queen's excessive charges in, 26, 205, 276, 288, 349, 398, 412, 413.
-, rebellion in, *passim*.
-, causes or pretences of, 47, 117, 291.
-, losses by reason of, 181, 182, 252, 400, 437.
-, means of suppressing, 24, 45, 47, 263, 271, 294-298, 343, 369, 413.
-, projects for, 24, 26, 401.
-, the "life or destruction" of, depends upon the plantation at Lough Foyle, 145.
-, Tyrone has sent "letters of comfort" for the heartening of, 368.
-, reasons for the continuance of, 244.
-, the last blaze of, 253.
-, the place of the first plotting of. *See* Multifarnham.
-, an ebb in, after the long flood, 438.
-, rebels or rebel forces in. *See* Irish rebel forces.
-, reckonings in, note of, 64.
-, recognizances forfeited in, concealed, 496.
-, recovery of, book on, 136.
-, redshanks in, 93; *and see* Scots in Ireland.
-, reports and papers on the state of, 106, 294, 324, 365, 438, 441.
-, of proceedings in, 394, 481; *and see* Lord Mountjoy and Tyrone.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, revenue of, sum of, 176.
-, Commissioners for taking the account of. *See* Commissioners for Accounts in, *above*.
-, "the charge of Sir Henry Wallop's account of", 457.
-, Scots in. *See* Scots in Ireland.
-, seignories in, 219, 402.
-, seminaries in, 257, 494; *and see* Priests.
-, service of, remembrances for, 232.
-, servitors in, breviate of grants passed to, 500.
-, sheriffs in, 11, 165, 204, 228, 247.
-, to be chosen carefully, 276.
-, ships in or for. *See* Ships.
-, shire ground in, 294.
-, Spanish forces for. *See* Spanish forces.
-, spiritual lands of, cessing of, 304.
-, suitors in, 142.
-, from. *See* Irish suitors.
-, tithes in, claimed by Lady Burgh, 328.
-, towns of, cessing of soldiers on, 411.
-, undertakers for, complaints of, 402, 425, 432.
-, agents of, 482.
-, use of torture in, advocated, 106, 414.
-, *Vicarius Apostolicus* for. *See* Regan.
-, voluntaries in, offers of service by, 218.
-, wards or wardships in, 73, 74.
- Ireland, Lord Deputy Mountjoy lands in, 1.
-, Mountjoy's views of the state of, 1.
-, the actions of, do gather daily, 3.
-, peril to, if the army is reduced, 4, 5, 8, 501.
-, mighty matters intended, to bring the whole realm of, against her Majesty, 7.
-, Tyrone resolves to erect the Catholic religion in, and "exalt the general good of this realm of," 22.
-, famine is the means to end the rebellion in, 24, 92, 147, 217.
-, "a project for suppressing the rebellion of," 24.
-, those of best judgment in, speak in favour of Sir Samuel Bagenall, 25.
-, money is spent in, faster than it can be gathered in England, 26.
-, ill news customarily received from, 27.
-, would try the wits of a Council of Solomons, 29.
-, the Earl of Essex's arrival in, alluded to, 29.
-, deserters escaping from the ports of, 31.
-, lords of countries in, drawn in by Tyrone, 31.
-, is in an universal dearth and scarcity of victuals, 35, 143.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, the country forces of, orders to, 42.
-, the government's "credit in borrowing" in, extended to the uttermost, 43.
-, no one man or messenger come to, since Lord Mountjoy's arrival, 46.
-, Florence McCarthy's "late coming into," 47.
-, the Queen's forces formerly cessed upon, 49.
-, preferments for service in, 50.
-, Sir George Carew's former stay in, 58.
-, pensions granted to divers persons who have never served in, 65.
-, is "generally wasted and eaten up," 66.
-, sundry killings of traitors in, 66, 67.
-, suitors from, are "out of all taste at court," 68.
-, captains arrived from, to take charge of the men at Chester, 69.
-, the "erection" of Popery in, 76.
-, general defection of the people of, from the Protestant religion, 78, 226, 273, 274.
-, Sir John Perrot's policy in, 78.
-, fear that massing and idolatry will be brought even into the cathedral churches of, 79.
-, good hopes of amendment in, 83.
-, is spent to the bone, and draws to a famine, 83.
-, a great famine expected in, 86, 92, 93, 107.
-, Mountjoy has made only two knights in, 86.
-, never such good men as now in the forces in, 92.
-, the effect of Lord Ormonde's capture on, 95, 96.
-, universal scarcity in, 99, 321.
-, memorial on the state of affairs in, 106.
-, a discourse on the entertainment of Scots in, 117.
-, Tyrone declares that the taking of Lord Ormonde will be a great good to, 122, 123, 123.
-, report that the King of Spain will send forces for the conquest of. *See* Spain, King of.
-, the time of cessation in, alluded to, 132.
-, Ormonde's own men counted "the famous cowards of," 139.
-, the rebellion in, was broken but is now patched up, 139.
-, the rest of, depends upon "the fortune of the north," 145.
-, seditious reports spread in, 146.
-, Florence McCarthy confesses that the Queen must at last prevail in, 152.
-, Florence McCarthy accused of betraying, to the English, 157.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, Sir Henry Harrington has long been a worthy actor in, 161.
-, the often and sudden change of deputies in, 169.
-, a Spanish navy ready to sail for, 169.
-, care of the English Council for, 180.
-, Tyrone accuses Ormonde of using all means for the ruin of, 187.
-, the most likely parts of, for the Spaniards to attempt, 187.
-, one of the fairest rivers in (the Foyle), 195.
-, Tyrone writes of "the evil by English intended against," 187.
-, the need for sending James of Desmond to. *See* Desmond, James, the young Earl of.
-, the Queen's army distracted into many several parts of, 204.
-, the state of the "ruinate Kingdom" of, 208.
-, Sir Griffin Markham sent to the worst parts of, 216.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton's long service in, 216, 224, 229.
-, Mountjoy has a feeling of the state of, 220.
-, Mountjoy has found a general defection in the people of, 226.
-, Spanish help confidently expected by, 226.
-, the dangers and constancy of Sir Arthur O'Neill, have been famous in, 229.
-, a journal kept in, mentioned, 233.
-, (Cork), one of the ancientest cities in, 234.
-, hardness of the service in, 255.
-, rewards for services in, to be given, 263.
-, enormities by which the government of, is corrupt'd, 272.
-, no suitors to have licence to go from, till the troubles of the realm are abated, 273.
-, Jesuits and Rome-running priests swarm in, 273, 295.
-, the people of, lacking clergy and ministers, meet on hills, &c., on the Sabbath and spend their time in wicked devices, 273.
-, is dangerously poisoned with "the contrary religion," 273, 274.
-, friaries not to be suffered to stand in, 274.
-, great waste of powder and other munition in, 275.
-, small care of her Majesty's profit in, 276.
-, appointment of unlettered ministers and laymen to spiritual livings in, forbidden, 277.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon speaks of the state of "this wicked country of," 286.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, and declares he could clear all the corners of (except the North), in three months, 288.
-, proposal to make the Earl of Ormonde king of, 301.
-, power to give protections in, withdrawn by the Lord Deputy, 307.
-, the war in, was never so near an end, 307, 398.
-, the government of, is the most thankless task in Christendom, 309.
-, no hour passes in, without slaughters, 322.
-, the Queen complains that the government of, is not so well ordered as it might be, 324.
-, all parts of, are in action, 330.
-, proclamations in, for head money, suggested, 332.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton desires greatly to be back in, 340.
-, her Majesty has hallowed the work in, by all possible helps, 340.
-, pressing of post-horses for, very grievous to the people of England and Wales, 340.
-, the treaty of peace must be "held up still" in, 344.
-, Sir Robert Cecil has changed some things in "the matters of," 345.
-, summer is the idle time in, 353.
-, destruction of the corn in, protested against, 355.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton lands in, 356.
-, fresh forces arriving in, 357, 358, 415.
-, the Spaniards are more likely to descend on the west than on the north coast of, 366.
-, no monarch in Europe is able to maintain a war in, with her Majesty, 375.
-, the Archduke's underhand proceedings regarding, 382.
-, to conquer, by the sword is almost impossible, 390.
-, so long as there is a Geraldine in, the Munster rebels will set him up, 390.
-, the Pope's greatest pillars in, 390.
-, Carew never wished to go to, 391.
-, Mountjoy prays to be delivered from his thankless office in, 397, 514, 519.
-, the true state of, has never been told to her Majesty, 397, 398.
-, reports of losses in, 403.
-, mortality of English workmen in, 405, 406.
-, "distemperature" of the air of, 406.
-, offices held together in, 411.
-, the service in, "is out of joint," 413.
-, sound Commissioners should be sent into, to examine the doings in the borders of Ulster, 414.
-, dearth of all things in, 415.
-, need of further supplies of men, money and victuals for, 421.

Ireland—*cont.*

-, the whole affairs martial of, "put to a plunge" by the failing of the undertakers for the victuals, 425.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel prays that anything bestowed on him may not be in, 426, 440.
-, fears to return to, 427.
-, every man in, has been heard against and before the chief governor, 431.
-, two of the great judges absent from, 432, 433.
-, Lord Dunsany gives an account of the state of the various provinces and counties of, 438.
-, the negligent government of the church in, has added fuel to the flame of rebellion, 440.
-, instructions for the young Earl of Desmond's behaviour in, 450.
-, on every alteration, Tyrone hatches a new rebellion in, 451.
-, drunkenness the national vice of, 456.
-, underhand rebellion in, 460.
-, many good services in, lost for lack of good handling, 475.
-, the ordinary course of common law not very current in, 477.
-, Sir Robert Cecil is "already grown famous in," 487.
-, Tyrone means to stir up new revolts in, 491, 493.
-, as much of, as is without great towns, should be taken out of the heretics' hands, 492.
-, invasion of or troubles in, promised or boasted of, 493, 494, 495.
-, the matter of religion in, must be nicely handled, 498.
-, the Lord Deputy again remonstrates against the reduction of the forces in, 501, 514.
-, and defends his proceedings in the government of, 501-520.
-, dangerous persons better sent away from, 502.
-, state of, on Lord Mountjoy's arrival, 503.
-, interim of the two governments in, disorders occasioned by, 506.
-, all the swordsmen of, are in entertainment either with the rebels or the Queen's forces, 507.
-, complaints in, that the country is wasted by the soldiers' marches, 507.
-, the country's agents declare that it is vain to make complaints in, 509.
-, harm done in, by the journeys of Deputies, 516.
-, extremity of the weather in, 453, 454, 459, 462, 469, 472, 473, 480, 484, 489, 513, 522, 526, 531, 535.
-, lack of knowledge concerning the true state of, 516.
-, the whole estate of, would be hazarded by a defeat, 521.

Irish or Irishry, the, character of. *See* Ireland, character of the people of.

....., Tyrone's intent regarding those on the borders, 6.

....., "the several stirps of," lands formerly held by, 17.

....., the assistance of some few who may be trusted, asked for, 24.

....., Tyrone's great reputation with, 40, 42.

....., charged with a trifle for the composition in lieu of cissing the troops, 49.

....., the nature of, is to forget good turns and revenge bad, 51.

....., the rebel chiefs seek to lay hold of such as are doubtful or loyal, 68.

....., Florence McCarthy made commander of, in Munster, 70.

....., statement believed by, 70.

....., no companies should be bestowed on, 86, 141.

....., who do good service should be rewarded, 86, 142.

....., may be kept in pay to cut one another's throats, 92.

....., disposition of such as offer their submission, 95.

....., fear that Ormonde's daughter may fall into the hands of, 97.

....., the principal, to be entertained, 106.

....., "the race of the mere," 132.

....., power of the priests over. *See* Priests.

....., spoiling and burning of, 172, 188.

....., men, women and children, killed by Sir Samuel Bagenall, 172.

....., Ormonde's name is a security with, 174.

....., cattle of, carried into the fastnesses, 188.

....., called "this vile people" by Mountjoy, 229.

....., of Leinster, offers of help by, to Ormonde, 237.

....., the sacrament not to be given to such of, as will not join the rebels, 257.

....., are nourished in deceit and falsehood, 264.

....., a loathing to come to church amongst, caused by a "base choice of ministers," 277.

....., are an "idoltrous and rebellious nation," 294.

....., all good turns done to, do but strengthen them in rebellion, 295.

....., should not be allowed to purchase munition in England, 295.

....., should be allured by able preachers from the "poisonful charms" of the Romanists, 295.

Irish or Irishry, the—*cont.*

....., at Court, if conformable themselves, will practise to allure others, 297.

....., plots in favour of, 298.

....., are wily people, 343.

....., news to be spread amongst, 344.

....., the disposition of, is much altered, 345.

....., danger of their making "a stronger and more troublesome faction than in the beginning," 360.

....., many, now subjects, will run into rebellion, if James FitzThomas's rumoured marriage takes place, 368.

....., carriage of, in Ulster, 380.

....., begin to faint in their hope of help from Spain, 382.

....., measure the like falsehood in others which they know to be in themselves, 390.

....., the safety of the English depends on the weakening of, 401.

....., should be enforced to maintain troops to the Queen's use, 401.

....., like the nettle, must be roughly handled, 401.

....., rebellious, allowed to inhabit some of the seignories, 402.

....., while in rebellion, can "live and infest the Queen," but when they come in, she is put to great charge for, 404.

....., murmur at the absence of Judges from Ireland, 433.

....., cannot be made sure in obedience and duty, either by the Queen's liberalities or clemency, 433.

....., inward disposition of, intelligence gained of, 443.

....., the young Earl of Desmond is to "fashion himself" agreeably to, 450.

....., intelligence given by, cannot be trusted, 456.

....., not to be trusted in the Queen's affairs, 475.

....., not more than half of, are in open rebellion, 480.

....., joy of, on the arrival of the young Earl of Desmond, 485, 486, 487, 494.

....., in the Queen's service, are to be employed out of their own countries, 507.

....., loyal, complain that they are less favoured than the rebels, 507.

....., clamorous complaints of ill-usage made by, without foundation, 508.

....., are ready to take any advantage against their governors, 512.

....., even the best of, are "little better than devils," 518.

....., Captain Willis's "charge and pains" with, 537.

Irish air, in winter, would "quite consume" the Spaniards if they came, 348.
 archbishops arrived from Spain, 169; and *see* Oviedo.
 books, 17.
 captains in the Queen's service, 141, 423, 507.
 , are spies for the rebels, 326.
 chiefs. *See under their names.*
 firm to Tyrone, 172.
 willing to come in, 173.
 , giving of pay to, is most dangerous, 295.
 , notes concerning, 477-479.
 chronicles, alluded to, 478.
 companies or bands. *See Forces in Ireland, Irish in.*
 countries, the, 2, 3, 4, 40.
 custom of taking the rod "as the sign of chieftainship," 47.
 fool, Neale Moore, a, 395.
 humours, difficulty of dealing with, 418.
 intelligences, 481.
 language, letters written in, 56, 125, 239, 249, 302, 373.
 , people in the English baronies do not understand, 440.
 lords, Tyrone's influence over, 37, 40.
 , the government of Connaught committed to, 84.
 malefactors and vagabonds, a commission of martial law should be given to the young Earl of Desmond against, 477.
 man whipped for slandering Lord Ormonde, 138.
 , Sir Arthur Savage will not have one, in his company, 293.
 , "well-affected to religion," intelligences by, 294.
 men, divers, in the Queen's pay, 423.
 merchants trading to Spain, 498, 499.
 messenger sent to the Earl of Ormonde, 170.
 pledges sent to Spain. *See Spain, pledges sent to.*
 preachers, not "eight known able persons," 297.
 priests. *See Priests.*
 Irish rebels or rebel forces, *passim*.
 , aid for, from Spain; *see under Spain.*
 , aid given to, 420.
 , ambushes laid by, 526, 533; and *see* Ormonde, Earl of, ambush laid for.
 , bragging of, 432.
 , castles of, 435. *And see under their names.*
 , taken, burnt or pulled down, 116, 366, 367, 368, 373, 530.
 , ruined by themselves, to keep them from the English, 366, 367, 535.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

..... castles taken by, 18; and *see* Cahir.
 , besieged by, 368, 533.
 , cattle, horses, corn, &c., of, destroyed or taken, 25, 26, 35, 44, 116, 133, 148, 160, 172, 267, 329, 336, 338, 339, 369, 395, 396, 436.
 , cattle of, forced into the woods, 220, 413.
 , colours of, taken, 409.
 , , rescued, 437.
 , comfort or encouragement given to, by reports of Spanish aid, 103, 124, 127, 139, 170, 368.
 , , by the weak state of the English forces, 113, 407.
 , , by the taking of the Earl of Ormonde, 129, 133, 139.
 , commanders or leaders of the, 298; and *see under their names.*
 , , captured, 149, 166, 409.
 , , heads of, brought in, 85, 149, 339, 395, 437, 488.
 , , dissensions amongst, 57, 104, 118, 126, 127, 155, 172, 292, 306, 401, 479, 492, 493, 494, 521.
 , , educated in Spain, 402.
 , , great forces assembled by, 466.
 , , kinsmen or fosterers of, reputed subjects, 48, 402.
 , , letters to, from Tyrone, 492, 493, 494.
 , , meeting of, 474; and *see* Tyrone and O'Donnell.
 , , names of those still out in Munster, 379.
 , , negotiations or meetings with. *See* McCarthy, Florence; Tyrrell, Captain; and O'Dogherty.
 , , notes or memorials concerning, 48, 119, 137.
 , , offers of, to come in, if their men may have pay, 439.
 , , offers of, to betray their fellows. *See* O'Connor, Dermott, and McWilliam.
 , , pensions given to, 48.
 , , pledges taken from, 43, 86, 110, 145, 265, 388, 422, 491.
 , , a sharp course must be taken with, 264.
 , , pledges sent by, to Spain. *See Spain, King of.*
 , , proposal to set a reward on the heads of, 173.
 , , revolt of, from Tyrone, 530, 531.
 , , slain or executed, 52, 85, 108, 113, 117, 166, 168, 175, 393, 394, 395, 420, 463, 466, 467, 468, 472, 473, 475, 529; and *see* Maguire and McRory.
 , , submission of, 43, 66, 86, 145, 153, 168, 198, 241, 244, 334, 337, 370, 387, 388, 396, 441, 481, 485, 489, 491, 520.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

-, companies to be raised out of, 507.
-, defeat or dispersal of, 16, 18, 20, 52, 85, 113, 148, 215, 305, 339, 344, 395, 436, 448, 455, 460, 469, 470, 472, 481, 489, 490, 522, 524, 530.
-, at the Moyerie. *See* Moyerie, the.
-, desertions to, 4, 293, 334, 407.
-, discouragement, alarm or "astonishment" of, 46, 214, 339, 473, 501, 520, 530, 531.
-, distribution of the, 132, 155, 217.
-, entrenchments or barricadoes of, 409, 448, 454, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 522, 525, 527, 530.
-, strength of, 489, 530, 531.
-, breaking or razing of, 409, 483, 489, 490, 523.
-, fastnesses of, 10, 193, 228, 354, 394, 395, 453, 533.
-, hanged, 266, 339.
-, horses captured by, 334.
-, house fortified against, 443.
-, information concerning the, *passim*.
-, importance of curbing, by garrisons. *See* Ireland, garrisons suggested for. *See also* Lough Foyle; Ballyshannon; Armagh.
-, Jesuits and priests with the, 13; *and see* Priests.
-, influence of, 13, 80.
-, losses of the, 11, 14, 16, 25, 26, 35, 36, 40, 52, 67, 83, 85, 108, 113, 114, 116, 117, 120, 133, 144, 147, 148, 161, 167, 186, 193, 196, 202, 206, 209, 213, 219, 228, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 302, 305, 307, 330, 336, 338, 344, 363, 368, 369, 371, 379, 387, 394, 395, 397, 409, 436, 437, 448, 453, 455, 460, 462, 463, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 472, 473, 481, 490, 523, 524, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 536, 537.
-, munition or arms of, captured, 409, 436.
-, offers of service against, 30, 95; *and see* O'Neill, Sir Arthur.
-, outrage and pillage committed by the, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 29, 36, 39, 44, 49, 72, 102, 105, 115, 126, 136, 143, 166, 167, 203, 204, 211, 212, 213, 225, 258, 300, 302, 337, 356, 440.
-, passes held by the, 133, 397, 409; *and see* Moyerie, the.
-, cleared from, 133, 409.
-, should be manned against, 451, 452.
-, persons slain by the, 235, 307, 356, 446; *and see* Forces in Ireland, losses of.
-, persuasions used to, to come in, 35, 92, 95, 105, 136, 156, 174.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

-, pledges in the hands of the, 264; *and see* Ormonde, Earl of, pledges of.
-, pledges given by. *See* commanders or leaders of, pledges taken from.
-, prisoners taken or held by, 73, 83, 101, 126, 211, 496; *and see* Ormonde, Earl of.
-, projects for suppressing, 24, 26, 50, 106, 136, 197, 217, 401, 479.
-, prosecution of the, 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 25, 37, 51, 61, 108, 116, 117, 133, 147, 148, 217, 218, 246.
-, protected, 248, 449, 472.
-, protection given by, 298.
-, protections for, asked for, 109, 140, 300, 360, 397.
-, only with a semblance of submission, 257.
-, granted, 145, 367, 397, 422, 474.
-, evils of, or cautions to be observed concerning, 106, 533.
-, purposes and proceedings of, discovered, 337.
-, ransom to be paid to, 496.
-, retreat or flight of, 206, 225, 302, 336, 397, 409, 467, 483, 527.
-, risings, or newly-raised troops, of, 38.
-, scouts or sentinels of, 525, 527.
-, the shot in, distress the English horse, 161.
-, sickness amongst, 23.
-, skirmishes with the, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 25, 33, 36, 38, 39, 44, 52, 60, 67, 72, 103, 108, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 133, 144, 153, 161, 167, 186, 192, 193, 196, 199, 201, 202, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 302, 305, 307, 334, 336, 338, 339, 344, 363, 371, 394, 395, 397, 409, 436, 448, 453, 455, 460, 490, 522, 523, 526, 536, 537; *and see* the Moyerie, skirmishes at.
-, spies of, 321, 326.
-, strength of the, 23, 120, 123, 142, 155, 174, 217, 257, 282, 356, 367, 372, 396, 432, 436, 460, 462, 463.
-, submission of, 379, 441.
-, hindrances to, 250.
-, doubts whether it will be lasting, 441.
-, successes of the, 202.
-, slain or executed, list or note of, 165, 458.
-, spoiling of, by loyal Irish, 228.
-, by the English forces. *See* Forces in Ireland.
-, strangers with, in Munster. *See* O'Connor, Dermond.
-, supply of arms, munition or provisions to the, 12, 47, 48, 106.
-, from Spain, 125.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

-, sympathy shown to, by reputed subjects. 12, 13, 19, 47, 48, 49, 52, 55, 152; and *see* McCarthy, Florence.
-, taken prisoners, 11, 149, 454, 475.
- towns or houses of, burnt by the English, 394, 395, 396, 409.
-, fired by themselves, 396.
-, valiant service done against, 75, 115, 206, 219, 228, 434, 437.
-, women and children of, killed, 369.
- advance of, into Munster under Tyrone. *See* Tyrone, Earl of.
-, are increased in numbers and pride, 2.
- meeting of, in Wexford, 6.
-, support given to, by the Pope, 7, 17, 83.
-, declare that they are fighting for the maintenance of their religion, 7, 22, 117, 118.
-, the highways held by, 16, 36.
-, hopes of reducing, by famine, 22, 24, 86, 89, 92, 147.
-, have done the Queen more service than hurt, 23.
-, determination of, to interrupt the new plantations, 46, 82.
-, confidence or pride of, lessened, 46, 73, 83, 92, 95, 103, 127.
-, prey rescued from, 67, 115, 148, 167.
-, lack of food amongst, 90.
-, attempt of, to surprise the fort of Leix, 96.
-, the Togher of Offally thrown down by, 98.
-, with Onie McRory at the taking of the Earl of Ormonde, 100.
-, intelligences furnished to, 106.
-, plan for employing Scots against, 117, 118, 119.
-, attempts of, to regain the Togher of Offally, 114, 115, 119, 120.
-, defensive war maintained by, 132.
-, have been suffered to grow strong, 136.
-, are too swift of foot to be killed in multitudes, 147.
-, intelligence of the proceedings of, promised, 152.
-, proceedings of Florence McCarthy in relation to. *See* McCarthy, Florence.
-, would not be able to take Kinsale, 159.
-, reasons for not forsaking, 169, 303.
-, inroads made upon, by Sir Samuel Bagenall, 172.
-, with Tyrone in Ulster. *See* Tyrone, and Ulster.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

-, boats manned by, 173.
-, alarm raised by, near Dublin, 175.
-, Florence McCarthy declares his desire to quit himself of, 178.
-, will oppose Carew's march in Munster, 184.
-, desirous to be taken into subjection, 185.
-, were broken, but are now animated again, 186.
-, opposing or "attending" the plantation of Lough Foyle, 192, 193, 194, 196, 199, 213, 214, 266, 267, 269, 270, 407, 455.
-, retire to their fastnesses, 193, 223.
-, do not resist the landing at Lough Foyle, 195, 199, 213.
-, burn the dwellings and set out watches on the shore of Lough Foyle, 201.
-, their cattle and corn must be destroyed, 197.
-, Cahir Castle might easily have been kept against, 199.
-, in Leinster, have broken into the Pale, 203, 211, 225.
-, Dublin threatened by, 204, 208.
-, backwardness of the Pale against, 204.
-, the many distractions of, 205.
-, will not come out of their fastnesses, 205, 245.
-, fight of, at the Moyerie. *See* Moyerie, the.
-, some have died by the way, "for very travail," 206.
-, Sir Arthur Chichester has some "scamblyng" with, 209.
-, have attacked the Lord Chancellor's house, 211, 212.
-, have treated Catholic and Protestant with the like violence, 212.
-, in Leinster, the Lord Deputy will take order with, 212.
-, have killed none, and have released their prisoners, 213, 223.
-, joining of those under Tyrone and O'Donnell, 214.
-, increasing strength of, in all the provinces, 217.
-, one of their chief towns, burnt, 223.
-, great offers made by, to Sir Arthur O'Neill, 229.
-, threats of, to Lord Ormonde, 237.
-, the placing of garrisons will disperse, 243.
-, begin to stagger, and are possessed with many wavering humours, 243.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

- live on the milk and butter of their kine, grazing on the mountains, 244.
-, Sir George Carew's proceedings against, in Munster. *See* Sir George Carew.
-, many of, would fain be subjects, but dare not, for fear of excommunication, 250.
- will certainly receive shortly great supply from Spain, 253.
-, the first plotters among, 257.
- a captain and his wife "maimed for ever" by, 258.
-, offers of Dermond O'Connor to betray. *See* O'Connor, Dermond.
-, none of quality, in Munster, but hath his pledge in the Queen's hands, 265.
-, incursion of, under O'Donnell, into Munster. *See* O'Donnell.
-, escape of "by the swiftness of their heels, and experience of the ways," 269.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra fights with, 269, 270.
-, Lord Burke is environed by, 279.
-, the harbours in Tyrconnell must be taken from, 280.
-, the effect upon, of a plantation at Ballyshannon, 280 281, 282.
-, the numbers of under O'Donnell and his confederates, 282.
-, strength of, near Athlone, 286, 293.
-, said to "have no more religion than dogs," 291.
-, munition for, conveyed in beer casks, 296.
-, the hanging of one man of, deters more than the loss of a thousand in a skirmish, 296.
-, those come into Munster from Connaught offer to return home, 299.
-, some of, may make good rods to scourge others, and then be thrown into the fire themselves, 301.
-, give out that when help comes from Spain, the Earl of Ormonde will be their head, 301.
-, prey the Naas, 302.
-, if the Lord Deputy attempts one part, they invade another, 306.
-, more of, killed since Mountjoy's coming than in two years before, 307, 352.
-, warning given to, by spies, 321.
-, powder and necessities furnished to, by the Irish in the Queen's army, 326, 445.
-, conflicts with, "seem to be but *de lana caprina*," 336.
-, good condition of their fields, towns, and ways, in Offally, 338.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*

-, desire most to fight with the Lord Deputy's foot, without his horse, 338.
-, suffered the English forces to pass without a blow, 339.
-, lack powder and lead, 341.
-, the Lord Deputy's proceedings against, in Offally and Leix. *See* Mountjoy, Lord.
-, the planting at Lough Foyle has put, in amaze, 345.
-, fly for refuge into the Carty's countries, 368.
-, call upon the English forces, "as their manner is," with railing speeches, 395.
-, proceedings against, at Athlone, 409.
-, will use their wills in winter, unless a light army be afoot, 410.
-, one winter's war does more harm to, than ten summers, 413.
-, the Lord Deputy's proceedings against, in the North. *See* Mountjoy, Lord, and Ulster, rebels in.
-, are "more terrible in opinion than in deed," 432.
-, those who come in, should be sent to the Queen's foreign wars, 439.
-, the diocese of Ferns mostly wasted by, 440.
-, have oftentimes broken out again after submissions made and oaths taken, 441.
-, the transport of treasure and men to, 458.
-, in Ulster, said to be more than the Lord Deputy's forces, 460.
-, opposition of, to the Lord Deputy. *See* Tyrone, forces under. *Also* the Moyerie, fighting at.
-, have gained little by their skirmishes, 466.
-, doubtful intentions of, 466.
-, a second force should be sent, to take them in the rear, 467.
-, hide their losses, but acknowledge a great overthrow, 470, 529.
-, extortions of those under protection, 472.
-, an agent needed in Ireland, to act against, with knowledge of the country, natural alliances there, and discreet wit, 476.
-, poor and few in number, yet do strongly resist the English army, 480.
-, if joined by the Spaniards and Scots, will take all, 480.
-, great overthrow of, reported, 481.
-, with Tyrone, retreat of, from the Moyerie, 483.
-, many of, are weary of Tyrone and have gone home, 484.

Irish rebels or rebel forces—*cont.*
 if they would fight, the wars
 would soon be ended, 484.
 urged by Tyrone to "contend
 strongly with the enemies of God and
 the church," 492, 493.
 on the borders of Limerick,
 494.
 will rise again if not kept
 under, 501.
 the benefit of entertaining
 men taken from, 507.
 preparations made by, to in-
 vade the Pale, 520.
 seen ranging the tops of the
 Moyerie hills, 526.
 difficulty of, to hold their
 men together, 527.
 description of the position of,
 at the Moyerie, 527.
 reviling speeches of, "as their
 manner is," 528.
 resolute attack of, 528, 529.
 certain of, coming too late for
 the skirmish, "tore their glibbs for
 anger," 529.
 attacks upon, by the loyal
 Irish, 530, 536.
 plot of, to surprise Castle Re-
 bane, 533.
 "good buckling" with, 537.
 Irish Scots, 117, 118.
 service, advice concerning, 304.
 services, employment in, desired, 230.
 ship, 139.
 soldiers in the Queen's army. *See*
 Forces in Ireland, Irish.
 suitors, 142, 268, 297, 461, 506; *and*
see Ireland, agents from.
 no licenses to be at present
 given to, 273.
 should be watched at divine
 service, 296.
 are more troublesome at home
 than in England, 502.
 trick, of ingratitude, 71.
 Isham, George, grant to, 501.
 Italy, proclaiming of head money in, 106.
 Iveagh, co. Down, forces sent into, 25.

J

Jackson, Captain T., statement by, 27.
 recommended to Cecil, 27.
 his lieutenant, 27.
 Lieutenant, killed at the Moyerie,
 529.
 James, Walter, the Lord Deputy's servant,
 payments to, 449 (2).

Jarkey or Jarkhie, Father (the unknown spy),
 466.
 interview of, with Capt.
 Tyrrell, 169, 170.
 his boy, 466.
 Jephson, Captain, 527.
 Jesuits, 204; *and see* Archer, James; Fitz-
 simmons, Henry; Roche, Dominic.
 try to tempt the Earl of Ormonde to
 alter his religion, 124.
 ("Jesuitical firebrands") come from
 Spain, 139.
 contention amongst, touching the Earl
 of Ormonde, 177, 212.
 swarm, both in the cities and country
 of Ireland, 273, 295.
 place of assembly and conventicle of
 (Multifarnham), 274.
 power of, over the Irish people, 296.
 Job, Lord Burke is as poor as, 323.
 John Ulick (Burke), 374.
 Jolls or Jolles, John, purveyor of victuals for
 the forces in Ireland, 471.
 contracts with, alluded to,
 107, 342, 345, 347.
 victuals received from, 271.
 Jones, William, commissary of musters for
 Munster, letters of, 149, 189, 445.
 certificates by, 59.
 notes by, 59.
 sends a brief concerning the
 delivery of summer suits, 189.
 appointed principal com-
 missary for Munster, 442.
 accounts to be sent in to, 442,
 480.
 formerly sole commissary, 450
 troops viewed by, 497.
 orders given to, 497.
 Joyces or Joys, the, on Lough Corrib, 447.

K

Kaltemon [co. Wicklow], letter dated at, 128.
 Kavanagh, Brian McDonogh, 101.
 Dermott McMorris, 501.
 Donnell McBrian, grant to, 501.
 Donnell, *alias* Donnell Spainagh,
 letter of, 360.
 Tyrone writes to, urging him
 to continue his enterprise, 123.
 business in relation to, 141.
 burning and spoiling by, in
 co. Wexford, 148, 238.
 Sir Oliver Lambert takes a
 prey of his cattle, 329, 336, 339.
 asks Ormonde for a safe-con-
 duct, 360, 396.

Kavanagh, Donnell—*cont.*

....., submission of, 397, 422, 433, 441, 530.

....., forces of, 148, 397.

....., country of, 394.

....., spoiled, 339.

....., Edmund McBrian, 148.

....., Morgan McBrian, engagement made by, to Onie McRory, 238.

Kavanaghs, the, burning and spoiling by, 238.

....., country of, the Lord Deputy goes to, 357.

....., are "ancient disturbers" of Ireland, 488.

Keamish, Captain, 230.

Keating or Ketinge, Redmond, 100, 300.

....., letter of, 360.

....., desires protection and a safe-conduct, 360, 396.

....., submission of, 396.

Keatings, the, of Leix, 137.

Keating's house, co. Leix, 394.

....., country, spoiling of, 394.

Keggan, Owen, a priest, sent to Spian, 388.

Kehanagh, the woods of, near the Brenny, 365.

Kells, co. Meath, forces from, 205.

....., the Lord Deputy going to, 314.

....., garrison of, 227, 352.

....., church of, ruined by the soldiers, 419.

....., forces sent to, 473, 510.

Kelly, Daniel, grant to, 500.

....., one, ringleader of all spoiling in the Pale, head of, sent to the Lord Deputy, 149.

....., William, surgeon, grant to, 500.

Kellys, the. *See* O'Kellys.

Kennedys, the, are good men for Irish service, 118.

Kennell, Christopher, deputy treasurer of Ireland, "is short in his accounts," 176.

Kerry [Ardfert], the Bishop of, a castle belonging to, 366.

....., late bishops of. *See* Kinham, Nicholas; Walter, Michael.

....., Bishopric of, void, 437.

Kerry, the Knight of. *See* Fitzgerald, John FitzWilliam.

Kerry, county of, 179.

....., Desmond retires into, 51.

....., coast of, Florence McCarthy is strong on, 70.

....., the river of, 106.

....., Carew hopes soon to go to, 154, 244.

....., Carew's journey into, 318, 366, 367, 369, 385, 388.

....., the strongest castle in. *See* Carrigfoyle.

....., castles in, taken by Carew, 318, 319, 324, 366, 367, 368.

Kerry, county of—*cont.*

....., the enemy kept busy in 318.

....., forces in, 319, 359, 360, 362, 368.

....., a strong garrison to be made in, 319, 320.

....., abounds in victuals and is the greatest relief to the enemy, 319.

....., commander appointed for. *See* Wilmot, Sir Charles.

....., the burden of the service in, 321.

....., the garrison of, 388.

....., will yoke Florence McCarthy, 321.

....., good service done by, 369.

....., victuals to be sent to, 385.

....., the rebels in, ruin their castles, 366, 367.

....., are beaten from their countries, 368.

....., is the best inhabited place in Ireland, 367.

....., the Geraldines in, 372.

....., the "freeholders or followers" in, 372.

....., James Fitz Thomas in, 374.

....., a foot-company come from, 388.

....., is wholly reduced, 453.

Kerry, the island of, "the chiefest house of the Earls of Desmond," 367, 374.

Kerrycurrihy (Kerichurchid, Kirriwhiry), seignory of, co. Cork, burnt by Tyrone, 20, 36.

Kersey and khaki, 448.

Kilbritton Castle, co. Cork, 71.

Kildare [Gerald Fitzgerald, 11th] Earl of, money due to, 37.

....., widow of. *See* Mabel, *below*.

..... [Gerald Fitzgerald, 14th] Earl of, 500.

....., recommendation of, 61.

....., permission given to, to go to England, 72.

....., is discontented, 85.

....., suggested for special employment in Offaly, 136.

....., absent from his charge, 334.

....., stands in the list as colonel, 505, 506.

....., grant to, 501.

....., company of, 206, 336, 507.

....., estate of, 72.

....., his lieutenant, 120, 228.

....., Mabel, Countess of [widow of the 11th Earl], petition of, 37.

....., the loss of her sons [Earls Henry and William], 37.

....., the castle of Croom, part of her jointure, 317.

....., manor house of, 319.

- Kildare, county of, gentlemen of, Tyrone's plans for securing, 7.
, forces in, sent for by Ormonde, 10.
, burning of villages in, 29.
, the Earl is not satisfied with, 85.
, is cleared from rebellion, 438.
 Kilgighy, in Ossory, 396.
 Kilkenny, city of, 109, 239, 265.
, letters from, 55, 112, 164, 237, 238, 241, 314, 354, 356, 376, 448, 449, 465, 475, 502.
, the Sovereign, Burgesses and Commons of, letter of, 74.
, money borrowed from, for the army, 9.
, forces at or near, 10.
, forces summoned to, by Ormonde, 10.
, suburbs of, called the Irish-town, burnt by the rebels, 11.
, money due to, for diet of soldiers, 74, 75.
, loyalty and poverty of, 75.
, forces sent to, for the security of, and for the safety of Lady Ormonde and her daughter, 88, 89, 96, 97, 102, 108.
, Sir George Carew and the Earl of Thomond at, 90, 100, 102, 109.
, Carew desires a meeting with Mountgarrett at, 90.
, castle of, care taken for guarding, 88, 96.
, victuals sent from, to Ballyraggett, 102.
, Mountgarrett's sons spoil the country near, 102, 108.
, commanders and forces from the Lord Deputy arrive at, 103, 108.
, meeting place of Ormonde and Onie McRory near. *See* Corraneduffe.
, Lord Ormonde urges the withdrawal of troops from, 108.
, sundry of, visit Lord Ormonde, 171.
, news of Ormonde's enlargement sent from, to England, 254.
, Ormonde at, 255, 422, 474.
, the Lord Deputy's visit to, 299, 300, 301, 302, 353.
, people of, plans of, for trading with foreign nations, 488.
, agents of, 488; *and see* Langton, Nicholas.
 Kilkenny, county of, 41, 488.
, Tyrone and his forces in, 10.
, the Queen's forces in, 10, 207.
, Ormonde marches to, 10.
, skirmish with the rebels in, 115.
, burning and spoiling of, by the rebels, 238.
, the rebels' cattle "shifted into," 396.
 Killaloe, on the Shannon, 23.
 Killbree, co. Waterford, garrison at, 435.
 Killelegh, in East Meath, letter dated at, 308.
 Killenny, in Upper Ossory, parsonage of, 328.
 Killibeggs, "Kallabegge," "Caelbegg," in Tryconnel, 536.
, Spanish ships come to, with arms and ammunition, 26, 124, 125, 127, 254, 259.
, Spanish gentlemen arrive at, 124.
, proposal that the King of Spain should send forces to, 254.
, castle and haven of, are held by McSwyne Fanat, 259, 260.
, proposal for gaining possession of, 259, 260.
 Killnemanagh, co. Tipperary, O'Dwyre's country called, 10.
 Kilmacow, castle of, co. Cork, should be garrisoned, 106.
 Kilmainham, co. Dublin, cows to be sent to, 336.
, her Majesty's house and grounds of, charges of, 511.
 Kilmallock, co. Limerick, 133, 242, 316, 437.
, letters dated at, 198, 260, 268, 324, 400, 436, 437.
, castle of, defence of, 242.
, camp near. *See* Effin.
, Carew goes to, for the delivery of Desmond, 261.
, garrison or forces at, 50, 242, 243, 319, 495.
, commander of. *See* Thornton, Sir George; Cuffe, Hugh; Greame, Capt. Richard.
, money needed for, 15.
, must be victualled with money, 129.
, ordered to lay waste the White Knight's country, 132.
, rebels spoiled and slain by, 363, 369.
, forces at or sent to, 142, 319, 360, 435.
, the army going to, 185, 241, 242.
, the Lord President at or near, 241, 242, 370.
, former strength of the rebels near, 244.
, Hugh Cuffe appointed governor of, *pro tem.*, and commander of the garrison, 305, 324.
, agents or suits of, recommended to Cecil, 324, 461, 495.
, good disposition of, 324, 495.
 Kilrush, co. Clare, 366.
 Kinaltalon or Kynaltalown, co. Cork, lands of, 251, 400.
 King, Constance, grant to, 500.
, Captain George, ill-conduct of, 129, 130.
, men brought over by, 129, 130, 233.
, is to be punished, 233.
, lately released from prison, 115.

King Road, near Bristol, 464, 470.
 Kings, the, will help against Tyrone, 119.
 King's County. *See* Offally.
 Kingsmill, Captain, 304.
, Captain Francis, absent from his charge, 200, 215, 334.
,, company of, apparel for, 59.
, Captain George, 114.
,, company given to, 502.
 Kinham or Kinnam [Kenan], Susanna, widow, latewife of [Nicholas] Bishop of Kerry, payment to, 175, 208.
 Kinsale, co. Cork, 160, 373.
, garrison at, 19, 36, 50, 117, 133.
,, good service done by, 369.
, the rebel forces go towards, 15, 16, 18, 160, 161.
, Florence McCarthy's alliances at, 19, 70.
, Tyrone near, 20, 36, 38, 42, 70.
, victuals at, estimate of, 55.
, harbour of, 70, 133.
, the Queen's forces at or near, 112, 116, 117, 133, 161.
, forces left at, 142, 360.
, fight with the rebels near, 144, 161.
, the river of, 158, 161.
, the rebels consult how to take, 158.
, Florence McCarthy persuades Tyrone not to attempt, 159.
, liberties or franchises of, 235.
, the Lord President going to, 435.
, the Old Head of, 70.
,, fort or castle at, 71.
,, seized by Sir Henry Power, 133.
, the ferry of, 161.
 Kirriwhiry, co. Cork. *See* Kerrycurrihy.
 Knights, creation of, 233; *and see* Essex, Earl of, creation of knights by.
 Knockanye, co. Limerick, 437.
 Knocketancaslane, co. Limerick, letter dated at, 358.
 Knockfergus. *See* Carrickfergus.
 Knocknemanan, co. Galway, a Castle of Lord Cahir's, 370.
 Knocksowen, co. Limerick, 436.
 Knowdt [? Knott], James, 234.
 Kylmore. *See* Culmore.
 Kylquige, country of, co. Galway, 23.
 Kyltome [co. Westmeath], Lord Delvin dates from, 125.
 Kynaltalown. *See* Kinaltalon.
 Kynnesman, Harold, paymaster in Munster, certificate by, of moneys issued, 149.

L

Lacon [Sir Francis], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 Lacy, Piers, 379.
,, letter of, 358.
,, friendship of the town of Limerick towards, 12, 13.
,, threatens to leave Desmond, 51.
,, lately upon protection, but now relapsed, 129.
,, castle, houses, &c., burnt by, 186.
,, a castle held by, 242, 316, 317.
,, has determined not to come in, 315.
,, Lady Kildare's house ruined by, 319.
,, has sent for help to Tyrone, 320.
,, may shortly be no better than a wood-kern, 324.
,, is willing to do the Queen service, but dare not come to the Lord President, 358.
,, with Desmond in a skirmish, 436.
,, a note of his demands, 358.
,, is in Leix, with James Fitz-Thomas, 453.
,, half-brother of. *See* Burke, John.
 Laghlin. *See* Leighlin.
 Lator, Robert, a priest, safeconduct requested for, 140.
 Lalors, the, protection granted to, 396.
 Lambert, Sir Oliver, Serjeant Major, 11, 12.
,, letters of, 114, 119, 336, 482.
,, sent to Philipstown, 96, 98.
,, skirmishes of, with the rebels, 114, 120, 336, 338, 339, 394, 395.
,, is re-appointed Serjeant-Major, 147.
,, his important service, in victualling the forts of Offally and Leix, 166.
,, at the fight in the Moyerie, 191, 206.
,, charges the enemy with his colours in his hand, 191, 206.
,, takes troops to join the Lord Deputy, 169, 205, 213, 227.
,, as Governor of Connaught, accused of making odious speeches against Cecil and the Admiral, 233.
,, his letter to Cecil and the answer to it, 284.
,, report of his "intolerable" proceedings, 284, 285.

Lambert, Sir Oliver—*cont.*

-, journey of, to victual the fort of Leix and spoil the rebels' corn, 329, 332, 335, 336, 337, 339.
-, is to join the Lord Deputy, in Offaly, 330, 331, 332, 337.
-, meets the Lord Deputy, 338, 344.
-, with the Lord Deputy in Leix, 394, 395.
-, wounded at the Moyerie, 460, 462, 463, 465, 529.
-, received the place of Marshal from Essex, 482.
-, deprived of the office of Marshal, 483.
-, his company, or men, 191, 206.
-, father [in-law] of. *See* Fleetwood, Mr.
- Lambyn, Thomas, grant to, 501.
- Lane, Sir Ralph, Muster Master General in Ireland, 484.
-, could do the duty of the Commissaries, 148.
-, papers signed by, 278, 445, 464.
- Langton, Nicholas, agent for Kilkenny, 74.
- Lapley, conspiracy of, 63, 354.
- Larky, Captain, 500.
- Lartie, Sir Thomas, troops of, 115.
- Laughlin or Laghlin, co. Carlow. *See* Leighlin.
- Lawrence, Sir Christopher. *See* St. Lawrence.
- Leape, the river, co. Cork, 116, 133, 160.
- Lee or Lye, John, 336.
-, recommended to Cecil, 307, 337, 339, 358.
-, his losses by the rebels, 337, 339, 358.
-, grant to, 500.
-, houses, lands and castles of, 337.
- or Lea, Captain [Thomas], letter of, 415.
-, order on behalf of, 57.
-, letter to, 258.
-, offer of service by, 136.
-, McWilliams' offers of serving and demands for reward, sent to, 258, 415.
-, charges against, 298, 332, 333.
-, advice of, concerning the Irish service, 304.
-, recommended by Essex, 466.
-, company of, sent for by Ormonde, 10.
-, cased, 57.
-, book by, *The Recovery of Ireland*, 136.
-, house of, to be made a ward, 58.
-, lieutenant of, 416.
- Lee or Lye, the, or river of Cork, 18, 20, 163.
-, supplies to be sent to, 321, 499.

Leffer. *See* Lifford.

- Legg, Lieutenant, 115.
- Leicester, Robert, 428.
- Leighlin, Bishop and Bishopric of. *See* Ferns.
- Leighlin, Laughlin or Laghlin, co. Carlow, 109.
-, the rebels near, 16.
-, the Garkhill near, 17.
-, ("Loughelaw")?, suggested as a meeting place for Mountjoy and Ormonde, 256.
-, forces at, 474.
- Leinster, province of, *passim*.
-, captains of or employed in, 176, 503.
-, commissary of victuals for. *See* Newcomen, Robert.
-, English forces for or in, 2, 4, 32, 33, 301, 467, 492; and *see* Pale, the English.
-, Colonel General of. *See* Power, Sir Henry.
-, list of, 230.
-, sent to Cecil, 148.
-, numbers of, 348, 422.
-, weakness of, 3, 32, 42, 307.
-, the many good fortunes of, 73.
-, victuals for, needed, 169, 421, 425.
-, declaration of, 271.
-, sent to the Lord Deputy, 169.
-, drowned in petty wards and in the guards of towns, 228.
-, Ormonde asks that more may be sent, 241.
-, only the old soldiers in, can be trusted, 306.
-, proposal to send a portion of, to Lough Foyle and replace them by new men, 341.
-, to be left in, list of, 423.
-, should secure the Lord Deputy's retreat, 521.
-, garrisons in. *See under their names.*
-, Irish countries in, 4, 32, 40, 44.
-, money sent over for, 176.
-, note concerning, 451.
-, rebels in, 17, 42, 90, 101.
-, prosecutions against, to be put on foot in, or proceeded with, 3, 4, 61, 217, 218, 421, 426.
-, daily killings of, 83.
-, Tyrone sends letters or agents to, 125, 382.
-, a note of such as went to Tyrone, 136.
-, safe-conduct for, demanded, 140.

Leinster, province of, rebels in—*cont.*

-, have been well weakened, 148, 339.
 -, have been burning and spoiling in the Pale, 203, 213, 220, 225.
 -, have killed none, and have released their prisoners, 213.
 -, strength of, 220, 241, 301.
 -, in Munster, 257.
 -, intelligence concerning, 294, 295, 296, 298.
 -, prey the Naas, 302.
 -, skirmishes with, 302, 338.
 -, hurt done to, 335; *and see Leix and Offally.*
 -, discouragement of, by Onie McRory's death, 364, 409, 426, 438, 451.
 -, supporters of, 377.
 -, the principal, are cut off, 438.
 -, James FitzThomas hopes for bonnaughts from, 453.
 -, seek aid from Tyrone, 466.
 -, protected by Ormonde, 472.
 -, fear of their being sent into Munster, 491.
- Leinster, province of, Tyrone's passage through, alluded to, 1, 3, 4, 45, 501.
-, the choice men of, drawn out by Ormonde, 2.
 -, prosecution in. *See* rebels in, prosecutions against, *above.*
 -, Tyrone's proceedings in, 5.
 -, advertisements concerning, sent to Dublin, 16.
 -, Tyrone may return through, 32, 38.
 -, Tyrone has passed back through, 40, 41, 45.
 -, the Earl of Ormonde wishes to remain in, 90.
 -, Captain Tyrrell is ready to make for, 105.
 -, the rebels offer to make Ormonde Prince of, if he will become a Popish Catholic, 124.
 -, the Irish of, will not give up Ormonde to Tyrone, 124.
 -, the kern of, will not suffer him to be harmed, 124.
 -, proposals for the reduction of, 136.
 -, Sir Henry Power is gone to his government [of the forces] in, 141, 207.
 -, Munster forces employed in, 142.
 -, the Irish of, are against Ormonde being kept a prisoner, 177, 237.

Leinster, province of—*cont.*

-, recovery of, will need further help from England, 204.
 -, hope of more active measures in, 212.
 -, the Lord Deputy means to take order for reducing, 212.
 -, more forces needed for, 220.
 -, importance of keeping wards in the houses or castles of, 229.
 -, proposal to send great forces into, 237.
 -, dangerous state of, 238.
 -, intelligences for the Queen's service in, 294.
 -, making of "shire ground," in, 294.
 -, power of the priests in, 295.
 -, gentlemen of, petition of. *See* Pale, the.
 -, an agent of Tyrone in, 302.
 -, the northern borders of, the Lord Deputy is going to, 306.
 -, a commission should be sent to, 314.
 -, guarding of, 337, 422.
 -, tough work on hand in, 306.
 -, the Lord Deputy's proceedings in, 337; *and see Leix and Offally.*
 -, Onie McRory's death may break the rebellion in, 364, 409, 426, 451.
 -, Tyrone's agents sent to seduce the subjects of, 382.
 -, the late successes in, 415.
 -, charge of, given to Ormonde in the Lord Deputy's absence, 422, 426, 428, 472.
 -, is meetly well, 438.
 -, fear of a fresh rebellion in, 451.
 -, languid proceedings in, 452, 467, 472.
 -, Ormonde's absence from, 452, 464, 465, 472.
 -, Ormonde coming into, 481.
 -, agents of the undertakers in, are to issue the victuals, 482.
 -, happy proceedings in, 484.
 -, the Munster bonnaughts on the borders of, 518.
 -, alarms concerning, 520.
 -, is well tamed, 537.
- Leitrim, county of, 41, 287.
-, Burke of. *See* Burke, Redmund McShane.
 -, John Burke or Bourke, Baron of, 322.
 -, betrayal and murder of, 322, 323.
 -, son of. *See* Burke, Redmond McShane.

- Leix or Queen's County, 85, 298, 466.
, fort of. *See* Maryborough.
, forces in, 507.
, lieutenantcy of, 136.
, garrisons in, removal of, and delivery of the forts, demanded by Onie McRory, 140.
, rebels or traitors in, 377.
,, weakened and out of heart, 10, 533.
,, skirmishes with and slaying of, 394, 395.
,, suggestion for prosecuting, 136.
,, a gentleman of, 72.
,, the Earl of Ormonde, a prisoner in, 87, 88, 89, 90, 96, 171.
,, the borderers upon, pay their contributions, 109.
,, debateable ground on the borders of, 124.
,, claim of the O'Moores to, 124, 171, 438.
,, Phelim McFeagh O'Byrne in, 127, 128.
,, Sir Francis Rush proposed for employment in, 136.
,, Slieve Marge, the place of greatest strength in, 137.
,, the Earl of Ormonde refuses to be enlarged at the price of the cession of, 137, 171.
,, woods and fastnesses of, the Earl led about in, 171.
,, treacherous dealings in, 298.
,, Sir Oliver Lambert preys and spoils the cattle and corn of the rebels in, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335, 336.
,, the Lord Deputy's journey to spoil the corn in, 344, 353, 355, 356, 364, 376, 393, 429, 512, 525.
,, narrative of, 394-397.
,, carriages for, 449.
,, return of the army into, 354.
,, Onie McRory protests against the spoiling of the corn in, 355.
,, "Imperia Romana" sent into, 364.
,, the cutting off of Onie McRory in. *See* McRory.
,, the nursery of the rebellion in, 396.
,, forces with Sir Henry Power in, 433.
,, failure of help from, to James FitzThomas, 434.
,, the rebellion in, is quite overthrown, 438.
,, chieftains of, submission of, 441.
,, assembly of rebels on the borders of, 474.
 Llenaugh, a famous rebel, hanged, 339.
 Lennox men, the, for service in Ireland, 118.
 Letrom [*? Leitrim, co. Roscommon*], letters dated at, 53, 54.
,, force at, very small, 54.
 Levinus. *See* Monck.
 Liffey, the river, project for keeping the water of, from Dublin, 7.
 Lifford (Leffer) the, castle of, on the Foyle, belonging to O'Donnell, taken, 484, 488.
,, taken and garrisoned by Neale Garve, 490, 520, 521, 530, 535.
,, forces at, 535, 536.
,, importance of, 536.
,, river of, revolt of O'Donnell's adherents on, 531.
,, fight near, 536.
 Limerick, Bishop of (John Thornborough), letter of, 58.
,, the Archbishop of Cashel wishes for his house in his absence, 495.
,, Bishopric of, value of, 495.
 Limerick, city of, 179, 265, 373.
,, Aldermen of, 13.
,, Dean of. *See* Campbell, Denis.
,, Mayor of. *See* Stritche, William.
,, former. *See* Stritche, John; Gromwell, James.
,, Mayor and Corporation of, recommended to Cecil, 250, 321.
,, are the worst people in Ireland, 250.
,, suits of, at the English Court, 321.
,, church of, guard in, attacked by the citizens, 13.
,, castle of, repair and fortifying of, 183, 232, 246, 322, 335.
,, charge of, 246.
,, constable of, killed by the townsmen, 13.
,, Carew fears it cannot be made strong, 322.
,, gaol of, prisoners in, 19, 111.
,, garrison of, 12, 50.
,, wastes the county, 132.
,, island at, 13.
,, letters dated at, 194, 231, 241, 246, 250, 257, 316, 321, 322, 323, 359, 360.
,, letter received at, 44.
,, the river of. *See* Shannon, the.
,, townsmen of, loved by the rebels, 12.
,, grievances between the Earl of Thomond and, 250.
,, disloyal dealings of, and help given to the rebels by, 12-14, 19.
,, have need of a strong curb, 322.

Limerick, city of—*cont.*

-, victuals for, 105, 194, 257.
-, sent from, 317.
-, at, estimate of, 63.
-, and munition needed for, or to be sent to, 129, 130, 184, 232, 245, 258, 385.
-, rebels welcomed into, 12.
-, riot in, 13, 14.
-, Ormonde and his forces at or near, 32, 38, 42, 70, 133.
-, Tyrone at, 43.
-, need for care of, to prevent its falling away, 58.
-, Queen's forces at or near, 132, 241, 242, 243, 319.
-, Desmond will endeavour to stay the Lord President from going to, 143.
-, Sir George Carew going to, or at, 179, 180, 183, 184, 241, 242, 243, 247, 256, 257, 260, 316, 319, 368, 370, 371.
-, money and munition sent to, 185.
-, muster or "drawing up of the army," to be taken at, 186.
-, said to be "assured" to the Spanish forces, 239.
-, the passages between other towns and, cleared, 242, 243, 244, 249.
-, castles near, taken by Carew, 242, 343.
-, merchants of, 245, 318.
-, fishermen's boats or "cotts" at, 246.
-, Carew has good entertainment at, 250.
-, ship of, arrives at, 256.
-, Carew's departure from, 261, 316, 366, 385, 389.
-, Captain Clare asks to be made governor of, and constable of the castle, 270.
-, intelligence sent from, to the rebels, 318.
-, Carew complains of lack of help from, 321.

Limerick, county of, 132, 179, 374.

-, the rebels of, are beaten from their countries, 368.
-, wasted by the Queen's forces, 132, 133.
-, Carew hopes to end the war in, 154.
-, the burden of the service will rest on Kerry and, 321.
-, lack of help from the gentlemen of, 321.

Linch. *See* Lynch.

Linley or Lindley, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 219, 279.

-, company of, 449.
- [Sir Henry], knighting of, by Essex, 234.

Liscahane, castle of, co. Kerry, surprised and garrisoned, 318, 319, 368.

Lisedon, castle of, co. Limerick, garrisoned, 132.

Lisfinny or Lisfinnin, co. Waterford, castle of, should be garrisoned, 106.

-, forces left at, 142.

Lismore, co. Waterford, 435.

-, the rebels formerly in great strength near, 244.

-, castle of, should be garrisoned, 106.

-, garrison at, 360.

-, good service done by, 363, 369.

Liston, Garrett, "a late protected rebel," 367.

-, declaration of, 374.

Liverpool, troops shipped from, 200.

-, ship of, 208.

-, mayor of, orders to be sent to, 303.

Lixnaw, the Baron of. *See* Fitzmorris, Lord.

-, co. Kerry, castle of, taken by Sir Charles Wilmot, 366, 367.

Loftus, Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and late Lord Justice, letters of, 56, 59, 61, 76, 104, 211, 337 (2), 354, 424, 425, 471.

-, alluded to, 354, 448, 474.

-, letters to, 36, 354, 448, 453, 465, 472, 474, 475.

-, recommends a candidate for the Bishopric of Ferns, 56.

-, grief of, at her Majesty's "heavy conceit" of him, 59.

-, prays for Cecil's intercession with the Queen, 60.

-, writes concerning the Jesuit, Fitzsimmons, 76.

-, his long service, 105.

-, his entertainment as Lord Justice, 176.

-, recommends Sir Edward Herbert to Cecil, 211.

-, cattle of, seized by the rebels, 211.

-, reported distress of, by the rebels, to be believed "as historical, but not as canonical," 212.

-, the Queen orders him to be summoned, to show cause for the state of his diocese, 273.

-, the Queen's displeasure with, 273, 424.

-, as ordinary of Dublin, must see the evils in that city redressed, 274.

-, his government (as Lord Justice) alluded to, 275.

-, recommends Capt. Lye and Lady O'Carroll to Cecil, 337.

-, sends information to Cecil, 354.

-, prays the Queen not to condemn "her ancient and faithful servant," 424.

Loftus, Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, &c.—
cont.
 asks for particulars of the charges against him, 424, 425.
 and the cause with Lady Burgh, 428.
 house of. *See* Rathfarnham.
 chaplain of. *See* Huetson.
 secretary of, 104.
 his eldest son [Sir Robert Loftus], service of, 60.
 discharged out of her Majesty's pay, 59, 60.
 second son of [Sir Edward], in command of a company, 60.
 knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 company of, 507.
 his third son, Adam, killed in the defeat in the Byrnes country, 60.
 daughters of, with their husbands, children and families, have come to him for refuge, 60.
 servant of, 59.
 Sir Thomas, knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 his company, 207.
 Loughger, castle of. *See* Loughgirr.
 London, Bishop of [Richard Bancroft], 440.
 London, 231, 471.
 letters dated at, 234, 303, 416, 439, 461.
 letters received at, 12, 17, 22, 68, 76, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 163, 214, 218, 222, 236, 246, 266, 302, 331, 381, 384, 446, 465, 468, 472, 481.
 agent in. *See* Cork, agent of.
 Lord Mayor of, 139.
 money to be repaid in, 11, 291.
 pressing in, 449.
 provisions sent from, 83, 417.
 ships from, 81, 180.
 travellers to or from, 331, 458, 497.
 offers from, for the victualling of troops in Ireland, 197.
 the Irish should not be allowed to purchase powder, &c., in, 295.
 warlike provision made in, should be registered, 296.
 Irish captains in, are to be ordered back to their charge, 331.
 forces for Ireland, sent from, 430, 445.
 artificers with, 445.
 streets, buildings, &c. in:—
 Cannon Row, letter dated from, 233.
 Charterhouse Churchyard, letter dated from, 459.
 St. Sepulchre's [Snt. Pulchers] church, one Dorington broke his neck from the steeple of, 139.
 Savoy, the, house in, 450.

London, Tower of, 432.
 munition sent from, to Ireland, 66.
 prisoners in. *See* Desmond, James, the young Earl of; McCarthy, Florence.
 riches and jewels at, 348.
 Lieutenant of, payment to, 450.
 Longford, county of, Athlone is a key to, 287.
 Lord Dunsany is to draw towards, 306.
 Lord Chamberlain (of England). *See* Hunsdon, Lord.
 Lord Keeper (of England). *See* Egerton, Sir Thomas.
 Lord Treasurer (of England). *See* Buckhurst, Lord.
 Lough Admghan (*sic*), near Newry, 26.
 Lough Begg, in Tyrconnell, 104.
 Lough Foyle. *See* Foyle.
 Loughgirr, co. Limerick, 106.
 or Loghger, Desmond's castle of, 248.
 surrendered, 242.
 held by Sir George Bouchier, 344.
 Lough Lackan, Lurcan, Lorkan or Lurken, an island of Tyrone's, between Newry and Armagh, 148.
 Tyrone reported to be at, 172, 190, 205, 489, 530.
 Loughsawdy, co. Westmeath, letter dated at, 83.
 Lough Swilly. *See* Swilly.
 Louth, county of, 192.
 commissioners should be sent to, 311, 414.
 Louth, town of, burnt by McHenry, 313.
 Lovelace [Sir Richard], the pensioner, knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 [Sir William], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 Lovell or Lowell, Sir Robert, letter of, 463.
 company of, only three men of, to be found, 8.
 officers of, 81.
 intelligence sent by, 85.
 has permission to go to England, 141.
 the town of Galway guarded by, 221.
 restoration of, to his charge, 504.
 killed whilst heading an attack on the enemy, 463, 467, 468, 473, 483, 527, 530.
 company of, 433.
 William, brother of Sir Robert, wounded, 472, 526.

Low Countries, the, 176, 451.
 officers who have served in,
 24, 278, 413.
 , , knighting of, 234.
 , , States [General] of, army of,
 329.
 , , the Earl of Southampton is
 going to, 329, 331, 341.
 , , the Queen's troops in, powder
 allowed to, 351.
 , , "furriers," a word common
 in, 429.
 Lucas. *See* Ormonde, Earl of.
 Lye, Captain John, letter from, 6.
 , , castles of, 6.
 or Lee, John. *See* Lee.
 Lye, the river. *See* Lee.
 Lykeadowne, on the borders of Connello, a
 garrison placed at, 243.
 Lynagh, Redmond McOliver, captured, 438.
 , , brothers and foster brothers
 of, slain, 438.
 , , Sir Tirlagh. *See* O'Neill.
 Lynch or Linch, Christopher, bailiff of Galway,
 447.
 , Myghell, Mayor of Galway, letter of,
 446.
 , Mr., Recorder of Drogheda, 446.
 , Stephen, Public Notary, 447.
 , William, of Galway, 446.
 Lyon, William, Bishop of Cork and Ross.
See Cork and Ross.

M

McAarty. *See* McCarthy.
 McAulyff, with James Fitz-James, 374.
 McAuley, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
 , letter to, from Tyrone, 494.
 , complaints made by, 493, 494.
 McBaron (O'Neill), Art, brother of the Earl
 of Tyrone, 305.
 , , followers of, killed, 458.
 (O'Neill), Cormack, brother of the Earl
 of Tyrone, 57, 119.
 , , "attends" the garrison at
 Newry, 25, 26.
 , , has urged Tyrone to return
 32, 38.
 , , is gathering the strength of
 Ulster, 38.
 , , is to be sent to Lough Foyle,
 62.
 , , supports his son-in-law's claim
 to be Maguire, 126, 172.
 , , dissension between Tyrone
 and, 172.
 , , surprises Sir Arthur O'Neill,
 192, 193, 209, 214.

McBaron (O'Neill), Cormack—*cont.*
 , , lies close to Derry, 266.
 , , with Tyrone at Strabane, 305.
 , , is sent to oppose Sir Samuel
 Bagenall, 489.
 , , fought with, by Maguire's
 men, 530.
 , , followers of, killed, 458.
 , , his' son. *See* O'Neill, Art
 Oge.
 , , his daughter, married to
 Coconaght Maguire, 126.
 McBrian, Morgan. *See* Kavanagh.
 , (O'Neill), Shane, 119, 193.
 , , may be banished by McSorley,
 119.
 , , young son of, Tyrone pleads
 for, 240, 241.
 McBrinagownagh's country, 23.
 McBrynarye's country, 23.
 McCallogh, Brian. *See* O'Connor.
 or McCallough, Hugh Boy, 90.
 , , will hold the passages of his
 country, 452.
 , , his brother's son. *See* Mo
 Walter, Callogh.
 or McEcallogh, Morrogh, Fenton's
 man, 128.
 McCarthy, McCarty or McAarty, Charles, son
 of Sir Cormack McTeig, 363.
 , , letter of, 56.
 , , violent courses of Tyrone to-
 wards, 15, 57.
 , , is at Cork, 36.
 , , could make a thousand men
 against her Majesty, 48.
 , , has killed some of the Con-
 naught rebels, 48.
 , , offers to raise a company, 56.
 , , is in England, 71.
 , , can give little aid to her
 Majesty, his kinsmen and forces being
 in rebellion, 128.
 , , is loyal but very poor, 131,
 142.
 , , is of a stirring spirit and much
 esteemed in Munster, 142.
 , , should be encouraged with a
 company, 142.
 , , adversary of. *See* Cormack
 McDermott, *below*.
 , , is to have a company, 233.
 , , Carew desires instructions
 concerning, 322.
 , , death of, 389.
 , , brothers of, 36.
 , , Cormack McDermott or McDermody,
 Lord of Muskerry, 142, 289.
 , , letters to, 22, 492.
 , , is at Cork, 14, 18, 19, 36.
 , , confederacy of, with Tyrone,
 38, 42.
 , , is related to Dermond O'Con-
 nor, 48.

- McCarthy, Cormack McDermott, Lord of Muskerry—*cont.*
-, gives underhand support to the rebels, 145.
 -, is a subtle fox, working more villainy than if in rebellion, 145.
 -, his going out of Cork, 186.
 -, his rivalry with Charles McCarthy, 389.
 -, if not watched, would be "as ill as the rest," 389.
 -, urged by Tyrone to "contend strongly with the enemies of God and the Church, 492.
 -, agent of, going into England, 145.
 -, castle of, 14.
 -, his country, 36.
 -, followers of, 18.
 -, sons of, 14, 19.
 -, brother of. *See* McCarthy, Teig McDermott.
 -, mother of, 48.
 -, sister of, married to John Barry, 48.
 -, reported marriage of sister of, to James Fitz Thomas, 359, 361, 367.
 -, said to be carried off by Fitz Thomas, 460.
 -, Cormack Carty Fitz Derby, of Blarney, grant to, 500.
 -, Sir Cormack McTeig, son of. *See* McCarthy, Charles.
 -, Derby, Dermond or Dermott McOwen, or Mc Carthy More, *alias* Earl of Clancarty, son-in-law to Lord Roche, 12, 372.
 -, may be put in possession of Desmond, 155.
 -, controversy of, with Donogh McCormack, 492, 493, 494.
 -, Tyrone writes to, concerning the complaints made against him, 493.
 -, Derby McConnor, brother of the Lord of Carberry, 18.
 -, Barony of Inchiquin given to, 18.
 -, Dermode, brother of Florence McCarthy, 65, 161.
 -, given as a pledge, 70, 158, 371.
 -, released by Tyrone, 159.
 -, Dermond Moyle, 116.
 -, Donnell or Daniel, base son of the late Earl of Clancarty, is come to Tyrone's camp, 18.
 -, as a rival to Florence McCarthy, 19, 153, 154, 155, 157, 159, 179.
 -, banished out of the country by Tyrone and Florence, 47, 132.
 -, would be a worse enemy than his brother-in-law, 144.
 -, and his buonies, drawn out of Desmond, 157.
- McCarthy, Donnell—*cont.*
-, was (formerly) made McCarthy More by Tyrone, 158, 387.
 -, abuses Florence "with villainous words," 158.
 -, Dermond O'Connor threatens to establish, 160.
 -, chief follower of, taken, 373.
 -, writes to James Fitz Thomas, 373.
 -, was displaced in favour of Florence, 387.
 -, has submitted and is to be encouraged, 387.
 -, Donnell, *alias* McCarthy Reagh, chief of Carberry, is with Florence McCarthy, 18.
 -, confederacy of, with Tyrone, 42.
 -, is brother-in-law to Desmond, 48.
 -, could make a thousand men against her Majesty, 48.
 -, conference of, with Florence McCarthy, 71.
 -, kinsmen of, are in rebellion, 128.
 -, gives horses to some captains, 161, 162.
 -, Donnell, taken prisoner, 409.
 -, Donogh McCormack, *alias* McDonogh, chieftain of Dwally, son-in-law of the White Knight, 12, 539.
 -, promises to serve her Majesty, 159.
 -, is apprehended and carried away, 159.
 -, controversy of, with Derby McOwen, 492, 493, 494.
 -, is a prisoner with Tyrone, 492, 493.
 -, wife of, daughter of the White Knight, complaints made by, 493, 494.
 -, followers of, wrongs done to, 493.
 -, Finnin McDonnell, foster-brother of Florence McCarthy, 70.
- MacCarthy, Florence or Finnin, 22.
-, letters of, 154, 157, 178, 371, 373, 492.
 -, alluded to, 71, 109, 153, 160, 315, 371, 539.
 -, letters to, 55, 156.
 -, is with Tyrone, 15, 38, 70, 123, 132, 315, 374, 539.
 -, declares his loyalty, 16, 70, 71, 154, 156, 179, 371.
 -, is made McCarthy More, 18, 21, 36, 52, 132, 387.
 -, supporters of, 19.
 -, is joined with Tyrone, and holds the country from him, 20, 42, 48.
 -, made Governor of Munster by Tyrone, 21, 48, 70.

MacCarthy, Florence—*cont.*

-, his English patent, or the Queen's grant to, discarded, 20, 38, 47.
-, has taken a rod, according to the Irish custom, 47.
-, has been with Desmond, 47, 48.
-, was generally beloved at the English Court, 55.
-, may yet prove loyal, 55.
-, is to have a grant of certain of his father-in-law's lands, 65.
-, the Queen desires to trust, 65.
-, is heir to McCarthy, 65.
-, strength of, in co. Cork, 70.
-, parley of, with Sir Henry Power, 70, 71, 160.
-, a fort lately in the keeping of, 71.
-, conference of, with McCarthy Reagh, 71.
-, a captain sent by, to spoil Lord Barry's lands, 72.
-, has proved as men of judgment thought he would, 85.
-, is in open rebellion, 112, 128.
-, skirmish with, 113, 116 (2), 117.
-, was shot, but not hurt, 113.
-, surprises the Queen's troops, 116, 133.
-, will be the strongest traitor in Munster, 129.
-, is newly come into Ireland, 132.
-, Sir George Carew's proceedings in regard to, 143, 144, 150-154, 156, 157, 232.
-, "that ydiot," 143.
-, said to be a coward, 144, 152, 153.
-, Carew thinks it best to temporise with, 144, 152, 153.
-, humbles himself to Carew, 150, 155.
-, fears being killed by the rebels, 150, 162.
-, refuses to give his eldest son as a pledge, 151, 162.
-, his claim to be McCarthy More, 151, 152, 178, 179, 248.
-, his dislike of priests, 152.
-, his dealings with the rebels, 153, 368, 374.
-, defends his conduct, 154, 157-163, 178, 315, 371-374.
-, has refused to fight against Ormonde, 159.
-, fight with, near Cork, 161.
-, prays that he may hold his country of Desmond, 162, 178.
-, report that he is slain, 168.
-, prays Cecil to intercede with the Queen for his charges, 179.

MacCarthy, Florence—*cont.*

-, excuses himself from going to Carew at Limerick, 180.
-, is not keeping his promises, 180, 248.
-, doubt as to whether he will remain quiet or rebel again, 244, 248, 249, 321, 367.
-, has been with the O'Connors, 248.
-, letters sent by, to Carew, 248, 249.
-, pledges to be given to, 262.
-, is urged by Ormonde to submit himself without conditions, 315.
-, marriage arranged by, 359, 367, 387.
-, can only be looked on as a traitor, 359, 361, 368.
-, hangs like a dark cloud over Carew's head, 368.
-, practices of, threaten new disorders, 370.
-, Carew admonishes him to take a plain course, 375.
-, Donnell McCarthy offers to help against, 387.
-, report that he is gone or going into Spain, 388.
-, unless he presently submits, will be treated as a traitor, 435, 491.
-, Carew receives a humble offer of submission from, 443.
-, stands aloof, but does no hurt "other than to steal cows," 453.
-, said to be in arms, 464.
-, Tyrone writes to, 491, 492.
-, is daily expected by Carew, 491.
-, has complained of Dermott O'Connor, 494.
-, O'Donnell is grieved that he cannot send help to, 539.
-, his wife (daughter and heiress of Donnell McCarthy More), 18, 178, 179.
-, her base brother. *See* McCarthy, Donnell.
-, her foster-brother, 179.
-, his father, 65.
-, his grandfather, 178.
-, his eldest son, 70, 151, 153, 158, 159, 162, 179, 248, 249.
-, his brother. *See* McCarthy, Dermode.
-, his foster-brother. *See* McCarthy, Finnin McDonnell.
-, his brother-in-law. *See* O'Sullivan More.
-, his nephew. *See* O'Connor, John.
-, his godfather. *See* Fitz Edmunds, John.
-, his cousin german, 460.
-, bonnaughts of, 51, 162.

MacCarthy, Florence—*cont.*

-, castles of, taken, 133, 160.
-, his country, burned and spoiled by the Queen's troops, 112, 155, 160, 161.
-, followers of, 133, 379, 453.
-, ordered to go home, 160
-, pledges of, with Tyrone, 62, 98, 116, 158.
- More, claimants for the title of. *See* McCarthy, Dermond McOwen, Donnell and Florence.
-, electors of, 158.
-, country of, 71.
- Teig McDermody, brother of the Lord of Muskerry, 14, 18, 19, 36, 48.
-, son of, 14, 18.
-, horses and horsemen left with, 123.
-, grant to, 501.
- McCarthy's, Cartys or Clancarties, the, of Munster, will deliver pledges to Florence as McCarthy More, 36.
-, Florence means to make a strong faction with, 359, 367.
-, countries of, include Desmond, Carberry, Duhallow, Muskerry, 129, 368.
-, the rebels fly for refuge to, 368.
-, rivalry amongst, 401.
-, message to, from Tyrone, 493.
-, of Duhallow, quarrel amongst, 492.
- McCoghan, Sir John, 451, 452.
-, knighting of, by Essex, 284.
-, Sir Arthur Savage is to join, 330.
-, the Lord Deputy is about to make use of, 335.
-, sister of. *See* O'Carroll, Lady.
- McCoghan's country [King's County], 287.
- McColl. *See* McMahon.
- McConnell, Angus, prisoner in Scotland, 119, 194.
-, cousins of, 119.
-, Donnell Oge McDonnell Gorme, slain, 52.
-, James, father of Angus, 119.
-, James and Randall McSorley. *See* McDonnell.
- McConnells, the, of Cantyre, 118.
-, many of, are mercenary soldiers under O'Donnell, 118.
- McConnor, Derby. *See* McCarthy, Derby McConnor; *also* O'Connor, Dermond or Dermott.
- McCooley, Ever. *See* McMahon.
-, McOughley, McChowley, Glasney. *See* Magennis.

- McCooleys or Coolyes, the two, broken companies of, 507.
- McCormack, Donogh. *See* McCarthy.
- McCragh. *See* Creagh.
- McCuffe, Garie McGawrie, 436.
- McDermott, Cormack and Teig. *See* McCarthy.
- McDonnell, Art (son of Sorley Boy) married to Sir Arthur O'Neill's sister, 92.
-, sons of. *See* Clandonnells, the.
-, Gorme, son of, 122.
-, *alias* McConnell, James Oge McSorley Boy (of Dunluce, Lord of the Route), sons of. *See* McDonnell, James and Randall McSorley.
-, James or Sir James McSorley, son of McSorley Boy, 118, 119, 122, 172, 306.
-, is to "attend" the landing of troops at Lough Foyle, 57.
-, failed to take the fort at the Blackwater, 57.
-, fears to trust himself to the English forces, 118.
-, slaying of Sir John Chichester by, 119.
-, has fled into the fastnesses, 188.
-, fears Sir Arthur Chichester will seek revenge for his brother's death, 193.
-, letter of, alluded to, 193.
-, takes his people and creaghts over the Bann, 209.
-, men of, with Tyrone, 518.
-, Neiss [Nice McJames], Lord of the Out Isles in Scotland, 62, 63.
-, Randall Arranagh McSorley, son of McSorley Boy, 118, 119.
- McDonogh. *See* McCarthy, Donogh McCormack.
- McDonoghs, the, rivalry amongst, 401.
- McEdmund, Walter, company of, men cast in, 507.
- McFarlanes, the, of the Lennox, 118.
- McFeagh, Phelim and Redmond, sons of Feagh McHugh O'Byrne. *See* O'Byrne.
- McFynnen, a friend of Florence McCarthy, 129.
- McGaderug, Theobald, 53.
- McGawlie. *See* Magawiye.
- McGeogheghan, James McRoss, comes to Tyrone, 466.
-, Neale, grant to, 500.
- McGeogheghans or McGeoghans, the, are burning about the Naas, 39.
-, six of them slain, 40.
-, are grown very strong, 286.
-, their country, 287.
- McGibbon, Edmund. *See* FitzGibbon.
- McGilpatrick, Shane Oge, nephew of the Lord of Upper Ossory, 90.
- McGregors, the, of the Lennox, 118.

- McHenry (O'Neill), Tirlogh, Captain of the Fews, brother "by the mother" to the Earl of Tyrone, 92, 119, 310.
-, , prey of cattle taken from, 25.
-, , belief that he will help, against Tyrone, 119, 172, 312.
-, , Tyrone sends for, 305.
-, , has been as bloody an enemy to her Majesty as any, 313.
-, , banished out of his own country, 352.
-, , Tyrone stands in doubt of, 466.
-, , relationship of, to Maguire, 479.
-, , his wife, sister to Sir Arthur O'Neill, 92.
-, , has been with the Lord Deputy, 330.
-, , men or followers of, 25.
-, , slain, 458.
- McHugh, Feagh. *See* O'Byrne.
-, Neill. *See* O'Neill.
- McImaster, Owen, servant of William Brynmingham, 302.
- Maolean ("McIllane") the last, second son of, 118.
-, , cousin to. *See* O'Neill, Hugh [McShane].
- Maoleans ("McIllanes") the, may be trusted for service in Ireland, 118.
- McMahon [Brian McHugh Oge], lord of his country, firm to Tyrone, 172.
-, , agent sent to, 63.
-, , Tyrone sends for, 305.
-, , is at discord with Patrick McArt Moyle, 307.
-, , island yielded to, 365.
-, , Con or Coll McColl, slain, 85, 166, 232, 237.
-, , his head brought to the Lord Deputy, 85.
-, , the killing of, has raised a tumult for superiority, 127.
-, , reward paid, for killing, 175, 208.
-, , Ever McCooley, son of, 307.
-, , McArt Moyle Megmathwa, married to Maguire's sister, 478.
-, , Patrick McArt Moyle (of Monaghan), 57, 307.
-, , Tyrone sends for, 305.
-, , Patrick, a man of Sir William Warren's, sent to Tyrone, 192.
-, , Ross Bane, a chief follower of, hanged, 192, 311.
-, , goes into rebellion again, 192.
-, , his submission to Essex alluded to, 311.
- McMahon, the, is a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.
- McMahon, country of, 365.
-, , advertisements from, 465.
-, , fortifying of, 466.
-, , spoiling of, 479.
- McMahons, the, dissension amongst, expected, 127.
-, , killed, 458.
-, , taken prisoners, 459.
- MacMahownd, Brian Shagh, has burnt and spoiled the rebels, 228.
- McMorris, James, "the famous rebel." *See* Fitzmorris.
-, [Patrick?], Baron of Lixnaw. *See* Fitzmorris.
-, , Lord, breaks down his castle called Bewley, 319.
-, , has sent to Tyrone, 320.
- McOughley, Glasney. *See* Magennis, Glasney McCooley.
- McOwen, Derby or Dermott. *See* McCarthy.
-, , Ferdorogh, sons of, 458.
- McOwhny, Donnell, 436.
- McPrior, Connor Roe, killed, 473, 529.
-, , Murtogh, killed, 473.
- McQuillin ("McWillie," "McQuilly"), 119.
-, , may be banished by McSorley, 119.
-, , a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.
- McQuin, Tirlogh, promises to come in, 334, 335.
-, , his three sons have come in, 334.
- McRedmond, John or Shane. *See* Fitzgerald.
- McRory (O'Moore) Onie, son of Rory Oge O'Moore, chief of the O'Moores, the archtraitor of Leinster, letter of, 355.
-, , alluded to, 125.
-, , letters to, 123 (2), 356.
-, , alluded to, 128, 355.
-, , said to be limbless, and never like to be able to do anything, 6.
-, , overthrow given to, by James Fitz Piers, 85.
-, , his capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96, 100, 101, 110, 122, 123, 139, 164, 186, 315.
-, , uses the Earl well, 89.
-, , but threatens to kill him with his own hand if a rescue is attempted, 90.
-, , attempts to seize Sir George Carew, 101.
-, , speeches of, with Ormonde, 109.
-, , is a "treacherous Jack," 115.
-, , fight with, at the Togher of Offally, 120.
-, , is urged by Tyrone to send Ormonde into Ulster, 123, 171.
-, , is himself Ormonde's keeper, 124, 171, 205.
-, , will keep the Earl in Leinster, 127.
-, , the Earl of Ormonde had hoped to draw in, 138.
-, , insolent demands of, 139.
-, , note of, 140.
-, , business in relation to, 141.

- McRory (O'Moore) Onie, son of Rory Oge
 O'Moore—*cont.*
 allows "Honora" to speak
 with Ormonde, 170.
 conditions proposed by, for
 enlarging the Earl, 171, 188.
 takes Ormonde to Bally-
 brittas, 177.
 Ormonde is enlarged by, 237,
 238, 239, 241.
 engagement taken to, 238.
 burning and spoiling by, in
 the Pale, 238, 356.
 Tyrone desires, to take pledges
 for Ormonde, and then enlarge him,
 240.
 declares that Ormonde was
 taken without treachery, 240.
 Ormonde never expected to
 escape alive from, 241.
 the Lord Deputy's designs
 against, 300.
 assault upon Athy by, 336.
 message sent by, to Lambert,
 336.
 protest of, against spoiling
 the corn in Leix, 355.
 retaliation threatened by,
 355.
 his killing of Gerald Fitz
 Gerald, 356.
 death of, 364, 376, 382, 393,
 409, 426.
 the rebels discouraged
 by, 364, 409, 426, 438, 451, 533.
 skirmishes with and death of,
 narrative of, 394, 395.
 ordered his head to be cut
 off and buried, 395.
 his father. *See* O'Moore,
 Rory Oge.
 his grandfather, 109.
 his daughter, married to the
 Earl of Upper Ossory, 294.
 his sister, reported marriage
 of, to Captain Tyrrell, 466, 533.
 bonnaughts of, 170.
 followers or forces of, 120.
 killed, 336.
 hostages given to, 237, 255.
 servants of, 124, 177.
 McBuddery, Davy Fitz William, taken prisoner,
 186.
 McShane, Garrett, 370.
 slain, 371.
 (O'Neill), Harry or Henry Oge Mc
 Henry, son-in-law of the Earl of Tyrone,
 57, 118, 119, 305, 365.
 left by Tyrone to defend the
 borders, 25.
 followers of, slain, 458.
 Murtagh, taken prisoner, 454.
 Onie. *See* O'Moore.
 (O'Reilly) Tirlogh, taken prisoner, 337.
 the Lord Deputy consents to
 spare, 353, 355.
 McShee, McSheehy or McShihie, Edmund,
 taken prisoner, 186.
 Morragh Grany McRory, taken by
 O'Connor, 256.
 desires protection, 364.
 his brother Moriortagh (Mc
 Rory), 256.
 Rory, a castle of, taken by O'Connor,
 261.
 McSorley Boy, James Oge. *See* McDonnell.
 McSorleys, the. *See* McDonnell, James and
 Randall McSorley.
 friends and fosterers of, 118.
 McSwyne, Banaght or Banad, a chieftain under
 O'Donnell, 232, 478.
 country of, 41.
 Fanaght, Fanad or Fanat, holds the
 castle and haven of Killibega, 259, 260.
 his wife is McWilliam's
 sister, 259.
 is chieftain under O'Donnell,
 478.
 country of, 41, 407.
 Ne Doe or a Doe, Sir Mulmorey, 193,
 282, 407.
 parley of, with O'Dogherty,
 195, 202.
 knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 causes of suspicion against,
 383.
 arrest and escape of, 383,
 384, 418.
 has revolted to O'Donnell,
 433, 456.
 his pension, 433.
 instigates an attack upon
 Derry, 455.
 is a chieftain under O'Don-
 nell, 478.
 is no great loss, 484.
 his men, 282.
 a messenger of, 383.
 his country, in Tyreconnell, 41.
 McSwynes, the, will help Florence McCarthy,
 129.
 supporters of Tyrone, 172.
 and O'Donnell, 383.
 McTeig (O'Connor), Coll, son of O'Connor, 6.
 Sir Cormack. *See* McCarthy.
 Oge, Murrough, broken company of, 506.
 McVidonneil, Donnell Gorme, slain, 39.
 McWalter, Callogh, nephew to Hugh Boy
 McCallogh, 90.
 slain, 376, 393, 395.
 head of, brought to the Lord
 Deputy, 395.
 McWilliam, the (Tibbott Burke), 289, 292.
 his offers of service and de-
 mands for reward, 258, 259, 415, 416.
 money and men required by,
 260.
 will probably join O'Donnell,
 282.
 his men, 232.
 his wife, a retreat for, 259.
 his sister's husband. *See* Mc
 Swyne, Fanaght.

McWilliams, the, were the chief lords of Mayo, 259.

McWilliam's country, would be commanded by a garrison at Sligo, 287.

Madan, Richard, Mayor of Waterford, 322.

....., letters of, 20, 175, 185.

....., news from Spain sent by, 175, 185.

....., promises to care for the stores in the city, 183.

....., money asked for from, 423, 474.

Madrill, the French King a prisoner at, 181.

Magawles, Magawlies or McGawlies, the, 286.

....., lie near Athlone, 293.

Magawlye, Christopher, taken by the Dillons, 166.

Magawran [Edmund], "the traitorous prime" [of Armagh], 420.

Magennis, Arthur, 35.

....., in the Newry, 26.

....., married Tyrone's sister, 119.

....., is Tyrone's brother-in-law and son-in-law, 172.

....., camp of, burnt, 26.

....., his men, 25, 26.

....., brother of, mortally wounded, 466.

....., "young," Lord of the country, is in rebellion, 35.

....., Glasney McCooley, McOughley or McChowley, "one of the best of the Magennises," conference with, 25.

....., brought in by Bagenall, 25, 35.

....., made Magennis by Tyrone, but "depressed," 35.

....., confederates or followers of, 26, 35.

Magennis, the, is a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.

Maghery, the. *See* Moyerie.

Maglauchie's country, 287.

Maguire, Sir Cowe Conaght, 479.

....., son of. *See* Coconaght Oge, *below*.

....., [half] brother of. *See* O'Donnell, Callough.

....., mother of, 479.

....., Coconaght, Cohanagh or Quiconouth Oge, brother to Hugh, 57, 92, 292, 479.

....., desires to have Fermanagh, 30.

....., proposal that he should be made Maguire, 92.

....., has taken up arms against Connor Roe, 126, 267.

....., has married a daughter of Cormack McBaron, 126, 172.

....., is supported by his father-in-law, 172.

....., is to be encouraged, 232.

....., is at Strabane with Tyrone and other chiefs, 466.

Maguire, Coconaght—*cont.*

....., withdraws into Fermanagh, to hold it against Connor Roe, 266.

....., burns Connor Roe's country, 267.

....., is to be left to "attend" the garrison at Lough Foyle, 306.

....., Connor Roe offers to pull down, 331.

....., the Archbishop of Cashel writes concerning, 476, 478.

....., ancestors, family and connexions of, 478, 479.

....., strength of, 479.

....., castles, islands, lands, &c., of, 479.

....., Connor Roe, 57, 86 (?).

....., advanced by Tyrone to be Maguire, 92, 126.

....., lies in wait for Sir Arthur O'Neill, 214.

....., is to be proceeded against, 282.

....., will probably join O'Donnell, 282.

....., is called Maguire by the upper part of Fermanagh, 266.

....., in arms against Coconaght Maguire, 267.

....., is come in to the Lord Deputy, 331, 337.

....., offers to pull down the other Maguire, 331.

....., rebels coming in to, 459.

....., with the Lord Deputy, 528.

....., good service of, in the fight at the Moyerie, 529.

....., son of, held as a pledge by Tyrone, escape of, 528.

....., kills two of the rebels, 529.

....., has fought Cormack McBaron and taken his son prisoner, 530.

....., brother of (?), 122.

....., forces of, 282.

....., his country, burned by Coconaght Maguire, 267.

....., Sir Hugh, the Archbishop of Cashel claims to be a kinsman of, 11.

....., slain in a fight with Sentleger and Power, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 33, 36, 38, 39, 44, 57.

....., his death much troubles the Northern rebels, 62.

....., has given rise to much dissension, 126.

....., was a gentleman of blood and valour, 126.

....., eldest son of, hurt, 14, 16.

....., base son of, slain, 18.

....., foster-father of, slain, 14, 16.

....., brother of. *See* Maguire, Coconaght.

....., men of, killed, 16.

- Maguire, the, is a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.
- Maguires, the two [Coconaght and Connor Roe], contention which should be Maguire, 57, 62, 104, 126, 127, 172.
-, "some good killing betwixt," 122, 126.
-, overtures received from, 306.
- Maguire's country, co. Fermanagh, 11, 41.
-, an agent sent into, 62.
-, strife in, 104.
-, would be commanded by a garrison at Sligo, 237.
- Maherlough, near the Newry, 227.
- Mahons [Mahouns], the, of Carberry, 133; and see McMahon's.
- Maine or Manig, the river, co. Kerry, 373, 375.
- Maisters [? Thomas], one of the seniors at Merton College, Oxon, 258.
- Malby or Malbie, Captain, 507.
-, Mr., 84.
-, Sir Nicholas, 500.
- Malleys, the. See O'Malleys.
- Mallow or Moyallo, co. Cork, 244, 370, 371.
-, letters dated at, 189, 485, 486, 491, 494, 497, 533, 537.
-, burning and spoiling of the rebels at or near, 11, 369.
-, garrison of, 129, 132.
-, money needed for, 15.
-, is to lay waste the White Knight's country, 132.
-, rebels slain by, 369, 370.
-, forces left at, 142, 360.
-, the Lord President's camp near, 241, 244.
-, the young Earl of Desmond meets Sir George Carew at, 487.
- Man, the Isle of, can furnish no supplies, 173.
-, ship at, 412.
-, the Calf of, 200.
- Mangerton or Mangirtagh, mountains of, 372.
- Marbury, Captain, 230, 474.
-, company of, 448.
- March or Morrohie, Edmund, hanged on false information, 192, 311.
- Markham, Sir Griffin, letter of, 215.
-, the casting of his company, 215, 216.
-, commands offered to, 215.
-, sent to Connaught in Essex's time, 233.
-, absent from his charge, 334.
- Marob, Nicholas, a friar in Ulster, 237.
-, letter of, 239.
-, has been in Spain, 237, 239.
- Mary, Queen, service of the Wallops to, 457.
- Maryborough, fort of, or "the fort of Leix," 207, 397.
-, governor of. See Rush, Sir Francis.
-, constable of. See Harvey, Philip.
-, need of provisions at, 43, 98.
-, a plot to surprise, 96.
-, soldiers of the garrison of, killed by the rebels, 96.
-, victualling of, 98, 115, 120, 166, 227, 271, 306, 329, 332, 335, 336, 337.
-, Sir Francis Rush's valiant conduct at, 164.
-, good service done by the garrison of, 288.
- Masterson, Captain John, 336.
-, wounded in a skirmish, 338.
-, Sir Richard, Irish company of, 507.
-, Thomas, grant to, 500.
- May, Capt. Joseph, recommended to Cecil, 336.
- Mayhane, Hugh, his company, 330.
- Mayne, Abbey of, grant of, mentioned, 50.
- Maynooth, co. Kildare, letter dated at, 37.
-, a knight created at, 234.
- Mayo, Captain Burke of. See Burke, Thomas.
- Mayo, county of, 232, 287.
-, is as great an Earldom as any in Connaught, 259.
-, house in, to be put into her Majesty's hands, 260.
-, the Burkes of. See Burkes, the.
- Meade or Meagh, William, Mayor of Cork, 322, 384.
-, letters of, 18, 189(2), 252, 256.
-, protection given to a priest by, 135.
-, promises to guard carefully the munition, 183.
-, is to view the victuals, 183, 189.
-, good services of, 185.
-, recommends the suit of the agents from Cork, 189, 256.
-, a letter acknowledging his services to be sent to, 232.
-, reports on the condition of the victuals, 252.
-, sends a packet to Cecil, 256.
-, and the Earl of Desmond, 486.
- Meath, Thomas Jones, Bishop of, letters of, 56, 76, 418.
-, note signed by, 420.
-, argues with the priest Fitzsimmons, 77.
-, is to reform his diocese and his life, 273, 274.
-, the Queen is highly offended with, 273.
-, is to see the friary of Multi-farnham demolished, 274.
-, his defence of his conduct, 418-420.
-, as Commissioner, case referred to, 509.
-, registrar of. See Conan, Richard.

- Meath or Eastmeath, county of, 79, 204, 309.
, the gentlemen of, Tyrone's plans for drawing to him, 7.
, ordered to defend their borders, 472.
, forces raised in "the risings out of," command of, 449, 474.
, sent for by Ormonde, 10.
, troops sent into, 134.
, burning and spoiling by the rebels in, 203, 212.
, borders of (Meathside), rebels on, 293.
, the Lord Deputy on, 332.
 Meath, diocese of, churches in, 419.
, list of, 420.
, ruin of, 273, 419.
, to be repaired, and furnished with pastors, 273.
, house of friars in. *See* Multifarnham.
, the bishop ordered to preach and travail in, 274.
 Meelick or Mylick, co. Galway, 84.
 Mellifont, co. Louth, letters dated at, 58, 104.
, woods of, 310.
, the Moores of. *See* Moore, Sir Edward and Garrett.
 Melvin, Sir Robert, son of, "great with the King" of Scotland, 119.
 Meredith, Mr., estimate of, 349.
, alluded to, 348.
 Merrick or Merrike, Sir Gelly, 74.
, an apology sent to, 293.
 Michel, —, 73.
 Michell, William, master of the *Honour*, 141.
 Middlesex, county of, 75, 111.
 Mildmay, Sir Walter, 305.
 Milford, in Wales, 331, 470.
 Miltown, co. Cross Tipperary, 379.
, letter dated at, 379.
 Moghelly, co. Cork, 488.
, castle of, should be garrisoned, 106.
, constable of. *See* Pyne, Henry.
, letter dated at, 50.
 Mollaghheef, co. Kerry, McNicholas Browne's house, 374.
 Monaghan, county of, espials in, 128.
 Monaghan, town of, 352.
, Tyrone passes by, 45.
, meeting of rebel leaders at, 57.
, burnt by McMahon, 228.
, Patrick McMahon of. *See* McMahon.
 Monck, Levinus, secretary to Ceoil, 250.
 Montague, Captain Charles (nephew of Sir Henry Harrington), 76, 294.
, Captain, loses his office of Quarter-master General of the camp, 126.
, proposed for special employment in the O'Byrne's country, 136.
 Moone, co. Kildare, gathering of the forces at, 394.
 Moore or More. *See* O'Moore.
 Moore, Sir Edward, of Mellifont, 310, 311.
, a man of, messenger to Tyrone, 311.
, Sir Edward, Constable of the Fort of Philipstown, letter of, 58.
, his losses by the rebels, 58.
, brother of, 59.
, tenants of, 58.
, Sir Garrett, of Mellifont, 302, 310, 311.
, messenger or man of, 192, 302.
, accusations against, 310, 311.
, plot of, against Sir Arthur O'Neill, 311.
, Captain Garrett, letter of, 104.
, company of, 104.
, John, nephew of Sir Edward, liberation of, 59, 302.
, John, of Meelick, 84.
, Maurice, 179.
, Neale, a fool, 395.
 Mordaunt, Captain, made Constable of the Glin, 318.
 Morgan, Col. Sir Matthew, appointed Governor of Ballyshannon, 35, 41.
, the boundaries of his government, 41.
, is going to Ballyshannon, 196, 200.
, barge for, 198.
, his squadron of the fleet, 201.
, troops commanded by, at the parley with O'Dogherty, 202.
, forces of. *See* Ballyshannon, forces for.
, regiment of, 200.
 Morris, Captain, company of, 449.
, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 230, 279.
, Thomas, grant to, 501.
, one, deceased, lands granted to, 258.
 Morrison, Sir Richard, regiment of, 462.
, at the fight at the Moyerie, 529.
 Morrogh ne Moe, 374.
 Morrohie, Edmund. *See* March, Edmund.
 Mostian, Hugh, with O'Donnell, 282.
, his men, 282.
 Mostian or Mostyn, Capt. Hugh, 85.
, company of (with the Lord Deputy), 473.
, [Thomas], knighted by Essex, 233.
 Mountgarret, Edmund Butler, Viscount, letter of, 115.
, Sir George Carew desires to speak with, 90.
, is "next cousin" to Ormonde, 90.
, thinks he ought to be Earl of Ormonde, 102.

Mountgarret, Edmund Butler, Viscount—*cont.*

-, excuses himself from meeting Carew, 109.
-, skirmish of, with the rebels, 115.
-, meeting of, with Ormonde, 355.
-, is to hold Ballyraggett on sufferance, 396.
-, servant of, 90.
-, followers of, 109.
-, his estates, 90.
-, his house. *See* Ballyraggett.
-, his eldest son. *See* Butler, James.
-, other sons of. *See* Butler, Richard and Edward.
-, his sons, in rebellion, 102, 103, 109.
-, burn and spoil near Kilkenny, 11, 102.
-, attempt to win Ballygarrett, 102.
-, followers of, slain, 102.
-, will be suitors for pardon, 108, 109.
-, the Lord Deputy wishes to confer about, 353.
-, meeting of, with Ormonde, 355.
-, a near kinsman of, slain, 103, 108.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord, Lord Deputy of Ireland, *passim*.

-, letters of, 1, 7, 21, 25, 27, 30, 31, 41, 45, 66, 72 (2), 81, 85, 87, 88, 91, 93, 96, 103, 126 (2), 137, 141 (2), 149 (2), 163, 164 (2), 205, 212 (2), 216, 217 (2), 218, 219, 223 (2), 226, 230 (6), 231, 232, 235, 252, 255, 278, 299, 306, 307, 308, 335, 337, 349, 353, 359, 392, 397, 420, 430, 445, 453, 463, 469, 472, 481, 490, 512, 513, 522, 534.
-, alluded to, 32, 108, 174, 203, 208, 210, 217, 231, 265, 303, 361, 394, 409, 423, 439, 453, 455, 468, 471, 474, 480, 490.
-, letters to, 20, 30, 43, 53, 54, 65, 87, 89, 104, 108, 114, 115, 119, 125, 139, 324, 328 (2), 336, 354, 356, 359, 360, 446, 466.
-, alluded to, 86, 100, 103, 109, 146, 193, 210, 235, 279, 310, 315, 323, 346, 455, 473, 496.
-, allowance to, for his transport, asked for, 309, 350.
-, for extraordinaries, 20.
-, allowances by, for extraordinaries, 208, 330, 449.
-, appointments or commissions by, 35, 69, 81, 95, 147, 204, 207, 215, 442, 483, 502, 503.
-, alluded to, 53, 215.
-, companies cased by, 451, 483, 519, 524.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, concordatums paid by, 166, 175.
-, directions to, asked for, 80.
-, his entertainment and allowances, 232, 510, 511, 513, 540.
-, favour of, 58.
-, instructions of, alluded to, 232.
-, intelligence sent to, 104, 125.
-, intelligence sent by, 336.
-, licenses of, alluded to, 211, 272, 273, 337, 354.
-, lists of the forces sent up by, 423.
-, martial orders of, alluded to, 347.
-, matters laid before, 398, 441.
-, messengers or emissaries of, 62, 137, 170, 256.
-, minute for, 57.
-, money lent to, 514.
-, notes by, 104, 110, 120.
-, orders, warrants or instructions of, alluded to, 31, 103, 103, 110, 133, 192, 200, 232, 248, 268, 306, 347, 389.
-, orders or instructions to, 272-278, 328.
-, payment to, ordered, 348.
-, persons discharged by, 59, 289.
-, pledges given or offered to, 43, 86, 313.
-, protection of, desired, 360, 396, 397.
-, recommendations by, 21, 25, 67, 72, 87, 126 (2), 141, 149, 164 (3), 212, 216, 217, 219, 223, 224, 229, 230 (5), 231, 232, 235, 255, 278 (2), 307, 335, 442.
-, blamed for giving, too freely, 325.
-, defended, 502.
-, reference to, asked for, 290.
-, requests to, 291, 293.
-, submissions to, 43, 66, 86, 307, 309, 330, 331, 337, 376, 422.
-, forces of, on his expeditions to Ulster, 168, 169, 180, 191, 203, 206, 207, 220, 228, 423, 459, 460, 461, 462, 469, 489, 490, 525, 536.
-, provision for, 168, 178, 180, 454, 469, 471, 490, 523.
-, skirmishes of, with the enemy, 191, 193, 206, 213, 219, 225, 228, 333, 394, 395, 397, 448, 453, 460, 462, 463, 465, 466, 467, 468, 472, 473, 481, 490, 522, 526, 527, 528, 529, 537.
-, brought back safe and sound, 213.
-, his arrival in Ireland, 1, 3.
-, alluded to, 33, 52, 74, 483.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, takes the sword, 1, 9.
-, measures of, on his arrival, 1.
-, and the doings of Tyrone in Munster, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 27, 42.
-, desires to keep up the present strength of the army, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 42, 46, 81, 501.
-, and the plantation of Lough Foyle, 4, 5, 9, 27, 33, 40, 41, 107, 213, 300, 351, 352, 357, 517, 518.
-, of Ballyshannon, 4, 40, 107, 300.
-, his need of money, munition and provisions, 4, 23, 29, 34, 35, 43, 46, 66, 67, 76, 98, 207, 306, 339, 392, 393, 398, 421, 425, 471, 523.
-, has sent Captains to Chester, 5.
-, goes out to try to intercept Tyrone, 27, 32, 34, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47.
-, and the disposition of the forces, 27, 28, 30, 33, 45, 61, 66, 86, 359.
-, his reliance on the President of Munster, 29, 83.
-, if aided by a Council of Solomons, Ireland would try their wits, 29.
-, alarm in Ulster, lest he should enter it, 38.
-, returns to Dublin, 40, 41.
-, summons back Ormonde's army, 42.
-, orders the forces of the country to muster and arm, 42.
-, designs to entangle Tyrone in the North, 44, 61, 98, 217.
-, his first and only intelligence from Ormonde, 45.
-, Lord Dunkellin's protestation of service to, 54.
-, distribution of the army by, 61.
-, means to go in person to the North, 61, 67, 73, 82, 86, 98, 104, 114, 121.
-, is to grant certain lands to Florence McCarthy, 65.
-, believes that some of the rebels "begin to shake," 66.
-, is embarking the men for Lough Foyle, 67.
-, suits or proposals made to, 78, 93.
-, concerning the commissaries of musters, 81.
-, his measures for the reformation of the army, 82, 86, 94, 110, 252, 503.
-, rebels' heads brought or sent to, 85, 149, 339.
-, knighthood conferred by, 86.
-, and the capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 96, 97, 108, 110, 137, 138, 139, 140.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, sends forces to Kilkenny, 88, 89, 97, 103.
-, desires to increase the army, 89, 93, 217, 218, 230.
-, and Sir Arthur O'Neill, 91, 92, 104, 178, 229, 310, 518.
-, captains appointed by, list of, 95.
-, proposes to keep the Irish in pay "to cut one another's throats," 98.
-, horses purchased by, 93, 94, 309.
-, intends to victual Philipstown and Maryborough, 98, 115, 120.
-, concerning the rumour of an invasion from Spain, 103.
-, cannot help the Bishop of Cork, 111.
-, accounts of skirmishes with the rebels sent to, 114, 115, 120.
-, is on the point of setting out, 125.
-, message sent to, by Ormonde, 137.
-, thinks the Earl of Ormonde much weakened in mind and body, 138.
-, on Tyrone's communications with Spain, 139, 226, 253.
-, makes Sir Arthur Chichester again governor of Carrickfergus, 147.
-, messengers sent from, to the Earl of Ormonde, 137, 170.
-, his care and pains in Leinster, 148.
-, agrees to see Sir Terence O'Dempsey in relation to the Earl of Ormonde, 149, 150.
-, concerning the Ordnance, 163.
-, Tyrone says he will fight with, 164.
-, goes to Dundalk and the Newry, 168, 169, 177, 180, 203, 205, 213, 219, 220, 225, 227; and see Ulster, the Lord Deputy's first expedition to.
-, wishes to settle a garrison at Armagh, 169, 217, 218, 220, 229, 417, 421, 426, 480, 489, 517, 522, 523, 524, 531, 532.
-, at Drogheda and Dundalk, 172, 174, 189, 227.
-, is "attended" by Tyrone, 174, 193, 213.
-, has come within two miles of Tyrone, 188, 190, 205.
-, sends a convoy for Lord Southampton, 190, 205, 213, 219, 228.
-, shows himself "full of true nobility," 190.
-, has advanced to Armagh, 193.
-, can best judge what forces are needed, 205.
-, measures of, for defence of the Pale, 206.
-, his eulogy of Sir Robert Cecil, 211.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, returns into the Pale, 212, 220, 228.
-, is at Dublin, 212, 220, 225.
-, has effected the end of his journey to the North, 213, 219, 225.
-, desires that the Queen may be moved on behalf of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 216.
-, and the government of Connaught, 222, 223, 231.
-, has been reproved concerning the captains, 222.
-, sends Sir Geoffrey Fenton to England, 224, 229.
-, accounts of his journey to the North, 224, 225, 227.
-, has to sustain all parts, from a clerk to a judge, and from a serjeant to a general, 252.
-, on the measures which may end the rebellion, 253, 300.
-, is going to meet the Earl of Ormonde, 254, 256.
-, his praise of Sir Arthur Chichester, 255.
-, writes of good successes at Lough Foyle, 265.
-, has ordered supplies for Derry, 269.
-, is to order the Archbishops to see to the repairing of their churches, 273.
-, and to expel the friars at Multifarnham, 274.
-, is to enforce moderation in fees, 275.
-, commissioners to be appointed by, 275.
-, is to make good choice in sheriffs, 276.
-, is to be circumspect in bestowing benefices, 277.
-, orders to, concerning Lough Foyle, 277, 278.
-, list of Captains recommended by, 278.
-, should press hard on Tyrone by the Blackwater, 282.
-, and Sir Theobald Dillon, 290, 291.
-, is prayed by Lord Dunkellin to come to him, 291.
-, hopes of bringing Father Archer to, 296.
-, his sympathy with the Earl of Ormonde, 299.
-, answer of, to the rebels of Leinster, 300.
-, goes to the Northern borders, 300, 306, 314, 337.
-, on the doings of the rebels, 301, 302.
-, and Captain Tyrrell, 303.
-, thinks the war was never so near an end, 307.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, defends his conduct, 308, 309, 349, 350, 352, 397.
-, and the Earl of Essex, 308.
-, conference of Owen MoHugh with, 309, 310, 313.
-, the Queen complains of his remissness in relation to the army, 324-326.
-, but expresses her confidence in him, 327, 349, 381, 515.
-, his request for the Earl of Southampton, 328.
-, his plan of action in Offally, 329, 330, 331, 332, 337.
-, spares no travail or pains, 332.
-, his expedition into Offally, 335, 337, 338, 339, 344, 349, 360, 441.
-, hangs a famous rebel, 339.
-, Sir Geoffrey Fenton hopes to quicken, 340.
-, his journey into Leix, 344, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 364, 376, 382, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 525.
-, his intended expedition into Ulster, 344, 359, 364, 382, 392, 393, 394.
-, complains of the Commissioners, 350.
-, regulations of, in regard to arms and munition, 351.
-, prays Ormonde to meet him, 353, 354.
-, promises a respite to Tirlogh O'Shane, 353, 355.
-, Onie McRory complains of, for cutting down the corn, 355, 356.
-, Ormonde appoints a meeting with, 356.
-, is prayed not to withdraw forces from Munster, 359, 361, 362.
-, has appointed a general hosting at the Hill of Tara, 364, 392.
-, is joined by Ormonde, 376.
-, is informed by Fenton of the views of the Privy Council, 381, 382.
-, reserves the granting of companies to himself, 384.
-, stays the issue of munition, 385.
-, says that his heart is broken, and prays for his recall, 397.
-, is tied to a dangerous journey, and has neither money nor victuals, 398, 421, 430, 517.
-, workmen and victuals sent by, to Lough Foyle, 405, 406.
-, prisoners committed to Dublin Castle by, 409.
-, his promises to Sir Theobald Dillon, 410.
-, his second expedition to the North, 410, 412, 418, 421, 425, 426, 432, 484, 493.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, complaints against, by Capt. Dawtrej, 412, 415.
-, is to expostulate with Sir Henry Dockwra, 417.
-, has committed Leinster to the Earl of Ormonde, 422, 428.
-, his departure for the North, 425, 430, 433, 453, 520, 521, 522, 525, 530.
-, goes to Dundalk, 425, 453, 461, 525, 530.
-, and the Archbishop of Cashel, 426.
-, refuses to enlarge Ormonde's nephew, 428.
-, and Lord Howth, 429, 431.
-, complains that the Council hears every man before and against himself, 431.
-, is at the Moyerie, 441, 452, 459, 481, 525, 537.
-, has committed the service of Offally to Sir Edward Herbert, 441.
-, must sell land, to enable him to live, 445.
-, will not let Sir Arthur Savage go to England, 459.
-, journals of his proceedings, 459, 524-530.
-, was in the midst of the fight of October 2nd, 460, 528.
-, Tyrone labours to stop his passage, 465, 466, 484.
-, request to, from the Earl of Essex, 466.
-, "is very silent in his advertisements," 667.
-, concerning victuals for his army, 468, 469, 473, 493, 491.
-, believes that all things have been for the best, 469.
-, has had extremity of bad weather, 453, 454, 459, 462, 467, 469, 472, 473, 480, 484, 489, 513, 522, 531, 532.
-, retires to Dundalk, 469, 483, 489, 523, 530.
-, desires more men and munition, 471, 473, 489.
-, shot to be sent to, list of, 474.
-, Carew threatens to report the Commissaries to, 480.
-, report that he has given a great overthrow to the rebels, 481.
-, has cleared his passage, 488, 489, 490.
-, refuses to parley with Tyrone, 490.
-, movements of, referred to by Tyrone, 492, 493.
-, answers of, to the charges against him, 501-512, 514-519.
-, describes the state in which he found the army, 503.

Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord—*cont.*

-, his proceedings to rectify abuses in the army, 504-507.
-, and Sir William Warren, 509, 512.
-, undertook his charge unwillingly and would give it up gladly, 512, 514.
-, prays to be delivered of this kingdom for ever, 519.
-, acknowledges Cecil's love to him, 520.
-, is at or beyond the Newry, 520, 521, 523, 531, 534.
-, his care of the sick and wounded, 532.
-, has "made a road with his horse" to within six miles of Armagh, 534.
-, a gentleman of, shot, 460.
-, kinsman of, 278.
-, lieutenant to, in Flanders, 283.
-, preacher of, 65.
-, physician of, 65.
-, secretary of, 109, 361.
-, servants of, 338; *and see* Cooke, Mr.; James, Walter; Mychell, Mr.
- Mount Sendal, on the Bann, 188.
- Mow, mountains of (? co. Tipperary), 43.
- Moyallo. *See* Mallow.
- Moyerie, or Ballacho Moyerie, the, a pass through the hills and woods of between Dundalk and the Newry, 521, 525.
-, letters from, 210, 227.
-, the Lord Deputy means to pass through, 164.
-, Tyrone threatens to dispute the passage of, 164, 422, 430, 432, 441, 462.
-, the Lord Deputy passes through, 169, 177, 189, 203, 205, 227.
-, the Earl of Southampton and his forces fight their way through, 190, 191, 205, 206, 219, 224, 225, 228.
-, the Four Miles Water in. *See* Four Miles Water.
-, the causey in, broken by the rebels, 228.
-, the Lord Deputy's camp near. *See* Faugher, the, camp at.
-, skirmishes at, 448, 459, 462, 463, 465, 468, 472, 473, 481, 483, 490, 522, 523, 526, 527, 528, 537.
-, the rebels' entrenchments in, 448, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465, 467, 469, 522, 525.
-, the passage of, may cost broken heads, 452.
-, the Three Mile Water in. *See* Three Mile Water.
-, determination to force the passage of, 467, 468, 469, 473, 527.
-, the Lord Deputy proposes to fortify, 480, 490.

- Moyerie, or Ballacho Moyerie, the—*cont.*
 report of a great victory at, 481.
 Tyrone's fortifications at, razed, 483, 489, 490, 519, 523.
 Tyrone departs from, 489, 530.
 strength of the rebels in, 518.
 woods in, cut down, 518, 523.
 Tyrone charged with lying too long at, 521.
 victuals have to be brought through, 523.
 description of the pass, 527.
 (Maghery), the borders of the, or the borders of the Field, Tyrone's letters dated from, 492, 493, 494.
 Moyle, Patrick McArt. *See* McMahon.
 Moymet, co. Meath, letter dated from, 212.
 Mullingar, co. Westmeath, 32.
 forces sent for from, 120.
 gaol of, broken open by the rebels, 203.
 danger of the road between Athlone and, 286.
 Mulloughbane (? co. Armagh), Tyrone's camp at, between Newry and Dundalk, 26.
 Multifarnham or Moltiferem, in Westmeath, Friary of, friars of, hatchers of rebellion, 85, 274.
 is to be demolished, or the friars expelled and the house made into a garrison, 274.
 the Bishop of Meath's relations with, 274, 419.
 Munster, province of, *passim*.
 President of. *See* Carew, Sir George.
 late. *See* Norreys, Sir Thomas.
 Chief Justice of. *See* Saxey, William.
 former. *See* Walsh, Sir Nicholas.
 second justice of. *See* Goold, James.
 Presidency of, commissions for, mentioned, 5.
 Commissioners for 20, 22. *And see* Power, Sir Henry; Sentleger, Sir Warham.
 letters of, 14, 21, 36.
 money used by, 15.
 complain that Justice Saxey has gone to England although they denied him, 21.
 a priest apprehended by, 135.
 a servant of, 135.
 Council or Provincial Council of, 32, 103, 161, 358, 383, 391.
 members of, or Councillors, 178, 538; *and see* Cork, Bishop of; Cuffe, Hugh; FitzEdmund, John; Thomond, Earl of; Walsh, Sir Nicholas.
 letters of, 128, 182, 185.
 alluded to, 150.
 letter to be sent to, 439.
 Munster, Council or Provincial Council of—*cont.*
 recommendation by, 56.
 give a protection to Florence McCarthy, 70.
 interview Florence McCarthy, 151.
 Florence complains that they will not understand him, 160.
 commissaries of musters for, 81, 189, 385, 450. *And see* Aylmer, Joshua; Cuffe, Hugh; Jones, William; Northcott, Mr.; Turner, —.
 are to send in their books to the principal commissary, 442, 480.
 commissary of musters, a principal. *See* Jones, William.
 commissary of victuals for. *See* Apsley, Allen.
 paymaster in, 499. *And see* Kynnesman, Harold.
 orders to, 64.
 Provost Marshal of. *See* Thornton, Sir George.
 boats or crompsters needed in, 245, 246.
 bonnaughts of, on the borders of Leinster, 518.
 cantreds or Lords' countries of, 372.
 English commanders should be placed in, 106.
 captains or commanders in, 23 34, 95, 142, 474.
 payments to, 499.
 arrangements concerning their accounts, 442, 445.
 the Carties of. *See* McCarthy.
 castles of, 261, 262. *And see under their names.*
 should be garrisoned, 50, 106.
 owners of, will need help to defend them, 143.
 lost, 199, 247.
 taken from the rebels, 242, 243.
 certificates from, have been sent, 134, 143.
 chiefs of, are now mostly subjects, 491.
 letters sent to, by Tyrone, 492, 493, 494.
 cities and corporate towns of, mayors of, 182, 183.
 the chief magistrates of, refuse to come to church, 129.
 agents from, sent to England, 130.
 munition stored in, orders concerning, mentioned, 182, 183.
 the priests in, have not yet declared themselves, 250.
 are exempted from the Pope's bull, 257.

Munster, cities and corporate towns of—*cont.*

-, the Queen's troops not well assured in, 389.
-, disloyalty of, 402, 403.
-, suggestions for the reformation of, 403.
-, sympathy of, with the country around, 498.
-, extraordinaries for, 246, 398.
-, order concerning, 64.
-, no certificates for, received, 329.
-, forces in, or for, 61, 102, 129, 233, 358, 389.
-, clothes or provisions for, 15, 107, 130, 189, 245, 363.
-, abuses in regard to, 324.
-, musters of, certificates of, 59, 450.
-, checks of. certificates or briefs of, 59, 450.
-, weak state of, 2, 142, 143, 184, 360, 361, 362, 369, 385.
-, state of their pay to be declared, 64.
-, note of, 140.
-, victuals for, note of, 140.
-, distribution of, 142, 359, 360, 361, 362.
-, employed in Leinster, 142, 433.
-, reinforcements for, 335, 445, 497.
-, prayed for, 184, 362.
-, a brief of summer apparel for, 210.
-, with the Lord President on his journey, 241, 242, 243, 245, 247, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 366, 367.
-, skirmishes of, with the rebels, 367, 436.
-, "preachers" for, only one where there should be three, 316.
-, more than half the captains of, missing, 322.
-, the companies of, never fuller or better furnished, 324.
-, sickness amongst, 324, 369.
-, men and horses for, at Bristol, 332.
-, desertion of, 351, 369.
-, some of the old, to be sent to the Lord Deputy, and replaced by the new men, 359.
-, Carew prays that none may be withdrawn, 359, 360, 361, 362.
-, have been all summer in the field, 362.
-, march unfought withal, 363.
-, very few men of, slain, 369.
-, money for, 379.
-, horsemen, discontented, allowed to depart, 385.
-, supply of horses for, 386.

Munster, forces in—*cont.*

-, the Irish should be made partly to maintain, 401.
-, companies in, asked for by the Archbishop of Cashel, 427.
-, to be sent from Leinster, 433.
-, "have taken newspirits," 435.
-, officers of, letter of, 436.
-, losses of, 436, 437.
-, a principal Commissary of musters appointed to collect the checks of, 442.
-, companies in, "need not be stuffed with Irish," 445.
-, checks of, much larger with one commissary than with four, 450.
-, danger of diminishing, 491.
-, cannot be victualled in the province, 498.
-, Irish companies in, 507.
-, are a thousand more than they were wont to be, 518.
-, garrisons of, 11, 23, 24, 243, 251, 306.
-, will prevent the enemy from keeping long together, 243.
-, Carew has not men enough for, 257.
-, proposal to send new men to, and draw away the old, 359, 361, 362.
-, are remote one from another, 359.
-, good service done by, 363, 369.
-, "are now in their harvest," 388.
-, were formerly no better than besieged, 389.
-, soldiers disposed amongst, 497.
-, winter suits for, 499.
-, lords or gentlemen of, 6.
-, some are loyal themselves, but not their followers, 17.
-, carry suits to England, 130.
-, list of, 134.
-, capture of, 409.
-, memorandum concerning, 106.
-, money for, 342, 346, 348.
-, orders concerning, 20, 232.
-, needed, 128, 184, 251.
-, issued in, certificate of, 149.
-, munition and victuals for, urgently needed, 129, 130, 247.
-, rebels in, 10, 16, 17, 22, 50, 105, 160, 178.
-, chiefs of. *See under their names. See also Tyrone.*
-, a confederate of, 298.
-, have sent for help to Tyrone, 320.
-, if they fail, will go to Spain, 320.

Munster, rebels in—*cont.*

-, burning and spoiling of, 11, 243, 369.
-, are like to starve for want of food, 22.
-, going into Ulster to Tyrone, 62.
-, Tyrone sends letters to, 125.
-, strength of, 123, 129, 132, 244, 257.
-, proceedings against, 132, 133, 198, 199, 241, 242, 243, 244, 247, 257, 363, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 434-437.
-, skirmishes with, 133, 367, 436.
-, their hope of help from Spain, 146, 239, 315, 321, 379.
-, strangers with, from Connaught, (Connaught buonies), 154, 157, 162, 243, 244, 257, 263, 264, 265.
-, leader of. *See* O'Connor, Dermott.
-, offer to retire, 299.
-, have departed to their own country, 320, 379.
-, will never more be trusted, 251.
-, all support Donnell McCarthy, 157.
-, desire Tyrone to attack Kinsale, 159.
-, Florence McCarthy fears being set upon by, 162, 179.
-, declare that they will stop the passage of the Lord President, 184, 244.
-, are very much animated, 186.
-, have been frustrated in their hopes, 198.
-, submission of, 198, 241, 242, 244, 337, 388.
-, castles surrendered by or taken from, 242, 243; *and see* Kerry, castles in.
-, cannot keep long together, 243.
-, begin to stagger and to be of wavering humours, 243.
-, division and distrust amongst, 243, 244, 319, 320, 324, 363, 401.
-, Carew means to burn their harvest, 244, 369.
-, are hidden in their fastnesses, 245.
-, castle taken by, 247.
-, messengers robbed by, to get intelligences, 249.
-, power of the priests over, 250.
-, divers of the principal, taken by O'Connor, 250, 251; *and see* Fitzgerald, James Fitz Thomas.
-, chief fastness of. *See* Connello.
-, many of, wish to be protected, not for duty but to shun the charge they are at, 257.

Munster, rebels in—*cont.*

-, the result of the Pope's bull on, 257.
-, men from Leinster with, 257.
-, the position of their whole force, 261.
-, belief that the cause of, would perish if James Fitz Thomas were delivered to the English, 262.
-, distrust between O'Connor's bonnaughts and, 264, 265, 320.
-, none of any quality but hath his pledge in the Queen's hands, 265.
-, expected great things from Essex's arrival, 298.
-, the Queen's army is grown fearful to, 320.
-, Florence McCarthy's dealings with, 321.
-, murders committed by, 322, 323.
-, unless help comes, their speedy confusion must ensue, 323.
-, will soon be no better than woodkern, 324.
-, fear of an increase of, 359.
-, many of, are obstinate and notorious, 360.
-, no pardon for, to pass without the Lord President's approbation, 361.
-, slaying of, 363, 369, 379.
-, a convenient time for, to undo the country, 372.
-, not above 2,000 left, 379.
-, were masters of the field at Carew's arrival, 389.
-, can hardly be conquered by the sword alone, 390.
-, must have a Geraldine for their chief, 390.
-, advice concerning the treatment of, 400-403.
-, rivalry amongst, 401.
-, aid given to, by the towns, 402, 403.
-, are dismayed and weakened, 434.
-, numbers of, slain, and arms of, taken, 436.
-, plan for stopping a fresh rebellion of, 451.
-, are on the borders of Tipperary, 494.
-, victuals in, reports on the state of, alluded to, 383.
- Munster, Tyrone's proceedings in. *See* Tyrone.
-, Tyrone hopes for Spanish forces to meet him in, 6.
-, advertisements concerning, sent to the Lords Justices, 16.
-, the President should be hastened to, 17.
-, the rebels have not done much in, 21.

Munster—cont.

-, the incursion of the Northern rebels into, has done the Queen more service than hurt, 23.
-, "to force famine in," the best way of stopping the rebellion, 24, 244.
-, the people of, "begin to curse Tyrone," 39.
-, Tyrone's departure from, 41.
-, course of justice in, put to silence by the rebellion, 47.
-, Florence McCarthy appointed Governor of, by Tyrone, 48.
-, suggestions for putting down the rebellion in, 50.
-, reports from, concerning Florence McCarthy, 55.
-, the President goes into, 83, 108, 109.
-, good success in, hoped for, 83.
-, is now well provided for, 107, 108.
-, confusion in, never greater than when Carew arrived, 128, 339.
-, the Chief Lords in, are only in "personal show" subjects, 128.
-, power of the priests in, 129.
-, Florence McCarthy may soon be the strongest traitor in, 129.
-, Lord Thomond's company of foot removed from, 130.
-, the present lack of a Chief Justice in, 130.
-, assistance given by Sir Nicholas Walsh in the affairs of, 130.
-, many unmet causes and suits sent to England from, 130.
-, staggering and uncertain humours of the traitors of, 131.
-, Sir Henry Power gives an account of his proceedings in, 131.
-, breaking of the cessation in, 132.
-, garrisons placed in, 132.
-, Florence McCarthy's proceedings in, 132, 133, 244, 248, 249.
-, the lands of the rebels in, ordered to be wasted, 133.
-, Power leaves it in far better terms than he found it, 133.
-, absurdities committed during the Earl of Ormonde's journey into, 133.
-, Charles McCarthy much esteemed in, 142.
-, ports in, which must be supported, 142.
-, inhabitants of, to be made to bear the charges of their defence, 143.
-, Lord Thomond's company to be paid in, 143, 232.
-, if Spanish forces come to, the towns will be no less dangerous than the woods, 146.
-, great hope of quiet in, 148.
-, those commanding in, have given small help to Florence McCarthy, 154.

Munster—cont.

-, importance of the country of Desmond to the safety of, 157, 160.
-, Florence McCarthy undertakes to do good service in, 160.
-, whole countries of rebels in, 162.
-, unserviceable recruits sent to, 184.
-, the strangers (rebels) are quite gone out of, 186.
-, Spanish invasion of, feared, 187, 249, 321, 442.
-, affairs in, have been well and wisely handled, 198.
-, barbarous, suspicious people of, 199.
-, no news lately received at Dublin from, 205.
-, good service done in, 219.
-, multitude of troubles in, 231.
-, remainder of lead in, 232.
-, Essex's journey into, alluded to, 233.
-, the Lord President's proceedings in, 241.
-, workmen and gunners needed in, 242.
-, passages between the towns of, cleared, 242, 244, 249.
-, the Connaught men are the strength of the rebellion in, 243, 244, 251.
-, coasts of, freed of Irish pirates, 245.
-, nothing has proceeded ill in, during Carew's government, save the loss of Cahir, 247.
-, swarms with straggling rebels, who rob the messengers, 249.
-, the "yoke" of the priests, said to be the poison of the rebellion in, 250.
-, Justice Gould writes on affairs in, 257.
-, settling of, by Carew, 257, 389, 390.
-, disappointment of Carew's hopes in, 260.
-, ill-success of the plot in, to take James Fitz Thomas, 260.
-, Lord Bourke prays for the same employment in, that his brother had, 279 (2).
-, the reduction of, is hopeless without young Desmond, 263.
-, the gentlemen of, know not what course to take, 264.
-, O'Donnell penetrates to the borders of, 265.
-, the Lord President has had good success in, 289.
-, passage of the Leinster rebels into, should be stopped, 294.
-, persons driven into, 298.
-, an agent of Tyrone in, 302.
-, levies made upon, by Tyrone, 311.
-, Dermond O'Connor leaves, 314, 379.
-, infants should not be taken as pledges in, whose fathers "no whit regard them," 318.
-, the Lord President's expedition through, 316, 317, 318, 319, 361, 366, 367, 368.

Munster—*cont.*

-, captains absent from their charge in, 322, 359.
-, Carew hopes that God may commiserate the distress of, 323.
-, charity to the English subjects in, 323.
-, proceedings in, enquiries concerning, 343.
-, the case of, depends upon the dealings with young James of Desmond, 343.
-, a good example in, might bring other parts to serve her Majesty, 344.
-, hopes of reducing to conformity, 359, 362, 363, 379, 434, 442.
-, the harvest in, must be "attended," 360, 361.
-, a new report of the landing of Spaniards in, 360, 361, 368.
-, fears of a fresh rebellion in, 361.
-, Carew prays to be believed concerning, 362.
-, opinion or report that the neck of the war in, is broken, 363, 537.
-, Florence McCarthy is the main difficulty in the settlement of, 368, 443.
-, chiefest men of distrust amongst, 372; and see under rebels of, above.
-, Burke and Tyrrell expected to advance again into, 388.
-, improvement in, since Carew's arrival, 389, 390.
-, advice concerning the settling of, 400-403.
-, signories and undertakers in, 401, 402.
-, the old undertakers in, might replant themselves, 438.
-, the passages between Ulster and, should be stopped, 451.
-, "well prospering" of the service in, 453.
-, the best men of, will serve young Desmond, 457.
-, dead pays allowed in, 477.
-, the White Knight the most wise and valiant man in, 485.
-, the gentlemen of, flock to the young Earl of Desmond, 487.
-, the Earl of Desmond in. See Desmond, James, Earl of.
-, Tyrone hopes to make fresh revolts in, 491.
-, may shortly be brought to quietness, unless there is a foreign invasion, 494.
-, concealed bonds in, 496.
-, wasted by the last summer's war, 498.
-, the English Government's especial care of, 518.
-, must spare some men, if the army be decreased, 518.

Muntan, the, a castle called, in co. Cork, 116.

Muskerriureke, co. Cork, letter from, 22.

Muskerry, co. Cork, 368.

....., Lord of. See McCarthy, Cormack McDermott.

....., the McCarthys of. See McCarthys, the.

....., Tyrone goes into, 14, 18, 21, 43, 70.

....., supposed agreement of, with Tyrone, 20.

....., is a very wooded country, 21.

....., a rhymor of. See O'Downin.

....., Tyrone sends for the horse and horsemen, left in, 123.

....., Charles McCarthy's influence in, 142.

....., O'Neill's buonies in, 155.

....., chieftains of, are to be kept in quietness, 241.

....., forces to be put into the borders of, 361.

....., contention for the lordship of, 389.

Mustard, value of, to the troops, 347.

Muster-Master, the, a letter to be sent to, 346.

Musters, Surveyor General of. See Birkenshawe, Ralph.

....., commissaries of the, enumerated, 81; and see under the several provinces and garrisons.

....., appointment and discharge of, 81.

....., for Newry and Carlingford. See Bird, Henry.

....., superfluous number of, 148.

....., statement required from, 203.

....., weekly certificates by, 203.

....., dishonesty, corruption or overawing of, 350, 504, 516.

....., have declared that they dare not certify deficiencies, 350.

....., the Lord Deputy has ordered, to acquaint him with everything, 350.

....., Cecil complains that they do not send "the true list and state of the army" to him, 485.

....., a principal, appointed in Munster, 442.

....., gentlemen of the country to be joined with, 505.

....., Comptroller of, letter to be sent to, 346.

....., strict orders devised by and followed, 504.

....., officers of, yearly charge of, 423.

Musters, certificates of, sent to England, 498.

....., abuses in, 27, 64, 504.

....., taking of, 173, 203, 309, 332, 350, 504.

....., an account of, to be rendered, 404.

....., the Lord Deputy's proceedings touching, 520.

Mychell, Mr., Lord Mountjoy's servant. 446.

Myough, John, grants to, 500.

N

- Naas, the, co. Kildare, 109, 136.
 letters dated from, 349, 353, 428.
 Tyrone has sworn that he will go to, 7.
 villages about, burned by the rebels, 39.
 provisions to be sent to, 115.
 preyed by the rebels, 302.
 the Lord Deputy goes to, 394, 397.
 forces sent to, or at, 448, 472, 522.
 the Earl of Ormonde at, 474, 520.
 Nangle, Father [Peter], a friar, 63, 354.
 nephew of. *See* Shelton.
 Nantwich, co. Chester, letter dated at, 330.
 Napper, Sir Robert, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, wardship granted to, 73, 74.
 proposed resignation of, 447.
 grant to, 501.
 his place asked for, when void, 537.
 Narrow Water [castle of the], co. Down, Commissary of Musters at. *See* Bird, Henry.
 Navan, co. Meath, letter dated at, 31.
 Navy, the Queen's, rumoured preparation of, 139.
 Neagh, Lough. *See* Sydney, Lough.
 Neale Garve. *See* O'Donnell.
 Neill Naygallagh, ancestor of the O'Neills, 478.
 sons of. *See* O'Neill, Eoghan, and Connell.
 Ne Longe, Tibbot. *See* Burke, Tibbot Ne Longe.
 Neston or Nesson, co. Chester, troops shipped from, 200.
 letter dated at, 458.
 Newcastle, on Lough Foyle, O'Dogherty's house, taken by the Queen's forces, 192, 209.
 Newcomen, Robert, Commissary of victuals for Leinster, writes concerning the victualing, 271, 337.
 offer of, to set up a brew-house at Lough Foyle, 348.
 invoice signed by, 394.
 has perfected his books, 398.
 is to declare his accounts at Dublin, 481.
 setting up of a brewhouse by, 455.
 discharge of, regretted, 482.
 Newfoundland, fish from, 418.
 Newry or the Newry, co. Down, 119, 190, 467, 511, 526.
 paymaster at. *See* Dobb, John.
 Governor of. *See* Bagenall, Sir Samuel.
 Commissary of Musters at. *See* Bird, Henry.
 garrison of, 172, 189, 190, 205, 226, 227, 438.
 serjeant-major of. *See* Blany, Captain Edward.
 service done by, 25, 148, 300, 352, 490.
 weekly certificates concerning, 203.
 apparel needed for, 207.
 victuals for, 227, 271.
 letters dated at, 189, 207.
 a pass near. *See* Moyerie, the.
 munition at, or sent to, 37, 478.
 McDonnell is drawn down to, 57.
 the Lord Deputy and his forces going to or at, 61, 67, 168, 169, 177, 180, 189, 192, 203, 205, 219, 227.
 kern in, spies of Bagenall's, 172.
 Sir Henry Daver's forces sent to, 510.
 the Lord Deputy makes an excursion from, 188, 190.
 Sir Francis Stafford desires the reversion of the command at, 210, 211.
 the Earl of Southampton going to, 225.
 the town in great part burnt, by a woman brewing aqua vite, 226.
 Tyrone's camp near, letters dated at, 240 (2).
 the way between Lough Foyle and, should be cleared, 253.
 munition sent from and remaining at, estimate of, 256.
 a fort to be built halfway between Armagh and, 351, 523.
 victuals and munition to be sent to, 394, 452.
 transportation of victuals from, 423.
 the Lord Deputy's advance to, 421, 425, 448, 452, 461, 489, 521.
 stopped by the weather, 453, 459, 462, 469, 471.
 victuals at, 468, 490, 491.
 magazine at, 481.
 camp beyond, 523, 534; and *see* Carrickbane.
 letters dated at, 512, 522.
 a pass near. *See* Moyerie, the.
 Sir Samuel Bagenall at, 530.
 the Lord Deputy means to fortify between Armagh and, 523.
 a place halfway between Dundalk and. *See* Four Mile Water, the.

Newton, near Strabane, Tyrone at, 205, 227.
 Newton, John, grant to, 501.
 Nonsuch [palace of], co. Surrey, letters written from, 343, 345.
, letter received at, 354.
 Nore, the river, 396.
 Norreys, Sir John, former Deputy of Ireland, 271.
, note of allowances made to, 117.
, an ancient follower of. *See* Cottesmore.
, service under, 321, 379.
, Sir Thomas, late President of Munster, 399, 433.
, an old servant of. *See* Arthur, Patrick.
 Northcott or Norcott, Mr., son [in-law ?] and deputy of Hugh Cuffe, 186.
, as Commissary of Musters in Munster, 442.
 Northon, Mr., at Bristol, 444.
 Nott, Master, recommended to Cecil, 255.
 Nottingham, Charles Howard, Earl of, Lord High Admiral of England, letters of, alluded to, 103.
, abusive speeches against, 283.
, requests to, 353, 354, 389.
, an old ship said to be the property of, 411.
 Nowell, Dr. [Alexander, Dean of St. Paul's], the young Earl of Desmond lodges with, 450.
 Nugent, Ellen, grant to, 500.
, Richard, son of William, 63 (2), 125, 354.
, mother of, 354.
, Richard, 429.
, William [brother of Lord Delvin], 63.
, rebellion of, in Lord Grey's time, 63.
, son of, with the rebels. *See* Nugent, Richard.
, one, promises to kill John McThomas Fitzgerald, 248.
, fails, and is hanged, 248.
 Nutter, Serjeant, 13, 14.

O

Oatlands, Surrey, letters, &c., received at, 365, 377, 389, 394, 398, 457.
, letter dated at, 416.
 O'Boyle, a chieftain under O'Donnell, 478.
, a near kinsman of Maguire, 478.
 O'Boyle's country [co. Donegal], 41.
 O'Brien, Teig, brother of the Earl of Thomond, imprisoned by the Earl, 111.
, has submitted simply to her Majesty's mercy, 324.
, Sir Tirlogh, grants to, 500.
, Tirlogh, grant to, 500.

O'Briens or Bryans, the, a castle of. *See* Ballytarsny.
 O'Byrne, Cahir, letter from, 128.
, sends intelligence to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 128.
, Edye, grant to, 500.
, Feagh McHugh ("Faffmackeue"), 310.
, sons of, Tyrone writes to, concerning the Earl of Ormonde, 123.
, in county Wexford, 148.
, Ormonde is to parley with, 422.
, protection granted to, by Ormonde, 472.
, country of. *See* O'Byrne's country.
, Phelim McFeagh, son of Feagh McHugh, 128.
, wishes to keep the Earl of Ormonde in Leinster, 127.
, wife of, says she is expecting Ormonde very shortly, 127.
, his house, 128.
, protection granted to, 449, 474.
, followers of, 449.
, Redmond McFeagh, son of Feagh McHugh, engagement by, to Onie McRory, 238.
, one, cruelty to, 298.
 O'Byrnes, the, of Leinster, are burning about the Naas, 39.
, rebellion of, 298.
 O'Byrne's or Feagh McHugh's country, 127; and *see* Ranelagh, the.
, Sir Henry Harrington's defeat in, alluded to, 60.
, proposal for prosecuting the rebels in, 136.
, Capt. Lee asks for the Seneschal's place in, 136.
, cattle captured in, 336.
 O'Cahan, and his forces, to be sent to Lough Foyle, 62.
, is foster brother to Sir Arthur O'Neill, 92.
, McSorley will seek to cut off, 119.
, some good killing between McSorley and, 122.
, has lain in wait for Sir Arthur O'Neill, 214.
, near the Derry, 266.
, fears a garrison being placed at the Bann, 306.
, men from, with Tyrone, 518.
, brother of, 403, 481.
 O'Cahan, the, a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.
 O'Cahans, the, 104.
 O'Cahan's country, co. Londonderry, 40, 334, 384, 479.
, spoiling of, by the English forces, 206, 267, 408.

- O'Callaghan, Connor, grant to, 501.
, Owen, nephew to Lord Barry, leaders killed by, 39.
- O'Callaghan, lord of his country and chief of his name, has submitted to Sir George Carew, 145.
, only in personal show a subject, 128.
- O'Callaghans, the, many of, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
- O'Carroll, Sir Charles, 358.
, slain by the rebels, 307, 322, 335.
, money due to, 337, 339.
, company of, 331.
, Lady, widow of Sir Charles, 335, 336, 337, 339.
, brother of. *See* McCoghlan, Sir John.
, Mulroney, 451.
, has killed fifty of the enemy, 330.
, foot soldiers of, 452.
- O'Carrolls, the, quarrel amongst, for the lordship of their country, 322.
- O'Connell, Owen, grant to, 500.
- O'Connor, Brian McCalloagh, the O'Connors ruled by, 466.
, Cahir McTeig, letters sent to, 302.
, desired by Tyrone to enlarge John More, 302.
, Callough, overthrow of, alluded to, 237.
, Carberry, friendship of, for Florence McCarthy, 157.
, Dermond, Dermott or Derby, head of the Connaught rebels, 43.
, married the old Earl of Desmond's daughter, 43.
, has a pension out of Muskerry, 43.
, castle held by, 51.
, has a thousand northern rebels under his command, 70, 116.
, is with Florence McCarthy, 112.
, his fight with the Queen's forces in Carberry, 113, 117, 161.
, is thanked by Tyrone for killing Lord Burke and his brother, 123.
, Florence McCarthy's buonies are at the command of, 152.
, Florence fears being dispossessed by means of, 154, 155, 159.
, has taken bonnaughts to James FitzThomas, 155.
, sends to Florence to speak with him, 157.
, pledges or prisoners held by, 159, 248, 250, 261, 264, 368, 371, 492.
, summons Florence McCarthy to join him, and on refusal threatens to dispossess him, 160.
, delivers up a pledge, 162.
- O'Connor, Dermond—*cont.*
, is still with the Munster rebels, 186, 243.
, hopes that he will give up James McThomas, 199.
, was little better than a kern, before the war, 243.
, meeting of, with Florence McCarthy, 248.
, has taken an oath [to proceed against James McThomas], 248, 249.
, capture of James FitzThomas (Desmond) by, 250, 256, 371, 439.
, difficulties of Carew with, to persuade him him to act, 251.
, plan of, for satisfying his men, regarding the seizure of James FitzThomas, 261.
, sends word to Carew to come and receive FitzThomas, 261.
, his scheme frustrated by his own people, 261, 268.
, had not told his men that he meant to deliver FitzThomas to the English, 262.
, Tyrone is to decide between James FitzThomas and, 262.
, grants and promises to, 262.
, his over-much secrecy has spoiled the plot, 263.
, will only be kept true by his brother-in-law's [James of Desmond's], enlargement and by reward, 263, 264.
, is senseless of duty or affection, 263.
, young Desmond should write to, persuading him to help in his restitution, 263, 264.
, James FitzThomas may be slain by means of, 265.
, quarrel of, with the Munster men, 265.
, some killing between Capt. Tyrrell and, 314.
, return of, into Connaught, 314, 324.
, is besieged in a castle in Limerick, but freed by Carew, 316.
, a castle given to, by Lord Thomond, to assure him to the State, 318.
, and young James of Desmond, 343.
, will submit if he may have pay for his men, 439.
, encouragement to be given to, 460.
, Tyrone dislikes the proceedings of, 492.
, complaints of other chiefs against, 494.
, his second brother slain, 113.
, followers or forces of, 113, 116, 117, 154, 161, 262, 343.
, offer to bring in, 439.
, killed, 113.

- O'Connor, Dermond—*cont.*
 buonies of, 154, 155, 157, 243, 262.
 foster-brothers of, 262.
 tenants of, 318.
 a priest of, 262.
 house of. *See* Castlelisen.
 Don [Sir Hugh], company of, men cast in, 507.
 Kerry, John, 375.
 persuaded to submit by his uncle, Florence McCarthy, 159, 373, 374.
 castle belonging to. *See* Carrigfoyle.
 prays to be received into favour, 244.
 submits and surrenders his castle, 318.
 Lady Margaret, wife of Dermond O'Connor, was to have delivered up James Fitz Thomas, 261.
 a dwelling place for, granted, 262.
 persuaded her husband to act against James Fitz Thomas, 263, 265.
 young Desmond should write to, 263.
 distrust of, 264.
 brother of. *See* Desmond, James.
 friends of, 263.
 foster-sister of, 265.
 Morrogh Oge, house of, 120.
 Mortogh McOwen, slain, 120.
 Roe. *See* McDermott.
 Sligo, Donogh, letter of, 446.
 agent going to, 63.
 "hollow-hearted" dealings of, 85.
 has sent help to O'Donnell, and undertakes to keep the Curlews, 215.
 conference with, 255.
 does not wish to continue in rebellion, 255.
 will join O'Donnell, 282.
 meets Tyrone and O'Donnell at Strabane, 266.
 draws into Connaught, 266, 289, 291.
 the town of Sligo is "in the very bosom of," 292.
 men to be brought in by, 439.
 is in the hands of O'Donnell, 446.
 professions of service by, to the Queen, 446.
 has assembled great forces, 466.
 O'Donnell claims lordship over, 478.
 taken prisoner by O'Donnell, 521.
 brother-in-law of. *See* Burke, Tibbot Ne Longe.
 men or forces of, 282.
 encamped near Lough Foyle, 266.
 skirmish with, 536.
- O'Connors or Connors, the, of Leinster, 104, 294, 302, 441, 466.
 burning and spoiling by, 39, 60, 238.
 prisoners in the hands of, 78.
 "the chiefest of," Tyrone writes to, 123.
 claims of, upon Offally, 124, 171, 438.
 Ormonde is to parley with, 422.
 protection granted to, 472.
 meeting of, 6.
 castles taken or attacked by, 6.
 O'Coyne, a follower of Sir Tirlagh O'Neill, 478.
 O'Crowly, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
 O'Dempsey, Davy, 234.
 Sir Terence, 303, 451.
 offer to suppress, 137.
 the Lord Deputy writes to, concerning his lending his castle to Ormonde, 149.
 desires a safe-conduct, 150.
 Ormonde is at his castle of Ballybrittas, 177, 181, 205.
 is believed to be revolted, 177, 205.
 will keep the passes of his country, 452.
 Mary wife of, 181.
 O'Dempseys, the, 294.
 O'Dogherty, Captain, horsemen of, 211.
 Sir John, 196, 404.
 depends upon the Scots of Argyle, 119.
 reported or believed to be come or coming in, 173, 455, 481, 484, 489.
 has betaken him to his guards, 174.
 castle of, taken by the Queen's forces, 192, 201, 209, 215.
 country of, wasted, 193, 201.
 interviews of, with Sir Henry Dockwra, 195, 199, 202, 535.
 has given pledges to O'Donnell and will be true to him, 195, 196, 199, 202.
 nothing further has been heard from, 196.
 his corn will be a great help to the garrison at Derry, 215.
 with Tyrone, 305.
 is to be left to "attend" the garrison at Lough Foyle, 306.
 Dockwra tries to intercept, but fails, 406.
 people of, gather their harvest, 408.
 relationship of, to Maguire, 478.
 persuaded by Neale Garve to come in, 520, 621.
 is not yet fully for her Majesty, 531.

O'Dogherty, Sir John—*cont.*

-, meeting of Dockwra with, 535.
-, demands of, 535.
-, followers of, 481, 535.
-, forces under, 455.
-, country of, co. Donegal, 41, 267, 407, 521, 536; and see Culmore, and Ellaugh.
-, spoiled by the Queen's forces, 209, 215, 266.
-, the island in, skirmish with the rebels at, 269, 270.
- O'Dogherty, the, is a chieftain under O'Donnell, 478.
- O'Donnell, Callogh or Calbach, grandfather of Neale Garve, 403, 447, 478.
-, sept of, 478.
-, mother of, 478.
-, son of, 478.
-, brother of. See Maguire, Sir Cowe Conaught.
-, Con (son of Hugh Roe), sons of, their countries, 41.
-, Hugh Duff, a competitor of Hugh Roe, 478.
-, sons of, 478.
-, Hugh Roe, *passim*.
-, letter from, 539.
-, has gone to join Tyrone in Munster, 7.
-, report that he is slain, 23.
-, is to "attend" the troops at Lough Foyle, 57, 62, 306.
-, is to take pledges of all the districts, 62.
-, plans of, for preventing the landing at Lough Foyle, 68, 82.
-, reported quarrel of, with other leaders, 86.
-, Tyrone hears from, 104, 365.
-, the Earl of Argyle sides with O'Dogherty against, 119.
-, supported in his rebellion by Spain, 124.
-, receives munition by Spanish ships, 125, 239.
-, many of good sort are willing to revolt from, 127.
-, is much "amazed" by the sending of troops to Lough Foyle, 127, 173.
-, is firm to Tyrone, 172.
-, forces sent to prey, fight with, 192.
-, his power over O'Dogherty, 192, 195, 196, 199, 202.
-, pledges held by, 195, 199.
-, a creature of, 195.
-, lies close to the Derry, or garrison of Lough Foyle, 196, 214, 256, 334, 335.
-, the passage between Tyrone and, should be stopped, 202.

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*

-, is too busy at home to look at Connaught, 214.
-, Tyrone is coming down to join, 214, 365.
-, has the cattle from the borders of Lough Foyle under his grip, 215.
-, the King of Spain sends letters and a go'd chain to, 239.
-, meetings of, with the "ambassadors" from the King of Spain, 254.
-, ambushes attempted by, on the garrison of Lough Foyle, 256, 266.
-, McWilliam offers to betray, 258.
-, resorts often to the Abbey of Donegal, 259.
-, may be brought into the castle of Killibeggs, 259.
-, has overrun all Connaught and Thomond, 260.
-, his incursion into Thomond and Clanrickarde, 265, 266, 289, 291, 305.
-, and the planting of Ballyshannon, 279, 280.
-, his chief magazine, on Lough Esk, 281.
-, plans for further prosecuting of, 282.
-, the forces in the North a grief to, 287.
-, his meeting with Tyrone and other chiefs at Strabane, 266.
-, has returned home with a great prey, 291, 305.
-, Lord Clanrickarde might have stopped his return, 292.
-, and the Burkes, 266, 292.
-, his escape from prison in Dublin, alluded to, 310.
-, announces the arrival of Spanish ships, 365.
-, and the McSwines, 383.
-, McSwine Ne Doe has revolted to, 433.
-, to be kept out of Connaught, 446.
-, returns home, 455.
-, McSwine demands a reward of, 456.
-, is not with Tyrone, 465.
-, has assembled forces to invade the Pale, 466.
-, has lost in Ulster, but usurped in Connaught, 478.
-, says that O'Connor Sligo ought to be under him, 478.
-, competitors of, 478, 479.
-, plans for subduing, 479.
-, "mekle harm" done to, 481.
-, goes into Connaught, but returns, 489, 521, 534.

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*

-, Neale Garve has revolted from, 520.
-, fights of, with Neale Garve, 520, 530, 535, 536.
-, takes O'Connor Sligo prisoner, 521.
-, charges Tyrone with many oversights, 521.
-, ward of, at Lifford, slain, 535.
-, so stricken by Neale Garve's coming in that he neither ate nor drank for three days, 535.
-, would hearken to a reasonable peace, 535.
-, hopes of sending, to Spain, 536.
-, and the Scots, 536.
-, would visit Florence McCarthy, but for the "strangers neighboured upon" his country, 539.
-, ancestors of, 478.
-, baronies of, 407.
-, boy of, captured, 215.
-, camp of, 266.
-, a captain of, slain, 536.
-, chieftains under, 478.
-, followers or forces of, 62, 305.
-, strength of, 282.
-, with Tyrone, 518.
-, killed, 209, 265, 305.
-, skirmishes with, 193, 196, 265, 266, 267, 334.
-, house of. *See* Lifford.
-, Scots hirelings under, 118.
-, his mother, Scot brother of, 536.
-, brother of. *See* Neale Garve, *below*.
-, a brother of, sent as a pledge to Spain, 173.
-, a brother of, reported to be shot, 330.
-, a brother of, slain, 530, 536.
-, Naughten, murdered by his nephew, Neale Garve, 521.
-, Neale Garve, Garrrough or Garvine, brother of Hugh Roe, 30, 92.
-, letter to, 447.
-, with Tyrone, 305.
-, is expected to come in, 380, 407.
-, demands of, and Sir Henry Dockwra's answers thereto, 408, 416.
-, last demands of, 447.
-, presents to, from Sir Henry Dockwra, 448.
-, has revolted from O'Donnell and come in, 484, 489, 518, 520, 530, 535.
-, is reported to have brought in Henry Ovington's head, 488.

O'Donnell, Neale Garve—*cont.*

-, has taken and garrisoned Castle Lifford, 490, 521, 530, 534, 535.
-, fights O'Donnell, 520, 530, 535, 536.
-, murders his uncle in a drunken fury, 521.
-, men slain by, 535.
-, country of, 408.
-, followers of, 447, 521.
-, horsemen of, carry off horses from Derry, 267.
-, father of, held O'Donnell's country, 92.
-, grandfather of. *See* O'Donnell, Callogh.
-, Rory, reducing of, 285.
-, a follower of Sir Tirlogh O'Neill, 478.
- O'Donnell, never any, went out of his country, leaving a powerful enemy behind him, 263.
- O'Donnell's country. *See* Tyroconnell.
- O'Donnells, the, will help against Tyrone, 119.
-, descent of, 478.
-, chieftains under, 478.
- O'Donogh's country, co. Cork, wasted by the Queen's forces, 182.
- O'Donovan [? Donnell], will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
- O'Donovan's country, co. Cork, spoiled and burned, 116.
- O'Doughty [? O'Dogherty], son of, 122.
- O'Downin, a rhymer of Muskerry, 71.
- O'Doyne, 451.
-, will keep the passes of his country, 452.
- O'Driscoll, Sir Finnin, 249.
-, son of, 178.
- O'Dwyre or O'Dwyer, Derby Fitz Philip, letter from, 378.
-, dispute between the Archbishop of Cashel and, 11, 376, 377, 378, 379, 495.
-, sheriff of his shire [Tipperary], 10, 379, 495.
-, has done good service against the rebels, 10, 165.
-, note of traitors slain and executed by, 165.
-, his defeat of John McThomas, 233.
-, orders given to, to aid Cahir Castle, 247.
-, attends the assizes at Clonmel, 376, 378.
-, is ordered to satisfy the Archbishop of Cashel's claims, 378, 379.
- O'Dwyre's country, co. Tipperary, 10, 23.
- O'Faylne, Teig, foster brother to Florence McCarthy's wife, 179.

- Offally or King's County, fort of. *See* Philips-town.
-, ancient English servitors in, 60.
-, wasted by the O'Connors, 60.
-, the rebels in, said to be by the ears amongst themselves, 86.
-, proceedings in, crossed by the Earl of Ormonde's capture, 114.
-, the Togher of. *See* Philips-town, the Togher at.
-, rebels of, skirmishes with, 114, 120, 338.
-, the O'Connors' claims on, 124, 171, 438.
-, proposals for prosecution of the rebels in, 136.
-, the Earl of Kildare and Sir Edward Herbert suggested for employment in, 136.
-, removal of the garrisons in, demanded by Onie McRory, 140.
-, Sir Edward Herbert's patrimony in, utterly wasted, 211.
-, the Earl of Essex's journey into, knights made during, 234.
-, Athlone is a key to, 287.
-, the Lord Deputy is going into, to spoil the rebels' corn, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335.
-, the Lord Deputy's journey into, 337, 338, 339, 344, 353, 360, 441, 524.
-, orderly and well-cared-for condition of, 338.
-, Sir Edward Herbert in command in, 433, 441, 507.
-, is now left to the English inhabitants, 438.
-, troops going into, 441.
-, Captains sent to or in, 474, 507.
-, troops in, strength of, 522.
- O'Flaherty, Morrogh Ny Moe, letter of, 299.
-, asks for a safe-conduct and promises not to molest the Lord Deputy, 299.
- O'Flaherties, the, ships captured and men murdered by, 446.
- O'Gallagher ("O'Gallehowse, O'Galcaire"), 232.
-, son of, 122.
-, his men, 282.
- O'Gonough or O'Gownough, McBrien, 437.
-, the Castle of Ballytarsny put into the charge of, 243.
- O'Hagan, Donogh Bradagh, followers of, slain, 468.
- O'Hagan, the, a follower of Sir Tirlogh O'Neill, 478.
- O'Hagans, the, followers of Tyrone, 193.
- O'Hanlon, Hugh, son of Phelim, 25.
-, Sir Hugh, married to Tyrone's sister, is of small power, 173.
-, trenches made by, to secure his country and castle, 190, 225.
-, Phelim, cattle taken from, 25.
- O'Hanlon, the, a chieftain under the O'Neills, 478.
- O'Hanlon's country, co. Armagh, the Lord Deputy in, 190.
- Ohraghan, Maurice, 461.
- O'Keefe, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
- O'Kelly, Brian, reported to be slain, 435.
-, Doghdalie, 409.
-, Hugh, slain, 437.
-, Teig, slain, 437.
- O'Kellys, the, 371.
-, go into Thomond, 289.
-, stop the passage to Athlone, 292, 293.
-, protection granted to, 396.
-, skirmish with, 409.
- Olderfleet, co. Antrim, 201.
- Old Head, castle of. *See* Kinsale.
- O'Magher. *See* O'Meagher.
- O'Mahon Carberry, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
-, Fin or Fenn, will help Florence McCarthy, 129.
-, his country, co. Cork, 116.
- Omalaughlin, son of, taken by the Dillons, 166.
- Omalaughlins, the, prey the Dillons' country, 167.
-, one of, slain, 167.
-, are grown very strong, 236.
-, stop the passages to Athlone, 292, 293.
-, their country, 287.
- O'Malley, Owen, slain, 52.
-, Teig, slain, 52.
- O'Malleys or Malleys, the, Florence McCarthy will kill as many as he can, 178.
-, ships captured, and men murdered by, 446, 447.
- O'Meagher's, O'Magher's or O'Maughter's country, co. Tipperary, 43, 388.
- O'Melan, wife of, 18.
- O'Molloy, 451.
-, will keep the passes of his country, 452.
- O'Molloys, the, lie near Athlone, 293.
- O'Molloy's country, King's County, 40.
- O'Moore, Brian, raised all the Moores to rebellion, 298.
-, Lysagh ("Liso"), McMorrogh, 115.
-, slain, 120.
-, Onie McRory. *See* McRory.
-, Onie or Owen McShane, appointed O'Moore, 395.
-, on the borders of Leix, 474.
-, Rory Oge, father of Onie McRory, 109.
-, killing of, alluded to, 237.

O'Moores or Moores, the, of Leix, rebellions of, 75, 298.

....., the Earl of Ormonde in the power of, 96.

....., will not spoil Ormonde's lands, 109.

....., their claim upon Leix, 124, 171, 438.

....., offer to suppress, 137.

....., false information given by, to Essex, 192.

....., burning and spoiling by, 238.

....., passage of, into Munster, should be stopped, 294.

....., a confederate of, 298.

....., release of certain of, obtained, 298.

....., dispersal of, after Onie McRory's death, 395.

O'Morghane, Ferren, 6.

O'Mulrian, daughter of, said to be the wife of Thomas Burke, 279.

O'Mulrians' country, cantred of Owghny, rebels in, burned, spoiled and killed, 243.

O'Neill, Art. *See* McBaron, Art.

....., Sir Arthur McTirlagh Lynagh, 40, 119, 423.

....., letter of, 29.

....., proposals of, for the reduction of Tyrone, 29, 30, 91, 92, 104.

....., escape of, from a surprise by Tyrone, 57.

....., in Tyrone's hands, 62.

....., has escaped from Tyrone, 63.

....., has married the sister of Coonaught Maguire, 92.

....., and Neale Garve, 92, 407.

....., is better beloved than Tyrone himself, 103.

....., list of men whom he offers to bring in, 105.

....., remains in his fastness, 122.

....., willing disposition of, to revolt from Tyrone, 127.

....., belief that he will join the Queen's forces, 173, 174, 177, 192.

....., attacked by Cormack McBaron, and reported to be slain, 192, 193, 209.

....., hope of good service to be done by, 174, 267.

....., desires to meet Sir Henry Dockwra, 195, 199.

....., comes to the Derry, 214, 221, 229.

....., desire of, that the Lord Deputy should advance, 227.

....., his loyalty, 229, 312.

....., his coming in, perplexes Tyrone, 255.

....., proceedings of, at Derry, 266, 267.

....., the Lord Deputy proposes to set up, against Tyrone, 300.

O'Neill, Sir Arthur McTirlagh Lynagh—*cont.*
....., sends a letter to the Lord Deputy, 310.

....., reported plot against, 311.

....., his claim to be the chief of the O'Neills, 312.

....., refuses Tyrone's "very large conditions," 331.

....., rebels coming in to, 334, 481.

....., is grown discontented, 380, 418, 518.

....., is at Dunalong, 380.

....., is to be sent to Dublin, 381, 418.

....., his position and complaints, 403.

....., the Queen is pleased to favour, 404.

....., illness of, 407, 483.

....., his holding of co. Tyrone, 408.

....., report that he is to be made Earl of Tyrone, 412.

....., demands addressed to, 447.

....., intelligence given by, 456.

....., belief in the fidelity of, 456.

....., is given to drunkenness, 456.

....., death of, 484, 520.

....., caused by immoderate drinking, 484, 536.

....., was a very dull fellow, 484.

....., castle of. *See* Dunalong.

....., his country, 119.

....., men or followers of, 214, 266, 267, 456.

....., few have come in with him, but the rest will follow, 221.

....., skirmish of, with O'Donnell's men, 266.

....., quarrel of, with the garrison at Dunalong, 380, 381.

....., messengers of, 92, 310.

....., wife of, sister of Maguire, 456, 478.

....., father of. *See* O'Neill, Sir Tirlagh Lynagh.

....., sons of, 456.

....., son of, clothing for, 449.

....., grandfather of, 312.

....., sister of, mother to the Clannonnells, 92.

....., sister of, wife of Tirlagh McHenry, 92.

....., foster-father of, clothing for, 449.

....., foster-brother to. *See* O'Cahan.

....., foster-brother of, slain, 266.

....., Art Oge, only son of Cormack McBaron, taken prisoner, 530.

....., Brian, elder brother of Tyrone, slain by Tirlagh Lynagh O'Neill, 119.

....., Con Baccagh or Bacco, father of Shane [and of Mathew], grandfather of the Earl of Tyrone, 418.

....., rebellion and overthrow of, 312.

O'Neill—*cont.*

-, Con, base son of Tyrone, apprehended by his father, 459.
-, Con Fitz John, son of Shane, 118, 119, 478.
-, , married Maguire's sister, 478.
-, Cormack, credence to be given to, 448.
-, Cormack, brother of the Earl of Tyrone. *See* McBaron.
-, Eoghan (*a quo* Tyreowyn) son of Neill Naygyallagh (*q.v.*) founder of the house of O'Neill, 478.
-, Henry, second son of the Earl of Tyrone, sent to Spain as a pledge, 122, 123, 128, 148, 254.
-, , is probably sent only for education's sake, 127.
-, , attendants sent with, 267.
-, Henry Oge [McHenry McShane]. *See* McShane.
-, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. *See* Tyrone.
-, Hugh McNeill More, father of Owen, 310.
-, , conduct of, in Sir Henry Sidney's time, 312.
-, , did not claim O'Neillship but was content with a lesser title [Lord of the Fews], 312.
-, Hugh, son of Shane, hanged by Tyrone, 118, 119.
-, the Lady Margaret, daughter of Tyrone. *See* Butler, Richard, wife of.
-, Mistress Mary, daughter of Tyrone, sends messages to her sister, 239.
-, Slought Art, stands off from Tyrone, 531.
-, Neale McHugh, 119.
-, Owen McHugh McNeill More, articles by, 309, 312.
-, , alluded to, 412, 414.
-, , conference of, with the Lord Deputy, 309, 310.
-, , persons accused by, 310, 311, 313.
-, , claims and rights of, 312, 412.
-, , discouragement of, 412.
-, , followers and friends of, 412.
-, , father of. *See* O'Neill, Hugh McNeill More.
-, , grandfather of [Neill More O'Neill], 312.
-, Shane or John [son of Con Baccagh], killed Tyrone's father, 118, 119.
-, , overthrow of, 312.
-, , grandson of. *See* Maguire.
-, , sons of, 118, 119, 478; and *see* O'Neill, Hugh, Henry, and Con.
-, Sir Tirlogh Lynagh, "the last O'Neill" (Earl of Clanconnell), 30, 62, 312.
-, , Lords of the Fews deprived by, 91.
-, , Tyrone's brother killed by, 119.
-, , his service against Shane O'Neill, 312.

O'Neill, Sir Tirlogh Lynagh—*cont.*

-, , an old gown given to, by Sir John Perrott, 518.
-, , sept of, might easily be drawn against Tyrone, 478.
-, , followers of his name, 478.
-, , son of. *See* O'Neill, Sir Arthur.
-, Tirlogh McHenry. *See* McHenry.
-, Tirlogh McHenry McShane, sons of, 92.
- O'Neills, the, project for drawing in, 91, 103.
-, , the likeliest man of, should be chosen to revolt against Tyrone, 91.
-, , a principal one of, killed, 472.
-, , notes concerning, 477, 478.
-, , of Tyrone, or the great O'Neill, 477, 478.
-, , of Clandeboy, 477, 478.
-, , rise of, from Neill Naygyallagh and Eoghan, 478.
-, , chieftains under, 478.
-, , country of, spoiling of, 479.
- O'Neillship, claimants for, 312.
- O'Quinn, Calr., followers of, slain, 458.
- Ordnance in Ireland, the, Master of. *See* Bouchier, Sir George.
-, clerks or officers of, 10, 66, 277; and *see* Allen, John.
-, , accounts of, 76.
-, , mean entertainment of, 163.
-, , at Waterford, 3.
-, , cannoneers, reckonings of, 64.
-, , extraordinary allowances to, to cease, 275.
-, , seldom any use for, 275.
-, , engineers, allowances for, 275, 276.
-, , lieutenant of. *See* Davies, Captain John.
-, , surveyor of. *See* Ersfield, Anthony.
- Ordnance, arms or munition, in Ireland, lists, notes, or estimates of, 5, 37, 56, 66, 232, 256, 257, 364.
-, , alluded to, 34, 99, 130.
-, , magazines or stores of, arms furnished from, 381, 497.
-, , need of, 108, 253, 258; and *see* Victuals, &c., required.
-, , are very low, 34, 99.
-, , surplusage of, 333, 411.
-, , surveyor for, needed, 164.
-, , for Lough Foyle. *See* Lough Foyle.
-, , sold or issued to the rebels, 12, 183, 338.
-, , defalcations for, 66, 322, 351, 385, 497.
-, , sent to Ireland, 66, 69.
-, , abuses in relation to, 163.
-, , the Lord Deputy himself will provide for the issue of, 164.

- Ordinance, arms or munition—*cont.*
 merchants forbidden to sell or buy without warrant, on pain of death, 182.
 stores of, in the towns, to be given up to the Mayor, 183.
 the merchants claim the right to sell, by their charters, 183.
 old and unserviceable, mountures for, 242.
 waste of, Commissioners are to enquire into, 275.
 provision of, in England, should be registered, 296.
 powder sent to the Irish in beer barrels, 296.
 proportion of pikes and culivers asked for, 341.
 allowances of powder, less than in the Low Countries, 351.
 cannon and culverin to be sent to Clonmel, 369.
 provision of arms from the Captain's purse, "a thing intolerable," 381.
 taken out of a Dutch ship, 384.
 arrival of, at Cork, 385.
 captured from the rebels, 407, 436, 472.
 powder, arms, &c., proclamation concerning, 450.
 tools for fortifications, to be sent to Dundalk, 471.
 O'Reilly, daughter of, grandmother of Maguire, 478, 479.
 Edmund, or "the old," 420.
 has gone to Tyrone, 466.
 is to continue O'Reilly during his life, 365.
 Capt. Hugh, gallant conduct of, 437.
 Irish company of, 507.
 Mulmorey McPrior, 466.
 Owen, the expectant successor of the old O'Reilly, 420.
 Owen McHugh Connolough, 365.
 Philip, sept of, 479.
 the Prior, sept of, 479.
 Tirlough McShane, skirmish with, 306, 307.
 O'Reillys, the, dispute amongst, 365.
 Clan Shane and Clan Owen, 365.
 the two strongest septs of, 479.
 came to the Moyerie too late for the skirmish, 523.
 O'Reilly's country, co. Cavan, 478, 479.
 Ormonde, barony of, or the Earl of Ormonde's country, safety of, provided for, 97.
 gentlemen of, are wavering, 101.
 Athlone is a key to, 287.
 Burke and Tyrrell in, 383.
 Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas [Butler], Earl of, Lord Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland, *passim*.
 letters of, 10, 12, 43, 55, 75, 90, 110, 139, 237, 238, 241, 314, 315, 354, 356 (2), 376, 428, 448, 465, 474, 475.
 alluded to, 109, 353, 464.
 letters to, 17, 44, 122, 186, 187, 240, 256, 327, 353, 355, 360 (2), 377, 378.
 alluded to, 32, 125, 315, 358.
 certificate of, 522.
 commission from, 449.
 declaration of, 238.
 orders of, mentioned, 10, 11, 43.
 pledges given by, 237, 240, 255, 299, 300, 355, 356.
 recovered, 377, 396, 426.
 protections granted by, 472, 474.
 recommendations by, 55.
 forces of. *See* Forces in Ireland.
 forces sent for by, 11.
 forces left with, in Leinster, 422, 426, 428, 433.
 list of, 423.
 sent to the Naas, 448, 472.
 to be sent to the Lord Deputy, 473.
 proceedings of, in Munster, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 39.
 lack of intelligence from, 9, 27, 31, 41, 45.
 prevented the meeting of Tyrone and Desmond at Holy Cross, 10.
 money borrowed by, 11.
 and the Archbishop of Cashel, 11, 12, 376, 377, 378, 495.
 at Cashel, 23.
 his truce with Tyrone alluded to, 25.
 has called out the best of the Leinster forces, 27, 32, 34, 36, 41.
 the Lord Deputy prays for information from, 32.
 seeks an engagement with Tyrone, 37.
 is at Limerick, to stop Tyrone's passage, 38, 70, 133.
 Tyrone has overpassed him, 41, 43, 133.
 is to send back his army to Leinster, 42, 45.
 burning and spoiling by, 44.
 is expected by the Lord Deputy, 46.
 is beginning to put garrisons in the castles, 50.

Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas, Earl of—*cont.*
 service done by, upon the
 White Knight, 51.
 the ceasing of his entertain-
 ments, 64.
 in Dublin, 73, 138.
 his capture and imprisonment
 by Onie McRory, 87, 88, 89, 90, 95, 96,
 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 109, 112, 114,
 115, 122, 123, 124, 133, 135, 138, 139,
 141, 147, 164, 165, 198, 294, 298, 352,
 374, 393, 394.
 his wariness and foresight, 88.
 may be passed over to Tyrone,
 88.
 his George taken from him,
 89.
 desires that there be no plot
 for his recovery by force, 90, 91, 98,
 108, 110, 124.
 cannot receive or send private
 messages, 91, 110, 137, 140, 171.
 the contingency of his death
 to be provided for, 97, 138.
 his argument with Father
 Archer, 100.
 Mountgarrett's sons wish to
 be revenged upon, 109.
 had not previously mistrusted
 the O'Moores, 109.
 his speeches to Onie McRory,
 109.
 reported release of, 111.
 his capture is a cross for the
 proceedings in Offally, 114.
 Tyrone is thankful that he is
 in the hands of true servants of God,
 122, 128, 170, 186.
 hopes of his speedy enlarge-
 ment, 122, 212.
 Tyrone urges that he should be
 treated well and sent to him, 123, 124,
 125, 127.
 treatment of, in captivity,
 124, 137, 171, 181.
 his loyalty, 124, 137, 299.
 his disaster may turn to good
 service to the Queen, 127.
 the taking of, has animated
 the traitors, 129.
 says that the Queen must
 yield to nothing, for his sake, that would
 touch her honour, 137, 171.
 the rebels know not what to
 do with him, 137, 138.
 is weak both in body and
 mind, 138.
 slanderous speeches against,
 punished, 138.
 articles presented to, 147.
 his enlargement promised but
 not performed, 145.
 at Sir Terence O'Dempsey's
 castle, 149, 177, 181, 205, 396.
 Florence McCarthy refuses
 to fight against, 159.

Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas, Earl of—*cont.*
 Carey's "hard courses" with,
 165.
 a gentlewoman sent as mes-
 senger to, by the Council. *See* Honora.
 is led from cabin to cabin in
 the woods, 168, 171.
 token given to, from Fenton,
 170, 171.
 messages to, from the Lord
 Deputy, 170, 171.
 the best of the Jesuits say he
 ought to be set at liberty, 177.
 is much weakened by his im-
 prisonment, 181, 254, 256.
 accused by Tyrone of using
 all means for the ruin of his country,
 187.
 negotiations for his enlarge-
 ment, 188.
 the schism amongst the priests
 may cause his deliverance, 189.
 report that he is to be set
 free, 208.
 writes to the Queen of the
 rebels' attempts to force him to join
 them, 237.
 threats to murder, 237, 241.
 sends papers to the Queen
 and Privy Council, 238.
 assures the Queen that "her
 old servant Lucas" can give her no
 more than his heart, which she has
 already, 238.
 his deliverance from McRory,
 238, 241, 251, 254, 255.
 on the state of Leinster, 239,
 241.
 Tyrone desires McRory to
 enlarge, 240.
 the Lord Deputy is going to
 meet, 254, 256, 354, 356.
 ransom of, 296.
 his enforced promises to the
 rebels, 299.
 compassion and reverence for,
 as an ancient servant of her Majesty,
 299.
 project to make him King of
 Ireland, 301.
 hears that the rebels have
 more hope of the Spaniards coming than
 ever before, 315.
 urges Florence McCarthy to
 submit, 315.
 receives assurances from the
 Queen of her affection to her "faithful
 Lucas," 327.
 news to be sent to, 344.
 forces delivered by, to the
 Lord Deputy, 354.
 is prayed by McRory to pre-
 vent the Lord Deputy's troops from
 burning the corn, 355.
 reminds McRory of his own
 burnings and spoils, 356.

Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas, Earl of—*cont.*
 and Piers Lacy, 358.
 requests to, for safe-conducts, 360.
 joins the Lord Deputy in his journey through Leix and Offally, 376, 394, 396.
 Derby O'Dwyer states his case to, 378.
 a former fight of, in Leix, alluded to, 394.
 submissive letters received by, 396.
 list given by, to the Lord Deputy, 396.
 the charge of Leinster committed to, in the Lord Deputy's absence, 422, 423, 426, 428, 472.
 the shires of the Pale are to attend with their "risings out," 423.
 prays for his nephew's enlargement, 428, 432.
 his cause with Lady Burgh, 428.
 assurance concerning, 439.
 is detained at Kilkenny by his wife's illness, 448, 464, 472.
 his absence causes matters in Leinster to languish, 452, 472.
 has summoned the gentlemen of Meath to defend their borders, 472.
 is expected at Dublin, 481.
 is on the southern borders of the Pale, 484.
 is at the Naas, 520.
 his wife. *See* Ormonde, Countess of.
 his daughter. *See* Butler, Lady Elizabeth.
 his brother. *See* Butler, Sir Edmund.
 his nephews, 428; *and see* Butler, Tibbott and Walter.
 his cousins or kinsmen, 101; *and see* Mountgarrett, Lord.
 a base son of, 396.
 his man, 314; *and see* Sherwood.
 his company or horsemen, 100, 101, 207, 354, 355, 448.
 are the famous cowards of Ireland, 139.
 followers, servants or tenants of, 90, 101, 109.
 captured or slain, 87, 88.
 rebels slain by, 165.
 castles of 10, 102, 103; *and see* Kilkenny.
 lands of, held from the Queen, 428.
 the O'Moores will not spoil, 109.
 are all wasted, 165.
 lands purchased by, list of, 165.
 country of. *See* Ormonde, barony of.

Ormonde and Ossory, Elizabeth [Butler], Countess of, 139, 237.
 letter of, 164.
 measures for the safety of, 88, 89, 96, 97, 102, 103.
 distress of, at her husband's capture, 88, 89, 102.
 has received a letter from the Earl, 98.
 begs Cecil's good offices for her husband, 164, 165.
 complains of Treasurer Carey's conduct towards her Lord, 165.
 gracious letters sent to, by the Queen, 238.
 Tyrone writes to, 238, 239.
 dangerous illness of, 448, 472.
 Ormonde, Earldom of, descent of, 432.
 O'Rourke, Brian Oge, base son of the late Sir Brian, 86, 292.
 burns and spoils Sir Theobald Dillon's houses and lands, 166.
 has undertaken to keep the Curlews against the Queen's forces, 215.
 McWilliam offers to betray, 258, 259.
 meets Tyrone and O'Donnell at Strabane, 266.
 draws into Connaught, 266, 291, 521.
 will join O'Donnell, 282.
 the fire between his brother Teig and, to be blown, 306.
 O'Connor Sligo hopes to bring in, 446.
 has assembled forces to invade the Pale, 466.
 married to Maguire's sister, 478.
 skirmish with, 536.
 his men, 282, 536.
 in camp near Lough Foyle, 266.
 killed, 305.
 Teig [legitimate son of Sir Brian], submission of, 285, 330, 439.
 quarrel of, with his brother [Brian], 306.
 offers to bring in a thousand men, 439.
 O'Rourke's country, co. Leitrim, 476. *And see* Bren y Roick.
 would be commanded by a garrison at Sligo, 287.
 spoiling of, 479.
 Orrell, Captain, 527, 529.
 Orrery, pension for James McThomas (Desmond), from, 48.
 Osborn, Sir Hewet, knighting of, by Essex, 234.
 [Sir Robert], knighting of, by Essex, 234.

Ossory, barony of, rebels from, 120.

....., debatable ground on the borders of, 124.

....., the army in, 354, 396.

....., the rebels drive their cattle into, 136.

....., the Lord Deputy goes into, 396.

Ossory, Bishop of [John Horsfall], scholar of, 428.

....., the Clan Harris of. *See* Clanharris.

Ostend, the present Lord Deputy [Mountjoy], formerly at, 283.

..... the then governor of. *See* Conway, Sir John.

O'Sullivan More [Owen], 249.

....., is a pledge or prisoner with O'Connor, 248, 368, 371, 372, 374, 492.

....., captured and committed to Dublin Castle, 409.

....., escape of, 492.

....., brother-in-law. *See* McCarthy, Florence.

....., Owen, 71.

O'Sullivans, both the [Dermott and Owen], support Florence McCarthy, 129, 178.

....., the, of Desmond, 154, 157.

....., are to arbitrate between Florence and Donnell McCarthy, 158.

O'Toole, Tibbott, killed, 85.

O'Tooles, the, are burning about the Naas, 39.

....., some of the chief, have come in, 86.

....., rebellion of, 298.

Ovid, quotation from, 376.

Oviedo, Mathias de, a Franciscan Friar, commissary general of the Friars of North Spain, and Archbishop of Dublin by the Pope's appointment, arrives in Ireland, 123, 124, 173, 226, 237, 239, 249.

....., is said to have brought much treasure and munition, 179.

....., meeting of, with Tyrone and O'Donnell, 254.

....., and the controversy between the chiefs of the McCarthys, 492, 493.

....., attendants upon, 173.

Ovington, Captain Henry. *See* Hovenden.

....., Piers, grant to, 500.

Owhny, cntred of, co. Limerick, 243.

Oxford, Christ Church at, student at, 283.

....., Merton College at, Warden of [Henry Saville], recommendation to, asked for, 258.

....., election to a place at, desired, 258.

....., Oriel College at, 258.

....., letter dated at, 258.

Oxford [Anne], Countess of, sister of the Earl of Salisbury, 283.

Oxfordshire, 332.

P

Padstow, a ship of, 141.

Paine, Margery, payment to, 449.

....., husband of, slain in the service, 449.

Pale, the English, backwardness and disloyalty in, 204, 206, 211, 448, 508, 510.

....., castles or wards in, 204, 206.

....., clergy of, have yielded "no one penny" for the wars, 286.

....., danger to, from the Earl of Tyrone, 45, 62.

....., defence of, 34, 206, 423, 501.

....., but weakly guarded, 3, 32, 42.

....., troops sent back for, by the Lord Deputy, 206.

....., offer of troops to be raised for, 236.

....., more troops needed for, 522.

....., forces of or in, 2, 32, 204, 228.

....., sent for by Ormonde, 11, 32.

....., to be drawn to Westmeath, 44.

....., enumerated, 206.

....., with the Lord Deputy, 213.

....., left under Ormonde, list of, 423.

....., companies of, in the heart of, 509, 510.

....., dispersed to the borders, 510.

....., general hosting in, 508.

....., law in, concerning recovery of goods from the Irish. repeal of, desired, 286.

....., lords or gentlemen of, petitions of, 236, 285, 302.

....., Tyrone's plans for drawing to him, 7, 77.

....., reconciled to the Church of Rome, 76.

....., many of, are now suing for pardons, 166.

....., the chiefest among, of English descent. *See* Darcy.

....., suspicious entertained of, on account of difference in religion, 236.

....., loyalty of, and slaying of rebels by, 237.

....., send messengers to Tyrone, 267.

....., agents sent by, to England, to complain, 301, 429. *And see* Barnewell, Sir Patrick; Howth, Lord.

Pale, the English, lords or gentlemen of—*cont.*
 are the worst subjects in Christendom, 301.
 would support the plan to make the Earl of Ormonde King of Ireland, 301.
 complaints or causes of, 302, 381, 393, 422, 429, 508, 510.
 heard by the Lord Deputy, 422, 426, 429.
 commission to receive and remedy, 423, 426.
 report that Fenton is gone to England to complain of, 303.
 attend the hearing before the Lord Deputy, 429.
 wilfulness of, 431.
 rebels of, 43, 45.
 slain, 237.
 some of, would make good rods to scourge the others, and after to be thrown in the fire themselves, 301.
 the hurt done by, is not great, 307, 335.
 spoiling by, 435.
 "risings" out of, orders sent concerning, 448, 449.
 sheriff in, diligence of, 204.
 sheriffs of, orders to, 510.
 Tyrone marches into the heart of, 6.
 libels or letters sent to, by Tyrone, 16, 77, 211.
 Tyrone may return through, 32, 38, 41.
 is growing to desolation, 39.
 Tyrone is going to the borders of, to attend the coming of the Lord Deputy, 62.
 plans for annoying, 63, 125, 220.
 the people of, formerly very conformable, 78.
 alliance of the priest Fitzsimmons in, 80.
 burning and spoiling in, by the rebels, 136, 203, 211, 212, 225, 228, 236, 238.
 the head of the "ringleader of all the spoiling" in, sent to the Lord Deputy, 149.
 countries of, are utterly destitute of victuals, 168.
 the Lord Deputy's army will have to retire into, if not provisioned, 168.
 the popish zeal of the people of, makes them fear to oppose the rebels, 204.
 the "staggering estate" of, 204.
 the Lord Deputy cannot further strengthen, without abandoning his Ulster service, 207.
 effect of the Popish bull in, 211.

Pale, the English—*cont.*
 the rebels have treated heretics and Catholics in, alike, 212.
 return of the Lord Deputy into, 212, 220.
 Captain Tyrrell sent into, by Tyrone, 225.
 would undoubtedly have revolted, if the Lough Foyle forces had miscarried, 226.
 risk to, from the Lord Deputy's absence, 227, 228.
 no more hurt done in, than many men in England sustain by accident or robbery, 223.
 the traitors who came into, have killed none, and have released their prisoners, 228.
 a declaration of the state of, and of the causes which have brought it to misery, 236.
 insolencies and disorders of soldiers in, 236.
 a renewal of the "composition" with, desired, 285.
 pardon of borderers on, remission of rents, and other things, asked for the ease of, 286.
 ruin of the churches in, 273.
 house of friars in the heart of. *See* Multifarnham.
 the soldiers at Athlone run into, 293.
 proposed invasion of, by Tyrone, 306.
 offer to bring creaghts into, 330.
 new men should first serve in, 341.
 the malice of Tirlogh McShane against, 353.
 a good inheritor in, 354.
 Onie McRory's burnings and spoilings in, 356.
 the people of, and the army, 382.
 lack of horse meat in, 415.
 the five shires of, asked to furnish lendings for the troops, 422.
 and to defend their country, 423, 472.
 left in Ormonde's charge during the Lord Deputy's absence, 423, 472.
 incursions of mountain rebels into, means for stopping, 448.
 Ormonde's absence from, 464.
 intended incursion of O'Donnell and O'Rourke into, 466.
 quiet in, 479.
 forces might be raised in, 507.
 hay and oats of, ordered to be stored in the garrisons, 500.
 preparations of the rebels for invading, 520.
 the Lord Deputy is within reach of supplies from, 521.

- Parma, the Duke of, and his army, in France, 283.
- Parrys, William, grant to, 500.
- Passage, the, of Waterford, 235.
- Patrick, Balthazar, payment to, 449.
- Paulistines, the Protestant clergy called, 295.
- Pelham, Sir William, former Lord Justice of Ireland, the time of, alluded to, 318.
- Pepper, Anthony, grant to, 500.
- Percival, Christopher, is to take over the magazine of victuals at Dublin, 481.
- Percy, Sir Charles, in command of the vanguard of the Lord Deputy's army, 191.
-, heads his regiment in a skirmish at the Moyerie, 467, 468, 473, 529.
- [Sir Joscelin], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
-, Sir Richard, letter of, 194.
-, , company of, 112.
-, , prays for payment of his entertainment, 194.
- Perrott, Sir John, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, the time of his government, alluded to, 78.
-, , allowances made to, 117, 511.
-, , the wardship of Cork bought up by, 235.
-, , gave himself a concordatum for giving away an old gown, 518.
- Peyton, Christopher, Auditor General for Ireland, letter of, 304.
-, , asks for the office of Auditor of the Wars, 305.
-, , charges against, 305.
-, , accounts signed by, 457.
-, , his man, 457.
- Phartullaghe, country and barony of, co. Westmeath, 466.
- Philips or Phillips, Capt. Thomas, letters of, 433, 533.
- Philipstown, King's County, fort of, or fort of Offally, 119, 120, 207, 306, 331, 338.
-, , constable of. *See* Moore, Sir Edward.
-, , lack of provisions at, 6, 43.
-, , intended attempt against, 6.
-, , victualling of, 96, 98, 271.
-, , accomplished, 125, 166, 227.
-, , good service done by, 228.
-, , the Togher or causeway at, re-building of, 98, 114, 306 (2).
-, , fight at, 114, 115, 120, 125.
-, , letter dated from, 114.
-, , the passage over, finished, 119.
- Piggott, Mr., letter sent by, 314.
- Pigott, Mr., of Leix, 72 (2).
- Pius Quintus*, [missal issued by], oaths taken upon, 151, 241.
- Plunket, Captain, absent from his charge, 200, 215.
-, , company of, men cast in, 507.
- Plutarch, "Francis," quoted, 39.
- Plymouth, co. Devon, 497.
- Pollaghbeg, co. Tipperary, 10.
- Pontevedra, in Galicia, soldier of, 175.
- Poole [co. Dorset?], letter dated at, 47.
- Pooley, Captain Sir John, absent from his charge, 200, 215.
-, , knighting of, by Essex, 234.
-, , restoration of, to his charge, 504.
- Poore or Poare. *See* Power.
- Pope, the (Clement VII.), 163.
-, , vicar apostolic of. *See* Heganus, Eugenius.
-, , agent sent from, 76.
-, , indulgence granted by, to those who aid Tyrone, 83.
-, , "true servants of," in Ireland, 122, 186, 402.
-, , a primate of Ireland consecrated by, 124.
-, , the people of Cork and other towns are revolted to, 134.
-, , bulls of excommunication from, 135, 250, 257.
-, , Sir Chris. Blount reported to be reconciled to, 209.
-, , his greatest pillars in Ireland, 390.
-, , legates of, power of, over the Irish people, 296.
-, , Pius V., his bull against Queen Elizabeth, mentioned, 77. *And see* *Pius Quintus* above.
- Pope, Mr., husband of Lady Wentworth, 332.
- Portasse [or breviary], an old, oaths to be taken on, 294.
- Port Culmore. *See* Culmore.
- Port na Holla, co. Mayo, 466.
- Portnahinch, Queen's County, English forces to meet at, 330.
- Portumna or Portdomno, co. Galway, 84.
- Post-horses, commissions for, should be granted simply for her Majesty's use, 340.
- Powell, Captain, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.
-, Mr., 74.
- Power, Poore or Poare, Anthony, grant to, 500.
-, Sir Henry, Commissioner for Munster, and commander of the forces there, letters of, 15, 131, 134.
-, , alluded to, 179.
-, , the ceasing of his entertainment, 10, 64.
-, , directions sent to, by Ormonde, 11, 44, 474.
-, , his fight with Maguire, 15, 18, 36.
-, , captures Maguire's "cornet" and sets it on his own castle, 16.
-, , is wounded, but not seriously, 16.

Power, Sir Henry—*cont.*
 at Shandon Castle, 19.
 parley of, with Florence McCarthy, 70, 71, 160.
 sends forces into Carberry, 116.
 men brought over to, 129.
 has delivered up his charge to the Lord President, 131, 134.
 gives an account of his proceedings in Munster, 132, 134.
 the state of the province at his first coming, 132.
 plot of, for seizing the castle of the Old Head, 133.
 has gone to his new charge in Leinster, 134, 141.
 the expedition planned by, is regretted by Sir George Carew, 144.
 explanations given to, by Florence McCarthy, 159.
 made Colonel-General of the forces in Leinster during the Lord Deputy's absence, 204, 207, 227.
 wounded at the taking of the Glin, 317.
 absent from his charge, 359.
 lieutenant of, 161.
 company of, 359, 361, 433.
 forces under, 433, 474, 533.
 and the fort of Leix, 451.
 when settled in Leix, will soon clear it, 533.
 John, Lord, letter of, 17.
 is only "in personal show" a subject, 128.
 cousin of. *See* Power, Thomas.
 his country, a faction of the rebels in, 132.
 John, 261, 316, 343 (?), 416, 442, 450.
 sent to make enquiries for young Desmond, 494.
 Richard, a castle in the custody of, 370.
 grant to, 500.
 Thomas, a cousin of Lord Power, submission of, 145.
 Capt. William, company bestowed on, 503.
 and his brother, left as pledges with O'Connor, 250.
 good service of, 264.
 Poynings Act, repeal of, alluded to, 78.
 Prestmell, Captain, 497.
 Price, Captain John, with the young Earl of Desmond, 450, 457, 460, 461, 470, 486, 495.
 letters of, 458, 461, 464, 470.
 had the hogs for his neighbours, at Cork, 486.
 recommendation of, 487, 488.
 takes letters to Cecil, 491.

Priests, Popish, Romish, massing or "Rome-running," ("Romish wolves,") Irish, trained in Spain, 402.
 advertisements sent by, to Fenton, 38, 520, 521; and *see* Jarkie.
 in Ireland, to be kept from those of the Pale who did not fight for their religion, 7.
 with the rebels, 13, 22.
 threats of excommunication by, 13, 17, 250.
 at mass in Dublin, 76.
 and the Earl of Ormonde, 124.
 power of, in Cork, 135.
 are made small account of, by Florence McCarthy, 152.
 faction and schism amongst, 189.
 have poisoned the minds of the dwellers in the Pale, 204.
 persuade the people against submitting, 250.
 have not yet declared themselves in the towns, 250.
 are forbidden to minister the sacrament to those who do not take part with Tyrone, 257.
 power of, over the minds of the people, 273.
 go to and fro as openly as if they were authorized clergy, 274.
 reasonable conditions (for the time) to be given to, 230.
 are the principal upholders of the rebellion, 250, 295.
 steps to be taken for their apprehension and suppression, 295, 296, 297.
 meeting place of, 296.
 livings "usurped" by, 297.
 sent to Rome and other places by Tyrone, to ask for aid, 301.
 reported plan of, to make Ormonde King of Ireland, 301.
 sent by Tyrone to seduce the people of Leinster, 382.
 sent to Spain, 388.
 and the young Earl of Desmond, 390.
 Prince Cardinal, the. *See* Austria.
 Privy Council of England, the, *passim*.
 letters to, 1, 10, 14, 15, 18, 22, 25, 31, 41, 66, 81, 91, 96, 100, 126, 128, 131, 146, 167, 173, 182, 185, 189, 194, 203, 216, 217, 223, 226, 230, 231, 235, 238, 241, 268, 316, 321, 322, 323, 349, 366, 383, 384, 386, 387, 392, 398, 411, 420, 425, 441, 444, 445, 454, 471, 482, 497, 512, 522.
 alluded to, 12, 45, 93, 210, 224, 241, 249, 265, 299, 319, 359, 366, 368, 389, 390, 430.

Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*

-, letters or orders of, alluded to, 69, 91, 99, 131, 182, 217, 268, 293, 306, 308, 323, 326, 329, 333, 348, 349, 350, 377, 381, 383, 384, 385, 389, 393, 398, 404, 423, 428, 456, 481, 497, 498, 499, 501, 504, 505, 510, 511, 512, 513.
-, certificates, &c., sent to, 386, 394, 445.
-, alluded to, 34, 99, 129, 130, 173, 421.
-, directions from, asked for, 80, 98.
-, letters or intelligences forwarded to, 25, 36, 43, 205, 239, 247, 294, 371, 418, 472.
-, lists of forces sent to, 423.
-, signed by, 464.
-, memorial to, on behalf of Treasurer Carey, 410.
-, minute of, 64.
-, money assigned by, for extraordinary, 246.
-, orders to, alluded to, 325.
-, petition to, from captains at Chester, 94.
-, alluded to, 278.
-, recommendations to, 25, 35, 81, 126, 131, 181, 216, 217, 223, 229, 230, 231, 235, 255, 286.
-, alluded to, 502.
-, report to, concerning victuals, 252.
-, requests to, 97, 217, 445, 446.
-, warrant of, alluded to, 399.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, concerning his taking over his charge, 1.
-, information sent to, concerning the rebels in Munster and proceedings against them, 10, 14, 15, 18, 31, 128, 241, 316, 321, 366, 337.
-, are prayed to afford favourable despatch to the agents from Cork, 19.
-, news sent to, of the Earl of Ormonde's capture, 23, 96, 100.
-, Sir Samuel Bagenall recommended to, 25, 35.
-, are prayed to send supplies, of money, victuals or munition, 31, 34, 35, 66, 67, 98, 129, 130, 174, 198, 246, 269, 321, 385, 393, 421, 422.
-, the Lord Deputy reports his proceedings to, 41, 66, 98, 266, 352, 362, 420, 522.
-, and Florence McCarthy, 55.
-, commissaries nominated by, 81.
-, have committed the government of Connaught to Irish lords, 84.
-, have sent instructions to treat with some of the O'Neills, 91.
-, are prayed to take order with Captain King, 129.
-, are asked to send Justice Saxey back, or to appoint another in his place, 130.

Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*

-, Lord Barry recommended to, 131.
-, Sir Henry Power gives an account to, of his proceedings in Munster, 131.
-, Lord Dunkellin writes to, concerning his charge in Connaught, 146.
-, the Council of Ireland write to, stating their proceedings in regard to Sir Henry Brouncker's allowances, 167.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra reports his arrival and proceedings to, 173, 194.
-, their care in sending victuals to Ireland, 180, 452, 490.
-, are prayed to supply more men, 198.
-, information sent to, concerning the Lord's Deputy's journey to the North, 203.
-, Sir Gaffrey Fenton recommended to, 216, 229.
-, the Lord Deputy writes to, of the need of an addition to the forces, 217.
-, are urged to settle a garrison at Armagh, 229.
-, the Earl of Ormonde announces his deliverance from Oue McRory to, 238.
-, have ordered Limerick Castle to be repaired, 246.
-, Sir Henry Dockwra writes to, of affairs in the North, 268, 454.
-, wish to know the state of the victuals, 269.
-, paper presented to, 271.
-, Owen McHugh's offers to, 312.
-, are prayed not to diminish the army in Ireland, till the work there be finished, 320.
-, Lord Burke complains to, of his poverty, 323.
-, the Lord Deputy prays them to consider the matter of extraordinary, 349.
-, are asked themselves to appoint what Captains they will have discharged, 350.
-, and the business of the Archbishop of Cashel, 378, 379.
-, and Allen Apsley's accounts, 383, 385.
-, their directions on behalf of Arthur Hyde, 384.
-, liberal contracts for victuals made by, 392.
-, a journal of the Lord Deputy's proceedings in Leix sent to, 394.
-, have ordered Carey to send over his ledger book, &c., 398.
-, Sir George Carey prays, that his accounts may be taken "according to equity and conscience," 410.

Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*

-, their resolution concerning Justice Saxey asked for, 411.
-, information sent to, concerning the troops at Chester, 411, 444, 445.
-, and the projected garrison at Armagh, 421, 522.
-, Lord Chancellor Loftus complains to, of the accusations against him, 425.
-, are prayed to give authority to William Jones as principal commissary in Munster, 442.
-, the Council of Ireland sends news to, from the camp, 471.
-, in relation to the commissaries, 480, 482.
-, Carew writes to, concerning supplies sent to Munster, 497.
-, are prayed to punish deserters, 498.
-, the Archbishop of Cashel has sent information to, against the citizens of Waterford, 498.
-, their orders concerning persons going to Spain, 498.
-, winter suits sent by, for the garrisons in Connaught, 499.
-, Mountjoy defends himself against the complaints of, 501-513, 516.
-, captains recommended by, 507.
-, have assured Mountjoy that the Queen is pleased with him, 515.
-, their many imputations against him, 516.
-, victuals contracted for, by, 523.
-, have recommended Sir John Bolles, 524.
- Privy Seal for the payment of the troops, to be amended, 176.
-, money to be granted "upon the remain of a," 345, 346.
- Pureell, Patrick, 346.
-, Thomas Fitz Piers, son of, 256.
- Pyne, Henry, constable of Moghelly Castle, 182, 433, 434.
-, letter of, 50.
-, letter to, 51.
-, on the proceedings of the rebels, 50, 51.
-, takes letters to England, 442, 443, 444.
-, recommended to Cecil, 442, 443.
-, has fortified his house, 443.
-, arrives at Bristol, 464.
-, acknowledgment by, 488.

Q

- Queen's County. *See* Leix.
-, Upper Ossory to be annexed to, 328.
- Queen's evil, the, person desiring to be cured of, 354.

R

- Rainscroft, Captain, good service of, 529.
- Raleigh, Raleigh, Rawley, Sir Walter, grant to, 20, 500.
-, referred to, for information, 50.
-, lands held by, in Ireland, 51, 370.
-, letters to, mentioned, 144, 153, 155.
-, Florence McCarthy's friendship for, 155, 163, 373.
-, John Fitz Edmunds favourably reported of, by, 181.
-, is at Sherburn, 375.
-, has not replied to Florence McCarthy's letters, 443.
-, will part with a Stannery to Lord Mountjoy, 520.
-, a former footman of. *See* Copinger.
-, woods of. *See* Dromfynin.
- Ranelagh, the (O'Byrne's country), co. Wicklow, 128.
-, the Earl of Ormonde expected to be brought to, 128.
- Ranne, Captain, absent from his charge, 215.
- Ratcliffe [Sir John], knighting of, by Essex, 234.
- Rathbride, King's County, letter from, 7.
- Rathclonmore, near Castlejordan, 302.
- Rathfarnham, co. Dublin, the Archbishop's house at, attempted by the rebels, 211, 212.
- Rathmore, castle of, in Connello, granted to O'Connor, 262.
-, held and surrendered by the rebels, 319.
- Rathonyne, near Tralee, a castle of the Bishop of Kerry, taken, 366.
- Rawley. *See* Raleigh.
- Rawson, John, grant to, 500.
- Reading, co. Berks, 497.
- Rebane, co. Kildare, 336.
- Castle, ward of, cut off, but the castle not taken, 533.

- Regan, a priest, calls himself *Vicarius Apostolicus*, 135.
 , at Cork, 135.
 Remyek, Thomas, grant to, 500.
 Retinge. *See* Keating.
 Reynolds, Sir Carre, sells his company, 215.
 , Thomas, payment to, 449.
 Rheims, a nursery of the "Romish wolves," 297.
 Rich, Lady, 345(?).
 , acknowledges her faults, and prays to see her Majesty, 346.
 Richard III., reception of, alluded to, 487.
 Richmond, Surrey, letters received at, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 21, 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, 40, 43, 45, 47, 61.
 , the Court at, letters dated from, 20.
 Robin Hoods, 263, 390.
 Roche, David, Lord, Viscount Fermoy (son of Maurice), letter of, 433.
 , assurances of loyalty by, 433.
 , is recommended to Cecil, 434.
 , wrongs offered by, to Lady Roche, 460.
 , followers of, 434.
 , Dominic, a Jesuit of Cork, protected by the Mayor, 135.
 , Maurice, Lord, Viscount Fermoy, letter of, 44.
 , letters to, 22 (2).
 , report that he has patched with the rebels, 14, 15.
 , Tyrone threatens to labour against, if he will not join him, 22.
 , lands of, spoiled by the rebels, 44.
 , panic amongst his tenants, 44.
 , is only "in personal show" a subject, 128.
 , is a brain-sick fool, 145.
 , gives support to the rebels, 145.
 , death of, 433.
 , grant to, 500.
 , his daughter, married to Dermott MoOwen, 12.
 , his sister, married to Lord Barry, 12.
 , Lady, sister of the young Earl of Desmond, 460.
 , foster-brother of. *See* Dier, Cornelius.
 , Thomas, 148.
 Roche's country, co. Cork, 48.
 , Tyrone in, 14, 15, 21, 70.
 Rocheford, a lawyer, sent as agent to England to state the grievances of the Pale, 236.
 , character of, 236, 301.
 Roe. *See* Rowe.
 Roman Catholic, Catholic, Roman or the old faith, church, cause or religion, 390.
 , Tyrone declares his intention to erect, 22.
 , hopes that Ormonde will be recovered to, 170, 187.
 , zeal for, in the Pale, 204.
 , defence of, urged upon the Irish Chiefs, 239.
 , exercise of, at Waterford, 498.
 , the matter of, must be handled nicely, 498.
 Roman Catholics or Romanists, spoiled by the rebels, 212.
 , poisonous charms used by, 295.
 Rome, the Romish wolves to be made to hasten back to, 297.
 , priests sent to, by Tyrone, to ask for aid, 301.
 , St. Peter's at, document dated at, 83.
 , persons going over to, or "Rome-running fugitives," means suggested for the discovery of, 296.
 , the church of, bull of excommunication from, desired by Tyrone, 7.
 , reconciliation with, 76.
 , is ashamed to avow some of the "false prophets" in Ireland, 150.
 , bull of excommunication sent from, 250.
 , intercourse of, with Ireland, 296.
 Rome-running priests or Romish wolves. *See* Priests.
 Rookeby, —, made Master of Requests, 50.
 Roper or Rooper, Captain, absent from his charge, 200, 215.
 , in a skirmish with the enemy, 527.
 , gallant conduct of, 529.
 , company of, 449.
 Rosbercom, co. Kilkenny, 488.
 Roscommon, county of, rebels in, 409.
 Roscommon, town of, 233, 287.
 , ward at, 84, 287.
 , victualling of, 54, 287.
 , is a fit place for the Commander of Connaught to dwell at, 287.
 , a great pass near, 409.
 , a house near. *See* Gallie.
 Rosmecheo [? Rossmakay], co. Louth, 192.
 Ross or New Ross, co. Wexford, gates of closed, and guard kept at day and night, 148.
 , sovereign of. *See* Duff, James.
 , importance of, against the Kavanaghs, 488.
 , college of, grant to, 500.
 Ross, Bishop of. *See* Lyon, William, Bishop of Cork and Ross.
 Ross or Roscarberry, country of, co. Cork, 48.
 , town of, Capt. Flower marches to, 116, 160.
 , the Queen's forces at, 133, 161.
 , the rebels near, 160, 161.

Rotheram, Captain, company of, 449, 474.
,, Lieutenant of, 474.
 Route, the, country of, co. Antrim, burning
 and spoiling of, by soldiers landed from
 the ships, 188.
 Rowan, John, grant to, 500.
 Rowe or Roe, Captain, 468.
,, gallant conduct of, 530.
,, brother of, wounded, 468,
 473.
 Rowley, Richard, 186.
 Rush, Anthony, brother of Sir Francis, slain
 at the Moyerie, 460, 463, 465, 529.
 Rush, Sir Francis, governor of Maryborough
 Fort, 96; 294.
,, commission to, 449.
,, proposed for special employ-
 ment in Leix, 136.
,, recommended to Cecil for his
 valiant conduct, 164.
,, knighting of, by Essex, alluded
 to, 234.
,, recommended by the Lord
 Deputy, 279.
,, absent from his charge, 334.
,, sent to the Naas, 448, 472.
,, forces under, 472.
,, his lieutenant, 96.
 Russell, Sir William, former Lord Deputy of
 Ireland, 125, 511.
,, as a member of the Council
 of Ireland, 289.

S

St. George, John, a gentleman of the Lord
 Deputy's, mortally wounded, 465, 528.
 St. George's feast, fight "to honour," 120.
 St. Jerome's translation of the Bible, should
 be used for taking of oaths, 294.
 St. John or St. Johns, Colonel Sir Oliver, 4,
 530.
,, gallant conduct of, 336.
,, sent by the Lord Deputy to
 answer for him in England, 501, 510,
 512, 523.
,, skirmish of, with the enemy,
 526.
,, lieutenant of. *See* Brewrton.
,, hindered by the "steepy-
 ness" of the ground, 529.
,, company bestowed on, 503.
 St. Lawrence, Sir Christopher, 163.
,, sent to Kilkenny, 88, 97, 103,
 108.
,, is to join the Lord Deputy,
 353.
,, proceedings of, against the
 rebels, 396.
,, wounded at the Moyerie, 460,
 462, 463, 465, 529.

St. Lawrence, Sir Christopher—*cont.*
,, rank of, as colonel, 505.
,, company or companies of,
 190, 207, 353, 394.
,, casting of men in, 506.
,, regiment of, 462, 529.
,, uncle of, killed, 463.
,, lieutenant and ensign of,
 killed, 529.
 St. Malo, in Brittany, a resident of, 388.
,, ships to or from, 19, 388.
 St. Sebastian's, in Spain, Irish ship at, 254.
 Sandes, Sir Edwin, knighting of, 10.
 Sarsfield, Dominick, a lawyer, 361.
 Saulistines, the Romish clergy called, 295.
 Savage, Sir Arthur, 330.
,, letters of, 213, 221, 291.
,, his entertainment as com-
 mander in Connaught, 10, 64.
,, exchange of prisoners made
 by, 85.
,, gives Cecil an account of the
 late journey into the North, 213.
,, sends a list of the companies
 in Connaught, 214.
,, a design to hold, from the
 government of Connaught, 221.
,, prays that his re-appointment
 to the command in Connaught may be
 ratified, 222.
,, made provisional governor,
 223, 292.
,, writes concerning affairs in
 Connaught, 291.
,, declares that the governor of
 Connaught must not have it clipped,
 but royally, from her Majesty, 293.
,, going to or at Athlone, 293,
 409, 458.
,, is to draw to the Lord De-
 puty, and burn and spoil on the way,
 330, 337.
,, engagements of, with the
 enemy, 339, 409.
,, desires to go to England for
 his health, 459.
,, his company of foot, Athlone
 guarded by, 221.
,, wife of, 459.
,, brother-in-law of. *See* Theke-
 stone.
 Savoy, "the matter of," is rather towards war
 than peace, 342.
 Saxey, William, Chief Justice of Munster, and
 second Judge of the Queen's Bench in
 Ireland, 283, 533.
,, letters of, 47, 537.
,, has gone to England, though
 the Commissioners denied him per-
 mission, 21.
,, sends advertisements con-
 cerning Ireland to Cecil, 47.
,, has served seven years in his
 post, with danger and loss, 49.

- Saxey, William—*cont.*
 asks to be made a Serjeant-at-law, 50.
 is recommended for the post of Chief Baron, 61, 447.
 should be ordered back from England, or his place supplied, 130.
 Carey remonstrates against his holding two judgeships at once, 411.
 never attends at the Queen's Bench, and has no deputy, 411.
 desires to resign his judgeships and have some less arduous preferment, 537.
 wife and children of, 49.
- Scope, Redmond, sons of, 293.
- Scotland, English ambassador in, orders to be sent to, 63.
 Irish rebels expect help from, 57.
 Isles of, Lord of. *See* McDonnell, Neiss.
 gentleman of, negotiations with, 403.
 rumour of some stirrings in, 103.
 plan for cutting off assistance to Tyrone from, 119.
 letters sent into, 194.
 many from, have offered to traffic for victualling in Ireland, 197.
 boats needed to prevent supplies from, reaching the rebels, 253.
 letters from, sent to Tyrone, 331.
 travellers into, 354.
 West of, Stuarts of. *See* Stuarts, the.
- Scotland, James VI, King of, 331.
 Tyrone requests to know the pleasure of, concerning Neiss McDonnell, 62.
 the English Ambassador is to deal with, concerning the same, 63.
 Sir Robert Melvin's son "great with," 119.
 Chamber of, officer of, 119.
 "a horrible attempt" upon the person of, 346.
- Scots, the Scots, or Scottish men; and *see* McConnell and McDonnell.
 leaders, slain in Ireland, 53, 330.
 a discourse on the entertainment of, in Ireland, 117.
 to be used for making a faction in Ulster, 117, 118, 119.
 the English, "particular names" of, 118.
 the Irish, those to be trusted, 118.
 negotiations with, 193.
 plan for preventing aid from, to the Irish, 313.
 negotiations for the employment of, in Ireland, 403.
 are more fit to be used for intelligence than any other, 456.
 with Tyrone, killed, 453.
 fear of their joining the rebels, 480.
 with O'Donnell, 536.
- Scotch brother to O'Donnell's mother, 536.
- Scottish gentleman, a, negotiation with, 403.
 offer of service and men by, 456.
- Sentleger, Sir Anthony, Master of the Rolls, 65.
 letter from, 331.
 accident to, 331, 334.
 has come to England with the Lord Deputy's license, 332.
 grant to, 501.
 Sir Warham, the old, seignory of, 20.
 Sir Warham, 43.
 has entertainment as Commissioner for Munster, 10, 64.
 his company sent for by Ormonde, 10.
 a priest apprehended by, 135.
 at Cork when Tyrone passed by, 135.
 and Florence McCarthy, 179.
 cause of, with one Smith, alluded to, 247.
 mortally wounded in a fight with Maguire, 15, 16, 18, 36.
 death of, 15, 20, 21, 22, 33, 36, 38, 39, 44.
 Lady, 354.
 cause of, 533.
- Serjeant-at-Law, 50.
- Serny, Charles, 13.
- Sertorio. *See* Tyrrell, Captain Richard.
- Seville, Guardian of. *See* Angelos, Friar Peter de los.
- Shandon Castle, near Cork, 19.
 letters dated at, 131, 141, 150, 157, 163, 181, 182, 187, 480.
- Shane, Francis or Sir Francis, letter of, 83.
 grants to, 501.
 rebels killed by, 40, 67, 75, 166.
 recommendation of, 67, 75, 293.
 imprisonment of, by the rebels, 83, 85.
 remonstrates against the government of Connaught being given to Irish Lords, 84.
 knighted by Lord Mountjoy, 83.
 Sir Oliver Lambert sends to, at Mullingar, 120.
 redemption of, from the rebels, 166.
 his company, 330, 507.
 lieutenant of, slain, 67.
 his company, 330, 507.
 lieutenant of, slain, 67.
- Shane Castle, co. Cork, 106.
- Shanganagh, co. Tipperary, 10.

Shannon, the, or the river, of Limerick, 23, 32, 70, 187, 366, 367, 451.
 , Tyrone's intended passage of, 16, 38.
 , castles on, 84, 237, 319; and see Glin, the, and Carrigfoyle.
 , should be battered, 51, 243.
 , boats needed for, 71, 106.
 , is cleared from the rebels' galleys, 245.
 , O'Donnell penetrates as far as, 265.
 , skirmish at the passage of, 320.
 , supplies to be sent to, 321, 385, 499.
 Sheale, James, an agent of Tyrone, 302.
 Shee or Shea, Henry, steward to the Earl of Ormonde, 122, 170.
 , Sir Richard, announces that Ormonde is set free, 111, 112.
 , letter of, 112.
 , preys taken from, 115.
 Sheeth, Michael, a schoolmaster of Kilkenny, 239.
 Sheffield, Henry, grant to, 501.
 Shehan or Sheighan, Maurice, 450, 499.
 Shelton, "young," nephew of Father Nangle, 63 (2), 354 (2).
 , brother of, executed, 63, 354.
 Sherborne or Shirburne, co. Dorset, Sir Walter Raleigh at, 375.
 Sherlock, George, grant to, 500.
 Sherwood [H., secretary to Ormonde], 428.
 , letter sent to England by the hands of, 241, 314.
 Ships, boats, barges, &c., *casual notices, passim*.
 , for the transport of troops, 33, 34, 42, 69, 334, 366, 399, 404, 405, 444, 458, 470; and see Lough Foyle, ships for. Also Chester and Bristol.
 , searching of, 296.
 , need of, 47, 354.
 , on the coast, 365, 536.
 , used as a prison, escape from, 384.
 , sailing of, hindered by the weather, 384.
 , cast away, 399.
 , missing, 404, 458.
 , arrival of, at Derry, 404, 411.
 , used as storehouses, 411, 455.
 , sale of, 411.
 , the Queen's, when unserviceable, are the property of the Lord Admiral, 411.
 , at the Isle of Man, 412.
 , from France, arrival of, 425.
 , captured by the rebels, 446.
 , retaken, 447.
 , driven back by foul weather, 458.

Ships, boats, barges, &c.—*cont.*

..... , to carry over the Earl of Desmond, 470.
 , to be sent to Dundalk with supplies, 471.
 , laden with wines. See Wines.
 , of the rebels, 446.
 , captured, 535.
 , crompsters, officer employed in, 353.
 , post-barks, 493.
 , need of, 423.
 , rate of pay for, 423.
 , victualling, 471, 523.
 , arrival of, 367, 454, 455, 523.
 , Dutch munition taken out of, 384.
 , French, with supplies for the rebels, 388.
 , used by Irish merchants trading to Spain, 499.
 , Spanish. See Spanish ships.
 , Easterlings, 366.
 , Flemish, 439.
 , named:—
 Angel, 209.
 Curtelage, 208.
 Elizabeth, 209.
 Ellen, 208.
 Gift of God, 105.
 Honey, 209.
 Honour, 141.
 Hopewell, 105.
 Margarite, of the Peele of Fowdre, 208.
 Moon, 201.
 Peter, of Drogheda, 208.
 Peter, of Dublin, 209.
 Popinjay, ordered to be sold, 411.
 Prosper, 254.
 Susan, 208.
 Swartrutter, 208.
 Shirehampton, near Bristol, the Earl of Desmond sails from, 485.
 Shuit. See Chute.
 Signet, clerk of the. See Windebank, Thomas.
 Skeffington or Skevington, Sir William, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, rebellion of Con Baccagh in the time of, 312.
 Skehanaghe, co. Limerick, 374.
 Skinner, Vincent, 107.
 , letter of, on the charge of victuals, 99.
 , payment by, ordered, 346.
 Skipper, Captain, 215.
 Sleughlougher, Slewloghor or Castlemaine, mountain of, co. Limerick, 5, 366, 435.
 , Carew lodges in the midst of, 317.
 Slewmack, mountain of (co. Tipperary), 43.
 Slewvarnan, in O'Magher's country, co. Tipperary, 43.
 Slieve Marge or Slemarge, the fastness of, in Queen's County, 137, 394.

- Sligo, county of, 41, 287.
, should be annexed to the government of Ballyshannon, and wasted, 232.
, O'Donnell leaves his hurt men in, 305.
 Sligo, town of, 231, 287, 293.
, letter dated at, 446.
, garrison for, 235, 288.
, could easily be fortified, 287.
, no garrison can be planted at, until spring, 292.
, is "in the very bosom" of O'Connor Sligo, 292.
, capture and subsequent loss of, alluded to, 294.
, castle of, 446.
 Smerwick, co. Kerry, 439.
 Smith, Smyth, Smythe, Lieutenant, 115.
, recommended by the Lord Deputy, 279.
, one, recommended by Cecil, 246.
, cause of, with Sir Warham Senterger, 247.
, Thomas, Cecil's servant, 434, 442.
, Thomas [victim for Connaught], letter of, 480.
, the Ardes partly possessed by, 119.
 Snagg, Mr., sometime Attorney General at Dublin, made Serjeant at Law, 50.
 Snigges, Mr., at Bristol, 444.
 Southampton, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of, 303.
, letters of, 231, 323.
, arrives in Ireland, 115.
, goes to join the Lord Deputy in the North, 190, 205, 213, 219, 220, 225, 227.
, skirmish of, with the enemy, 191, 192, 206, 213, 219, 224.
, praise of his valour, 206, 224.
, suggested for the government of Connaught, 222, 223.
, his sacrifices may expiate great sins, 224.
, writes concerning the government of Connaught, 231, 323.
, is not to be governor in Connaught, 323.
, is going to the Low Countries, 329, 331, 341.
, checks remitted to, 510.
, lieutenants of, 504; *and see* Atherton.
, forces of, resigned to his lieutenants, 341.
, horse company of, 510.
 Spain, the General of, sends a morion and target to Tyrone, 239.
, Commissary General of the Friars of. *See* Oviedo.
, aid from, expected by the Irish, 51, 139, 146, 167, 169, 170, 299, 301, 321, 364; *and see* Spaniards, expected in Ireland.
, Court of, an agent appointed to procure intelligence from. *See* Strang, Patrick.
, hard measure received from, 210.
, money or munition sent from, to Ireland, 139, 226, 239.
, ships from, 103, 104, 148, 239, 257; *and see* Spanish ships.
, travellers to and from, 51, 185, 194, 303, 388, 498.
, rumoured intentions of, to invade England or Ireland, 103, 127, 129, 139, 170, 175, 185, 187, 188, 249, 258, 382, 494, 495.
, instructions concerning, 232.
, suggested precautions in view of, 253.
, peace with, chances of, 146, 175.
, an Irish Archbishop arrives from, 169, 179, 237.
, Irish student in, 179.
, Carew believes the news from, to be true, 180.
, Irish residents in, 239.
, Ormonde feared being sent prisoner to, 241.
, assurance of succour and protection from, is making the last blaze of the rebellion, 253.
, a pilot or ship's master from, 253.
, heads of the report brought by, 254.
, supplies and encouragement will certainly be sent to the rebels from, 253.
, a list sent to, of the forces in Ulster, 254.
, expedition into. *See* Cadiz expedition.
, plague in, 257.
, intercourse of, with Ireland, 296.
, shipping needed to stop munition sent from, 301.
, the Munster chiefs will go to, if they fail, 320.
, treaty of peace with, discontinued, but it is hoped not dissolved, 344.
, must be still held up in Ireland, 344.
, the Irish air "far different from," 348.
, report that Florence McCarthy is gone or going to, 388.
, Irish youths sent to be brought up in, 402. *And see* O'Neill, Henry.
, Irish merchants trading with, 498.
, Tyrone sends letters to, 536.

- Spain, Philip III, King of, 139, 148.
 "Ambassadors" from, to Tyrone, 254; *and see* Oviedo.
 aid from, hoped for in Ireland. *See* Spain, aid from.
 sends letters to Tyrone and O'Donnell, 104, 239.
 ships of. *See* Spanish ships.
 pledges sent to, by Tyrone and O'Donnell, 122, 123, 124, 127, 139, 148, 173, 254, 267.
 "the true servants of," in Ireland, 122, 186.
 arms and munition sent by, to Tyrone, 123, 239, 254, 258.
 Tyrone has written to, 123.
 rumour that he will send great forces "to perfect the conquest of Ireland," 124.
 the result of his promises, waited for, 212.
 "lidger" for. *See* Oviedo.
 the rebels are sworn subjects to, 226, 402.
 sends chains of gold to Tyrone and O'Donnell, 239.
 said to have promised an army of 8,000 men, 239.
 if he send forces to Ireland "it will be as a step to the conquest of England," 253, 254.
 had meant to send forces to invade England and Scotland last year, 253, 254.
 his plan frustrated by the Dutch operations, 254.
 is to send men and treasure to Ulster, 254.
 Irish forces to be in the pay of, 254.
 his six great armadoes are gone to the Indies, 258.
 a learned physician with. *See* Stainhurst, Richard.
 is "the greatest monarch in Europe," 376.
 portrait of, in Ireland, 396.
 his treatment of his rebel subjects, 403.
 Spainagh, Donnell. *See* Kavanagh.
 Spaniard, a, with Tyrone, killed, 458.
 Spaniards, the, brought into Ireland by James Fitz Morris, 43.
 expected, hoped for or feared, in Ireland, 110, 212, 341, 361, 366, 382, 383, 391, 442, 480, 485; *and see* Spain, help from, expected.
 Florence McCarthy would readily join with, 144.
 Tyrone states that they will be in Ireland presently, 152.
 have dallied for years, and will do no more now than before, 170.
 great numbers of, said to be ready to come to Ireland, 179.
 Spaniards, the—*cont.*
 probable landing places of, in case of invasion, 187, 366.
 in Tyrconnell, 259.
 if they do not come, Tyrone must submit, 300, 306.
 a winter in Ireland would "quite consume," 348.
 reported landing of, 360, 364.
 are not likely to go to the North of Ireland, 365.
 may perhaps spoil and rob, and then go back, 366.
 the hops of their coming is fallen, 438.
 Spanish aid. *See* Spain, aid from.
 Bishop. *See* Oviedo.
 fleet, said to be landed in Munster, 104.
 said to be preparing for England and Ireland, 128, 169, 254.
 forces, expected in Ireland, 6, 124, 123, 170, 237, 239, 254, 267, 308, 315, 382.
 hoped for in Munster, 146, 239, 315, 323, 363, 442.
 reported numbers of, 303.
 formalities or subtleties, 124, 127, 170.
 friar, in Ireland, 303.
 gentlemen, 124.
 harquebusses, 26.
 letter, a, 249.
 ships, 104; *and see* Spain, ships from.
 arrive in Tyrone, 122, 123, 124, 127, 259, 365.
 take back pledges to Spain, 127, 128.
 suspected to have brought only passengers and "Jesuitical firebrands," 139.
 making ready for Ireland, 254.
 on the coast of Munster, 364.
 Spenser or Spencer, James, commissary of musters, 81, 445.
 recommended for Munster, but not appointed, 442.
 Captain, company given to, 503.
 Spies. *See* Intelligencers. *Also* Jarkey, Father.
 Spring, Thomas, grant to, 500.
 Stace, Morris, a servant of Sir George Carew's, 368.
 Stafford, Captain Sir Francis, 29.
 letters of, 56, 73, 95, 126, 174, 205, 210, 219, 255, 330, 344, 461, 463, 489, 490.
 letter signed by, as one of the Council, 524.
 gives the conditions on which certain of the rebels will come in, 95.
 on the good effect of Maguire's death, 126.

Stafford, Captain Sir Francis—*cont.*
 on dissensions amongst the rebels, 127.
 goes to join the Lord Deputy at the Newry, 189.
 desires the reversion of the command at the Newry, 210, 211.
 gives an account of the Lord Deputy's journey, 219.
 concerning the Province of Connaught, 221.
 sends news of Ormonde's release to Cecil, 255.
 on the Lord Deputy's proceedings in Leinster, 330, 344.
 sends news from the camp at Faugher, 461, 468, 489.
 a company bestowed on, 503.
 a commission given to, in relation to musters, 505.
 his lieutenant, killed, 529.
 Nicholas, Chancellor of the cathedral church of Ferns, recommended for the Bishopric, 56.
 Stainhurst, Stanurst or Standish, Richard, a learned physician with the King of Spain, 354.
 Walter, brother of Richard, sent from the Prince Cardinal to Tyrone, 354, 382.
 Standen, Antonio or Sir Anthony, 330.
 letters of, 39, 115.
 pension of, stopped, 115.
 Stanhope, Sir John, Treasurer of her Majesty's chamber, 127, 373, 375.
 letter from, 55.
 alluded to, 155, 157.
 letter to, 58.
 mentioned, 153.
 Florence McCarthy's confidence in, 163.
 has written on behalf of one Udall, 210.
 urges Florence McCarthy to submit, 443.
 Michael, 520.
 letter of, 278.
 Stannery, the, Sir Walter Raleigh will part with, to Lord Mountjoy, 520.
 Stanton, Captain, project of, for drawing in the O'Neills, 91, 103, 218.
 with Owen McHugh O'Neill, 309, 310.
 Thomas, deposition by, 192.
 Star Chamber or Camera Stellata, the Earl of Essex's "escape from," 39.
 Stephenson, Oliver, constable of Corgrage Castle, 319.
 grant to, 500.
 Stokes, Thomas, grant to, 500.
 Stone, co. Stafford, letter dated at, 331.
 accident near, 331.

Strabane, co. Tyrone, 202, 518.
 the Earl of Tyrone at or near, 169, 177, 205, 214, 267, 337.
 Sir Arthur O'Neill wishes for a meeting at, 199.
 meeting of chieftains at, 266, 305, 331.
 surprised by Neale Garve, 521.
 burnt by the rebels, 535.
 Stradbally or Stradbury, Queen's County, 397.
 Stranckally, forces left at, 142.
 Strang, Patrick, appointed to gain intelligence from Spain, 210.
 Strangford, co. Down, some place about, should be held, 253.
 river of, 173.
 Strange, Sir Thomas, grant to, 500.
 Stritch or Stritche, John, a former Mayor of Limerick, 12.
 Thomas, Alderman of Limerick, 13.
 William (son of John), Mayor of Limerick, disloyal conduct of, 12, 13, 183.
 orders sent to, by Ormonde, 43.
 Stuart, Colonel, 118.
 Stuarts, the, of the West of Scotland, suggested for service in Ireland, 118.
 Suak, the river, co. Galway, 84.
 Suir or Shoewer, the river, bridge over, 23.
 skirmish near, 186.
 Suppell, Mr., 436.
 Sussex [Thomas Ratcliffe], Earl of, his conquest of Wexford, alluded to, 294.
 Sutton, Auditor, Commissioner for viewing the accounts of the Treasurer at Wars, 304.
 Edward, grant to, 500.
 Swilly or "Sowley," Lough, co. Donegal, 41.
 garrisons upon, suggested, 202, 406.
 country near, 267.
 Sydney, Sir Henry, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, rebellion of Shane O'Neill in the time of, 312.
 his offers to McHugh O'Neill, 312.
 Sydney or Neagh, Lough, 479.
 Synott, Richard, grant to, 500.

T

Taafe, Edward, deposition by, 192.
 John, late prisoner with Tyrone, information from, 192.
 Nicholas, grant to, 500.
 William, grant to, 501.
 Captain, 474.
 horse company of, 134.
 men cast in, 506.

- Taghmon, co. Wexford, burnt by the rebels, 148.
 Talbot, Sir John, sent to England by Ormonde, 10.
 , John, grant to, 500.
 Tara, the hill of, co. Meath, general hosting appointed at, 364, 392.
 Tarbert, seignory of, co. Kerry, 344.
 Tasborow [Thomas], knighted by Essex, 233.
 Tatle, Edward, an interpreter, 310.
 Taylor, George, 81.
 Temple, William, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, paper written by, 308.
 Thekestone, Mr., brother-in-law of Sir Arthur Savage, letter to, 459.
 Thickpenny, Anne, grant to, 500.
 Thomond, district of, or the Earl of Thomond's country, co. Clare, 19, 320, 366, 373, 375, 466.
 , belief that Tyrone will pass through, 16.
 , the Earl of Thomond "scanted within," 85.
 , not a rebel in action in, 111, 143.
 , O'Donnell's incursion into, 260, 265, 289, 291, 305.
 , chiefs accompanying him in, 239, 291.
 , must not be exempted from the government of Connaught, 293.
 , preys taken in, 305.
 , a castle and ploughlands in, given to O'Connor, 318.
 , O'Donnell purposed to spoil, 489, 521.
 , Carrigolough in. *See* Carrigolough.
 Thomond, Donogh O'Brien, Earl of, 249.
 , letters of, 19, 100, 112.
 , alluded to, 91, 110, 141.
 , orders given to, by Ormonde, 11, 43.
 , account of a riot at Limerick, sent by, 14, 19.
 , has kept his country in quietness, 19, 111, 143.
 , is with the Earl of Ormonde, 21.
 , is to command in Connaught, 35.
 , opposition of the Mayor of Limerick to, 43.
 , is discontented, 84, 85.
 , wound of, received when Lord Ormonde was taken, 90, 96, 101.
 , narrative by the Lord President of Munster and, of the taking of Ormonde, 100.
 , saves the President from being taken prisoner, 101.
 , at Kilkenny, 102.
 , accompanies the Lord President into Munster, 103, 112.
 Thomond, Donogh, Earl of—*cont.*
 , zealous loyalty of, 111, 143, 249.
 , Cecil is prayed to encourage, 111, 143, 146.
 , desires some of the treasure for his troops in Connaught, 130.
 , with Sir George Carew at Cork, 143, 162, 373.
 , his parley with Florence McCarthy, 144, 150.
 , escorts Florence McCarthy, 150, 157.
 , is present at Carew's interview with Florence, 151.
 , Florence offers to be sworn to, 155.
 , is to be encouraged to assist the Lord President, 233.
 , the Queen's favour greatly comforts, 249.
 , dispute of, with the city of Limerick, 250.
 , patience of, with the townspeople's ingratitude, 250.
 , answer to his petition for entertainment due to him and his men, 278.
 , skirmishes of, with O'Donnell, 265.
 , Sir Arthur Savage hopes for "choler" between the Earl of Clanrickarde and, 292.
 , has given a castle to O'Connor, 318.
 , help given by, to Carew, 366, 367.
 , and Florence McCarthy, 371, 372, 373, 375.
 , called "the great boar of Thomond," 374.
 , money assigned for, 379.
 , is in pursuit of James McThomas, 435, 437.
 , grant to, 501.
 , rank of, as Colonel, 505.
 , forces of, 43, 435.
 , his regiment, lieut.-colonel of *See* Clare, Captain Henry.
 , apparel for, 59.
 , his company, payment of, 143.
 , is now of no use, 223.
 , his foot company, sent to Connaught, 130.
 , payment of, 143, 232.
 , his horse company, casting of men in, 506.
 , his lieutenant, wounded at the Glin, 317.
 , a servant of, 361; *and see* Friar.
 , brother of. *See* O'Brien, Teig.
 , his "nominated brother," committed to prison by, 19.
 , relatives of, in rebellion, not spared by, 111.

- Thornton, Sir George, Provost Marshal and Councillor in Munster, 371.
, letter to, 186.
, prays to take Sir Warham Sentleger's place in the government, 36.
, intelligence from, 33.
, parley of, with Florence McCarthy, 70, 71, 160.
, apprehension of a priest by, 135.
, is sent to speak with the White Knight, 144.
, a castle formerly belonging to, 242.
, as commander at Kilmallock, 305.
, recommended to Cecil, 485.
, undertakes to keep the White Knight as a subject, 485.
, son-in-law of. *See* Burke, John.
, Captain, 195.
, to be consulted about-boats for Lough Foyle, 277.
 Three Mile Water, the, in the Moyerie, skirmish at, 460, 527.
 Tibbot Ne Longe. *See* Burke.
 Tipperary, county of, 495.
, seneschal of, 247.
, sheriff of. *See* O'Dwyre.
, Tyrone's forces drawing up to, 10.
, the Queen's forces in, 10, 23.
, expense of "bearing," to the inhabitants, 12.
, miserable state of the towns of, 12.
, traitors slain by loyal inhabitants of, 165.
, liberty of, seneschal and justice of, 378.
, not under the Lord President's jurisdiction, 439.
, preys taken from, by the rebels, 474.
, rebels on the borders of, 494.
 Tipperary, town of, letter from, 17.
 Tirhugh [co. Donegal], 41.
 Tirry or Tyrry, Edmund, alderman of Cork, and agent for that city in London, letter of, 234.
 Toben, Walter, taken prisoner, 475.
, men of; killed or taken, 475.
 Tobin, one, 360, 361.
 Torture, use of, advocated, for "apprehended traitors," 106, 311, 414.
 Tralee, co. Kerry, a castle near, 319, 366.
, Sir Edward Denny's castle or house at, 366.
, bog and mountain near, 367.
 Travers, Mary, late wife of Viscount Baltinglas, grant to, 500.
 Traves or Travers, John, Commissary of victuals for Ulster, letter of, 270.
, alleged dishonesty of, 176.
, Sir Henry Dockwra advises with, 197.
, on the state of the victualling at Derry, 270.
, prays for payment of moneys disbursed, 270.
, has bought fish and sold away the flesh sent to him, 347.
, has not sent in his accounts, 398.
, his wife and children, 270.
, (as late Commissary), over-charges in his accounts, 410.
 Tredath. *See* Drogheda.
 Trenchard, the undertaker, a castle belonging to, 319.
 Trevor, Trever or Treavor, Capt. Edward, recommendations of, 217, 279.
, gallant conduct of, 530.
 Trim, co. Meath, forces sent to, 30, 32, 33, 41.
, the Lord Deputy goes to, 40, 41, 44.
, villages near, burned by the rebels, 203.
, parson of, intelligence from, 302.
, rendezvous appointed at, 330.
, news received from, 331, 365.
, Ormonde and his forces, near, 484.
 Tusk, co. Roscommon, the hold of, 287.
, victualling of, 54.
 Turks, indulgence granted to those fighting against, 83.
 Turner, one, made Commissary in Munster, 149.
 Tusculum, Lord Buckhurst's. *See* Horsley.
 Typper, William, 81.
 Tyrconnell, county of, or O'Donnell's country, co. Donegal, 30, 40, 104, 119, 292, 335, 383, 478, 536.
, formerly held by Neale Garve's father and grandfather, 92, 408.
, Spanish ships come to, 124, 365.
, many in, are willing to revolt from O'Donnell and Tyrone, 127.
, McWilliam offers to make his faction good in, against O'Neill, 258.
, and to bring it in to her Majesty, 260.
, the only haven in. *See* Killibegs.
, plans for either shutting O'Donnell up in, or banishing him from, 279, 282.
, chieftains of, 282.
, horsemen of, 282.
, garrisons in, 292.
, is claimed by Neale Garve, 408, 447.
, right of nomination of the sheriff of, 408.
, origin of the name, 478.
, formerly reputed the third part of Ulster, 478.
, spoiling of, 479.
, mountains and castles in, 479.

- Tyrone, county of, 96, 536.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill's proposed proceedings in, 29, 30.
-, is within Sir Henry Dook-wra's command, 40.
-, proposal that Sir Arthur O'Neill shall hold, 92.
-, many of good sort in, are willing to revolt from Tyrone, 127.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill's holding of, 408.
-, is almost like an island, 470.
-, plans for subduing, 479.
-, or Tyrecoyn, the O'Neills of, 478.
- Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of (the Prince of Ulster, the Archtraitor), *passim*.
-, letters of, copies of, 17, 22 (4), 53 (2), 122 (2), 123 (11), 186, 187, 239, 240, 491, 492, 493, 498.
-, alluded to, 16, 21, 52, 62, 78, 123, 125, 128, 157, 160, 169, 170, 171, 186, 238, 249, 290, 302, 474, 491.
-, letters to, alluded to, 104, 157, 267, 311, 331.
-, bonnaughts of, 50, 155, 262, 263, 311.
-, camps of, 26, 30, 38, 47, 305, 306, 511.
-, confederates or partakers of, 7, 33, 42, 62, 172, 258, 267, 302.
-, hopes that they are beginning to fall from, 66, 96, 345.
-, join him, 466, 529.
-, dissension amongst, 126, 127.
-, vexation of, 147.
-, endeavours to draw off, 167.
-, summoned to join him, 172, 193, 305, 525.
-, stand off from him, 531.
-, enemies of, 118, 119.
-, followers, servants, officers, or faction of, 16, 92, 104, 158, 302, 310, 311, 412, 413, 465, 481, 511.
-, his fear that they will forsake him, 462.
-, many of, have left him, 484.
-, killed, 11, 132, 193, 213, 458.
-, losses of, 530, 537.
-, breaking up of, 530.
-, apprehended, 11.
-, forces of, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18, 23, 26, 27, 40, 42, 57, 62, 70, 126, 172, 190, 205, 214, 266, 267, 288, 305, 318.
-, the Lord Deputy comes up with, 525.
-, numbers of, 463.
-, skirmishes with, 190, 191, 193, 206, 213, 215, 219, 305, 338, 453, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 472, 481, 490, 519, 522, 524, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 537.
-, scout of, 227.
- Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
-, headships, governments, &c., granted by, 21, 35, 33, 48, 70, 71, 126, 132, 331, 387.
-, island belonging to, 143, 365.
-, libels distributed by, in the Pale 77.
-, meetings of, with other chiefs, 10, 16, 18, 266, 305, 331, 466; and see O'Donnell.
-, messengers of, 122, 160, 305, 311.
-, sent to Rome, 301.
-, messengers sent to, 62, 188, 192, 320, 331, 363, 382.
-, persons slain or put to death by, 30, 118, 119.
-, pledges given to or taken by, 14, 36, 38, 62, 70, 92, 116, 162, 241, 493, 523.
-, pledges given by, to the King of Spain, 122, 123, 124, 128, 139, 148, 173.
-, powder sent by, 303.
-, prisoners in the hands or "at the disposition of," 372, 459.
-, escape of, 62, 192.
-, protection from, 255.
-, warrants of, alluded to, 160.
-, and the King of Spain, 104, 123, 239, 254.
-, and the Spaniards, 124, 127, 128, 139, 185, 226, 267, 303, 365, 536.
-, and the Scots, 117, 118, 331.
-, his expedition into Munster, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44.
-, alluded to afterwards, 49, 51, 55, 67, 70, 75, 83, 132, 135, 183, 147, 158, 198, 226, 234, 265, 501.
-, is still "prevailing and willing," 5.
-, intentions or plans of, 6, 7, 19, 20, 43.
-, cannot be discovered, 32.
-, threatens to cut off the water from Dublin, 6.
-, hopes for authority to ex-communicate those who do not join him, 7.
-, is prevented from meeting Desmond at Holy Cross, 10.
-, his spoiling of Lord Barry's country, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 39, 52, 131, 142, 180, 252.
-, his proceedings with regard to the Pale, 16, 211, 212, 220, 225.
-, in peril of drowning, 18.
-, and Florence McCarthy, 20, 21, 36, 38, 47, 48, 52, 70, 71, 132, 144, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 360, 374, 387.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill offers to pursue, 29, 30.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

-, his return to Ulster expected, 32, 33, 36, 38.
-, hopes of intercepting, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 44, 45.
-, suddenly accomplished, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 70, 132, 133, 147.
-, has made himself a great reputation with the Irish, 40, 42, 44.
-, hopes of entangling, in the North, 44, 61, 98, 217.
-, at Dungannon, 45, 62, 148.
-, thought to have surprised Sir Arthur O'Neill, 57.
-, is keeping Easter, 57.
-, means to resist the landing of troops at Lough Foyle, 45, 62, 68, 82, 218.
-, message sent by, to O'Donnell, 62.
-, is going to the borders of the Pale, 62, 306, 314, 329, 332, 337.
-, and the Earl of Clanrickarde, 63.
-, his practices when he first entered into rebellion, 70, 157.
-, his demand for Fitzsimmons's enlargement, 78.
-, indulgence sent from the Pope to those assisting, 80.
-, has left those of Connaught to their own fortune, 83.
-, and the capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 88, 98, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128, 170, 171, 186, 187, 240.
-, Sir Arthur O'Neill's revolt from, 91, 127, 178, 229.
-, goes into Maguire's country, 104.
-, diverting of, from Lough Foyle, 114, 168, 206, 213, 220, 225, 227, 511.
-, his feud with the sons of Shane O'Neill, 118, 119.
-, good condition of, 122, 123.
-, arms and ammunition sent to, from Spain, 125, 128, 139, 148, 226, 239, 253, 254.
-, report that Ormonde would not fight with, 138.
-, discontent or anxiety of, 127, 147, 255.
-, Sir Theobald Dillon's complaints of, 166.
-, devices used by, 170.
-, a Spanish bishop, priest, or "ambassador" with, 173, 249, 254.
-, movements of, 172, 174, 177, 205, 226.
-, is at the highest of his pride, 175, 180.
-, the Lord Deputy is within two miles of, 188, 190.
-, rumoured attempts of, on Sir Arthur O'Neill, 192, 195.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

-, skirmishes of, with the Lord Deputy's forces, 191, 193, 206, 213, 219, 224.
-, designs against, 202, 221, 225, 227.
-, draws together his strength, 207, 220, 225.
-, has been well beaten, 213, 223.
-, is expected to join O'Donnell, 214.
-, retirement of, into his fastnesses, 225, 228.
-, Ormonde is urged to join, 237.
-, places razed or burnt by, 227.
-, a gold chain and a flag sent to, by the King of Spain, 239.
-, tries to procure Ormonde's enlargement, 240.
-, attempt of, to surprise the garrison at Lough Foyle, 256.
-, the Pope's bull in favour of, 257.
-, offers of service against, 258.
-, proposal to send James Fitz Thomas to, 262.
-, conditions of, with Dermond O'Connor, 262, 263.
-, meets O'Donnell at Strabane, 266.
-, letters or messengers to, from the Pale, 267.
-, must be pressed hard upon, 282.
-, his burning and spoiling of Sir Theobald Dillon's lands, 290.
-, must offer humble conditions if the Spaniards do not come, 300.
-, is the heart of the rebellion, and must be ruined, 300.
-, in foreign courts is called the great Prince O'Neill, 301.
-, demands the enlargement of John More, 302.
-, is in a great rage at the killing and beating of his men, 305.
-, report that he means to invade the Pale, 306.
-, and Owen McHugh, 310.
-, hopes of his overthrow, 312, 313, 344, 415.
-, has many friends and spies on the borders, 314.
-, James FitzThomas applies for help to, 320, 388.
-, is trying to draw back Sir Arthur O'Neill, 331.
-, movements of, 334, 335, 365.
-, has appointed a hundred shot to "wait upon" the Lord Deputy, 338.
-, embassy to, from the Prince Cardinal, 354.
-, mediates between the O'Reillys, 365, 420.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

-, announces the coming of Spanish ships and forces, 365, 368.
-, his "old forged rumours," 382.
-, is the greatest pillar of the Pope in Ireland, 390.
-, faction of, abuse the Lord Deputy with their cunning, 412.
-, draws his forces to the Moyerie, 421, 422, 430, 441, 462, 466, 468, 522, 525, 526.
-, would do best not to attack the English till their return, 432, 481, 521.
-, one of his sconces forced and the guard defeated, 448.
-, on every "fall," hatches a new rebellion, 451.
-, plan for closing the passes against, 452.
-, has apprehended his son Con, 459.
-, and the plantation of Armagh, 463, 490.
-, exhorts his people to work lustily, 465.
-, has received much loss, 469.
-, his name and lineage, 478.
-, is said by Fenton to have shown no skill of a great soldier, 480, 481.
-, report that he has received a great overthrow, 481, 524.
-, retreat of, 483, 489, 530.
-, his trenches razed, 483, 489, 490, 523.
-, is said to have wished to enter into parley, 490.
-, incites the gentlemen of Munster to fresh revolts, 491.
-, says he is ready to encounter the enemy, 493.
-, makes great brags of foreign invasion, 494.
-, comforts himself that the Lord Deputy is not favoured in England, 511.
-, and Neale Garve's revolt, 520.
-, O'Donnell's complaints against, 521.
-, draws his forces to a head at Duncannon, 521.
-, strong position of, 527.
-, forced by the English, 528.
-, lies not two nights in the same place, 530.
-, is much shaken by the Lord Deputy's journey, 532.
-, his wife, the countess of Tyrone, 255.
-, second son of. *See* O'Neill, Henry.
-, his daughters, 17; *and see* O'Neill, Margaret *and* Mary.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

-, his father. *See* O'Neill, Feardorach *or* Mathew.
-, his elder brother. *See* O'Neill, Brian.
-, his brother Cormack. *See* McBaron.
-, his brother "by the mother's side." *See* McHenry, Tirlagh.
-, his brother-in-law. *See* Magennis.
-, his son-in-law. *See* Butler, Richard.
-, his sister, married to Sir Hugh O'Hanlon, 173.
-, his grandfather. *See* O'Neill, Con.
-, his foster-brother. *See* Hagan, Henry.
-, his sons, rumoured proposal to marry one of, to Ormonde's daughter, 237, 240.
-, his priests, 382.
-, his auditor. *See* Weston.
-, his country, 202, 479; *and see* Tyrone, county of.
- Tyrrell, Sir John, 120.
-, his pass in Offally, 120.
-, his men, 120.
-, Captain [Richard] ("Sertoreo"), 12, 298.
-, Tyrone leaves his baggage with, 40.
-, is to bring men from Munster to Tyrone, 62, 123.
-, is in Munster ready to make for Leinster, 105.
-, Tyrone writes to, concerning the capture of the Earl of Ormonde, 123.
-, business in relation to, 141.
-, hopes of reclaiming, 167, 301.
-, is interviewed by an agent of Fenton's, 169, 302.
-, reasons of, against venturing to come in, 169, 170, 303.
-, is sent by Tyrone into the Pale, 225.
-, lies "on Meath side," 293.
-, former imprisonment of, 298.
-, desires to come in, 301, 303, 438.
-, some killing between Dermond O'Connor and, 314.
-, is prayed by the Munster chiefs to return to them, 320.
-, appoints men to try to shoot the Lord Deputy in a skirmish, 338.
-, has returned into Munster, 388.
-, detains O'Connor's pledges, 492.
-, service against, in Offally, 441.
-, in Leix or Offally, 474, 533.
-, wishes to keep Ormonde's pledges, 474.

Tyrrell, Capt Richard—*cont.*

-, shall be sent to Munster as soon as possible, 493.
-, ambush laid by, 533.
-, report that he is to marry Onie McRory's sister, 466, 533.
-, protected men serving with, 534.
-, his children 303, 466.
-, followers of, 298, 533.
-, messenger from, to Tyrone, 306, 466.
-, nephew of, and captain of his forces, slain, 393.
-, Captain William, and his men from Ossory, 120.
-, Tyrone writes to, concerning the Earl of Ormonde, 123.
-, reported death of, 397.

Tyrry. *See* Tirry.

U

- Udall, Mr., idle propositions or false reports by, 93, 209.
-, boasts that he overthrew the Earl of Essex, 127.
-, his turbulent spirit, 210.
- Ulster, province of, or "the North," *passim*.
-, captains in, 34, 507.
-, chieftains of, the names and state of, 118, 119, 477-480.
-, commissary of victuals for, 482; and *see* Traves, John.
-, English forces or garrisons in, 438, 493, 534; and *see* Carrickfergus, Derry, Newry.
-, commander of. *See* Bagenall, Sir Samuel.
-, are very weak, 2.
-, the McSorleys fear to trust themselves to, 118.
-, may be helped by Scots, 119.
-, victuals for, 180.
-, there should be a correspondency between the several divisions of, 282.
-, cannot do more than make good the places where they are, 287.
-, English forces going into. *See* the Lord Deputy's expeditions into, *below*; also Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, forces for.
-, rebels, or rebel forces of, 5.
-, proceedings against. *See* the Lord Deputy's expeditions into, *below*.
-, summoned by Cormack McBaron, 38.

Ulster, province of, rebels of—*cont.*

-, strength of, 122, 123.
 -, hopes of wearying, 148.
 -, skirmishes with, 190, 191, 305, 459, 460, 473, 490; and *see* the Moyerie, Lough Foyle, and Derry.
 -, their corn and cattle should be destroyed, 197.
 -, leaders of. *See* Tyrone and O'Donnell.
 -, begin to fall, 301.
 -, plan for receiving and paying, on condition that they draw some "good blood," 314.
 -, despondency of, 438.
 -, their hope of the Spaniards is fallen, 438.
 -, fortifications of, 459, 462, 463, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 489, 522, 527, 530, 531.
 -, strength of, at the Moyerie, 462, 463.
 -, steal cattle from the Lord Deputy's camp, 463.
 -, losses of, 470, 490, 528, 529, 530, 537.
 -, if they would fight, the war would soon be ended, 484.
 -, dispersal of, 489, 530.
 -, Tyrone means to send, into Munster, 491.
 -, are ready to encounter the enemy, 493.
 -, the Queen's army is on all sides of, 493.
 -, squadrons of, seen on the hills, 526.
 -, are difficult to hold together, at the Moyerie, 527.
 -, wonder to see the Englishmen so patient, 527.
 -, revile the English as cowards, for stealing on them in the mist, 528.
- Ulster or the North, time for sowing in, 20.
-, news or intelligences from, 32, 61.
 -, Tyrone's return to, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45.
 -, garrisons to be planted in, 47.
 -, the Lord Deputy's intended expedition to, 61, 67, 81, 98, 121, 125.
 -, suggestion for bringing Scots into, 117, 118, 119.
 -, plans for making a faction in, against Tyrone, 118, 119.
 -, Tyrone wishes Lord Ormonde to be sent to, 123, 124.
 -, Onie McRory demands that no more forces be sent to, for six weeks, 140.
 -, the rest of the kingdom depends on the fortune of, 145.

Ulster or the North—*cont.*

-, the Lord Deputy's first expedition to, 168, 180, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 203, 205, 206, 207, 219, 224, 225, 227, 430, 501, 511.
-, the Lord Deputy has effected the ends of his journey into, 213, 219.
-, fresh prosecutions to be put on foot in, 217, 218.
-, the journey of the Earl of Essex into, alluded to, 234.
-, a friar in, lately come from Spain, 237, 315.
-, arrival of the "supposed Archbishop of Dublin" in, 237.
-, need for the "full separation" of, from Connaught, 280.
-, bonnaughts from, for O'Connor, 263.
-, rebellion in, in Sir John Norreys's time, alluded to, 271.
-, borders of, the Lord Deputy means to draw down to, 300.
-, rebels of, have sought protections, 300.
-, protection of the rebels' cattle on, 313.
-, spies of Tyrone on, 314.
-, the English will possess, unless the Spaniards come, 306.
-, plan for taking half of, from the rebels, 313.
-, the Munster chiefs desire help from, 320, 323.
-, the Lord Deputy's projected second journey into, 339, 344, 348, 357, 364, 382, 392, 393, 394, 421.
-, men, munition, victual and money needed for, 339, 348, 421.
-, need of good discipline and government in, 357.
-, the troops going into, a general hosting appointed for, 364.
-, intelligence employed in, 365.
-, Spanish ships on the coast of. *See* Tyreconnell.
-, neither castle nor town in, to "cover" the Spaniard, 365.
-, John FitzThomas has gone into, 388, 494.
-, the Lord Deputy's second expedition into, 410, 412, 425, 426, 428, 430, 432, 433, 441, 452, 453, 461, 462, 463, 465, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 480, 481, 483, 484, 489, 490, 493, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 534, 537.
-, the issue of, is hard to judge, 432.
-, money borrowed for, 445.
-, journals of, 459, 524.
-, hindered by the weather, 453, 459, 462, 469, 472, 473, 480, 522, 526, 528, 531, 532.
-, Tyrone is ready to oppose, 493.

Ulster or the North—*cont.*

-, the chief men of, will not come to Sir Samuel Bagenall, 412.
-, means for ending the rebellion in, 413, 414.
-, climate of, 448.
-, the passages from, into Munster, should be stopped, 451.
-, the two great septs of (O'Neill and O'Donnell), 477, 478.
-, Tyreconnell formerly reputed the third part of, 478.
-, usurpation of the O'Neills in, 478.
-, smaller chieftains in, 478.
-, could not resist, if Maguire came in, 479.
-, agents for the undertakers in, are to issue the victuals, 482.
-, harvest in, gathered before it was ripe, 519.
- United Provinces, the, States General of, man-of-war of, 384.
- Upper Ossory, barony of, the Earl of Ormonde in a castle on the borders of, 137.
-, now a receptacle of rebels and thieves, but might soon be made a scourge, 294.
-, a superiority over, challenged by the Earl of Ormonde, 294.
-, is to be made shire-ground, and annexed to Queen's County, 328.
-, parsonages in, to be held by the Baron of, in fee farm, 328.
-, the Lord Deputy spoils the rebels' corn in, 376.
-, the people of, are traitors and supporters of traitors, 377.
- Upper Ossory, Barnaby [Fitzpatrick], late Baron of, list of lands purchased from, 165.
-, son of. *See* Florence, Baron of, *below*.
-, Florence [Fitzpatrick], Baron of, 332, 451.
-, letter of, 387.
-, help promised by, against the rebels, 141.
-, is surrendering his lands to the Queen, to hold them again from her, 165.
-, lands in controversy between the Earl of Ormonde and, 165.
-, accusations of disloyalty against, 294.
-, should not be allowed to frequent the Court, 294, 295.
-, is believed to have been privy to Ormonde's capture, 294, 296.
-, might use means for the capture of Father Archer, 296.
-, the Queen writes in favour of, 328.
-, will keep the passes of his country, 452.
-, house of, 294, 296.

Upper Ossory, Florence, Baron of—*cont.*

-, barony or seignory of. *See*
Upper Ossory, barony of.
-, wife of, the daughter of Onie
McRory, 294.
-, sons of, 141, 296; *and see*
Fitz Patrick, Teig.
-, to be induced to go
to the Lord Deputy, 294.
-, nephew of. *See* McGill-
patrick, Shane Oge.

V

Valley, Knight of the. *See* Fitzgerald, Thomas.
Varney. *See* Vernon.

Vaughan [Sir John], knighting of, by Essex,
234.

....., Lieutenant, captaincy bought by, 215.
....., as captain, 504.

....., James, grants to, 500.

Verdun or Verdon, John, 437.

....., letter from, 186.

Vernon or Varney [Sir Robert], knighting of,
by Essex, 234.

Vicengrave, a Frenchman in Ireland, 388.

Victuallers, the, in Ireland. *See* Victuals,
commissaries for.

Victuals, Comptroller of, in Ireland. *See*
Beverley, George.

....., commissaries for. *See* Apsley, Allen
(Munster); Newcomen, Robert (Lein-
ster); Traves, John (Ulster); Smythe,
Thomas (Connaught).

....., deputy. *See* Greatrakes,
William.

....., have not yet made their cer-
tificates, 67.

....., accounts of, must be examined
before the Treasurer, 176.

....., desire (of the com-
missaries) that they may be taken or
audited, 189, 383.

....., must be passed by
oath, 277.

....., abuses or exactions by, 176,
283, 276, 345, 346.

....., dishonesty of, 276, 410.

....., to be punished, 276.

....., substitute cheaper food for
that sent, 342, 347.

....., are the destruction of the
Queen's service, 345, 346.

....., proposal to abolish, and let
the merchants appoint their own, 345,
346.

....., must go to England about
their accounts, 346.

....., are to go to Dublin to perfect
their accounts, 384, 481.

....., journeys of, to give in their
accounts, 383, 384.

Victuals, commissaries for—*cont.*

....., calculations of, alluded to,
392, 421.

....., (except Mr. Traves), have
perfected their books, 398.

....., clerks of, 276, 277.

....., Carey could never yet have
any perfect reckoning with, 482.

....., abolition of, 482.

....., commissioners for, 352.

....., commissioners to be appointed to
view, 347.

....., commissioners for the accounts of,
orders to, 276, 277.

....., have left Dublin, 385.

....., purveyors or undertakers of, or vic-
tuallers for Ireland, 107, 347; *and*
see Cookayne; Jolles; Wood, John.

....., conference of, with Lord
Buckhurst, 107.

....., a greater allowance will be
needed by, 107.

....., for the garrisons. *See* Ire-
land, garrisons in, victualling of.

....., agents of, 482.

....., contracts or agreements with,
alluded to, 107, 342, 347, 392, 393, 394,
425, 452.

....., to appoint their own commis-
saries, 345, 346.

....., complaints against, 382, 392,
393, 421, 425, 432.

....., to be urged to send off what
is contracted for at once, 393, 432.

....., course taken with, 482.

Victuals, money, munition, &c., scarcity of,
for the troops in Ireland, 31, 35, 43,
46, 66, 67, 86, 98, 107, 129, 168, 176,
382, 392, 421, 422, 425, 432, 454, 455,
473, 517, 522, 523, 524.

....., required or asked for, for the
troops in Ireland, 35, 43, 66, 67, 82,
83, 86, 98, 99, 107, 129, 130, 168, 169,
174, 184, 232, 245, 269, 270, 282, 306,
314, 319, 321, 329, 339, 392, 421, 448,
454, 471, 473, 491, 522, 534.

....., sent or to be sent, for the
troops in Ireland, 33, 69, 95, 98, 168,
180, 181, 183, 188, 194, 198, 245, 252,
257, 269, 271, 322, 323, 327, 333, 342,
345, 367, 385, 403, 452, 455, 534.

....., offer for, 136.

....., promised or contracted for,
but not arrived, 130, 382, 392, 425,
523.

....., breviate, estimates or lists of,
37, 55, 63, 105, 108, 140, 141, 271,
386, 394.

....., alluded to, 107, 134,
342, 385, 392, 421, 448, 482, 491.

....., defalcations of, 348.

....., complaints concerning, 340.

....., to be made ready for the
journey to the North, 392, 394, 525.

....., fall out far too short, 392,
421.

Victuals, charges of, notes or lists of, 99, 105, 108, 140.
 , convoys for, 523.
 , distribution of, 107, 129, 385, 499.
 , magazines of, the remains of, to be delivered over, 481.
 , in store. *See under the various towns.*
 , , all but exhausted, 66.
 , provant, 362.
 , viewing or surveying of, 183, 184, 189.
 , transportation or carriage of, 185, 351, 353, 423.
 , , lack of horses and carriages for, 423, 508, 522.
 , sent or to be sent to the garrisons, 102, 105, 107, 115, 125, 129, 166, 180, 199, 269, 271, 306, 332, 351, 352, 382, 385, 452; *and see* Lough Foyle.
 , memoranda concerning, 128, 271.
 , Galway and Munster are well supplied with, 107.
 , prices of, are beginning to rise, 107.
 , Beverley writes concerning, 125, 471.
 , biscuit, butter and cheese are the most convenient, 129, 168.
 , attempt to procure, from the Isle of Man, 173.
 , may be partly furnished by the country, 174.
 , the army has lived on money, for want of, 176.
 , bread has had to be contracted for, with the bakers, 180.
 , a seasonable supply of, a great comfort to the army, 180, 188.
 , stowage room for, needed, 189, 256, 270, 405, 411.
 , meal and butter only asked for, 197, 233.
 , cheese and baked bread or biscuit waste and decay exceedingly, 197.
 , fish and flesh are to be got in the country, 197.
 , the state of, at Derry, 270.
 , the lack of beer a great hurt to the soldier, 270, 278, 345.
 , excessive charges for, are due to the Commissaries, 276.
 , the soldiers in Offally have only biscuit and water, 338.
 , want of carriage for, 339.
 , those sent to Lough Foyle are unsound and corrupt, 340.
 , fish asked for or supplied, 342, 345, 347.
 , a proportion of, to be fish and the rest butter and cheese, 342, 347.
 , the soldiers will lack no flesh, but need bread and salt, 342.
 , mustard seed required, 345, 347.
 , beer sent or to be sent, 347, 348, 352.
 , the sending of, in meal, is not convenient, 351.

Victuals—*cont.*

..... , the state of, in Munster, has been delivered to the Lord President, 383.
 , for Munster, must all be sent from England, 335, 498.
 , delay of, on the voyage, 393, 523.
 , dearth of, in Ireland, 415.
 , the whole success of the army hazarded for the want of, 421, 425, 432.
 , danger that the soldiers may be "driven to break upon the country for," 422.
 , twenty days' provision of, to be brought by the "risings," 449.
 , nothing but butter and a few peas left at Derry, 454.
 , arrival of, at Lough Foyle, 454, 455.
 , captured from the enemy, 472.
 , asked for, by the Lord Deputy, 473.
 , Carey and Fenton write touching, 481.
 , good information concerning, has always been given by Newcomen, 482.
 , the agents of the undertakers are now to have the issuing of, 482.
 , "dry fish" should be used two days in the week, 490.
 , fish not so good nourishment as butter and cheese, and cannot be dressed without pans and fuel, 491.
 , difficulty of obtaining, in the camp, even if they have arrived in Ireland, 523.
 , lack of, impedes the plantation at Armagh, 532.
 , advantage of their coming "piece-meal" from the undertaker, 533.
 , a supply of, promised to the Lord Deputy, 534.
 , Neal Garve will yield what, his country has for money, 535.
 Victualling causes a tough matter to digest, 178.
 , , certain things to be considered in, 215.
 , , Lord Buckhurst will now have a knowledge of, 482.
 , , Carey and Fenton have the management of, in the Lord Deputy's absence, 482.
 , officials, 471.
 , ships. *See* Ships, victualling.

W

W., L., interview of, with Captain Tyrrell, 302, 303.
 W., P., an intelligencer, 365, 366.
 Waad or Wade, William, clerk of the Privy Council in England, 347.
 , , letter to, alluded to, 171.

Wales, corporate towns in, misdemeanours of captains in, 340.
, the inhabitants of, are very forward in her Majesty's service, 340.
, ports of, 5.
, ships of, 303.
 Wall, one, a pledge, 262.
 Wallstown or Waleston, co. Cork, 11.
, forces left at, 142.
 Wallop, Sir Henry (the late), former Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, 163.
, causes of, 105.
, accounts of, alluded to, 176.
, concordatum left unpaid by, 203.
, accounts of, charge of, 457.
, informations against, answered, 457.
, faithful service of his ancestors and himself, 457.
, grant to, 501.
, under-treasurer to. *See* Huett, Mr.
, Sir Henry, junior, answer of, to the informations against his father, 457.
 Walsh, Sir Nicholas, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, letters of, 16, 21, 210.
, grant to, 500.
, fears his letters have miscarried, 16.
, sends letters to Cecil, 21.
, help given by, to the Lord President of Munster, 130.
, is present as Councillor at Carew's interviews with Florence McCarthy, 150, 151.
, Florence offers to be sworn to, 155.
, has appointed an agent to gain intelligence from Spain, 210.
, is thanked for his assistance to the Lord President, 233.
, as (formerly) Chief Justice in Munster and afterwards second Judge of the Queen's Bench, 411.
, Mr., the Abbey of Mayne granted to, for service in Connaught, 50.
 Walter, Michael, late Bishop of Kerry, 179.
 Warberton, Serjeant, 342.
 Ware, Auditor [Sir James], 383.
 Warren, Sir Harry, forces of, 115.
, James, payment to, 209.
, Sir William, offer of, for a wardship, 74.
, demand sent to, by Tyrone, 78.
, knights made at his house, 234.
, knighting of, by Essex, alluded to, 234.
, intercourse of, with Tyrone, 192, 310, 311.
, reported plot of, against Sir Arthur O'Neill, 311.

Warren, Sir William—*cont.*
, wife of, 192.
, cause of, 430, 509, 512.
, horse company of, men cast in, 506.
, quarrel of, with Sir Patrick Barnewell, 509.
, committal of, to Dublin Castle, 509.
 Warrens, the, false information given by, 192.
 Wars, Treasurer at, in Ireland. *See* Carey, Sir George.
, former. *See* Wallop, Sir Henry.
 Waterford, city of, 133, 141, 198, 464, 470.
, letters from, 16, 20, 21, 100, 103, 110, 111, 112, 175, 185, 210, 373, 488.
, Mayor of. *See* Madan, Richard; Goeghe, Edward.
, agent for, 488; *and see* Wise, Nicholas.
, clerk of the munition or ordnance at, 384; *and see* Grant, Richard.
, Ormonde and his army near, 5, 9.
, money borrowed from, for the army, 9.
, pymaster and clerk of the munition at, 10.
, extraordinary charges of, 20.
, powder from, 66.
, forces sent for, from, 90, 102.
, Lord President Carew at, 103, 108, 182.
, ship of, come from Spain, 175.
, is too near England for the Spaniards to attempt, 187.
, the people of, no less superstitious Catholics than those elsewhere, but "the best royalists," 188.
, merchant of, appointed to gain intelligence from Spain, 210.
, incorporation of, Cork desires the same as, 234.
, tax upon the herring fishery granted to, for keeping up the town called the Passage, 235.
, the rebels formerly in great strength near, 244.
, townsmen of, dare not go a mile away, 244.
, munition in store at, 384.
, Ormonde sends his steward to, 474.
, rivalry of Kilkenny feared in, 488.
, traffic of, with foreign nations, 448.
, exercise of the Popish religion at, 498.
, merchants of, 498.
, grant to, 500.
, the Passage of. *See* Passage.

- Waterford, county of, two notable traitors of, surrender, 145.
, is wholly reduced, 453.
 Waters, Stephen, grant to, 500.
 Watson or Wattson, Thomas, servant to the Treasurer in Ireland, 69, 99.
, letter of, 458.
, minute to, 64.
, notes drawn up by, 117.
, is needed at Dublin, 121.
, is sent to England, 122, 127.
, memorials sent by, for Sir George Carey, 176, 207, 410.
, money sent to Ireland in charge of, 176, 471.
, threatened by a fellow officer, 330.
, commendation of, 471.
 Wentworth, Lady, husband of. *See* Pope.
 Westmeath, county of, the Lord Deputy going to, 32, 36, 38, 331.
, Tyrone passes through, 40, 41, 44.
, rebels slain in, 67, 166.
, Lord Delvin is not satisfied with, 85.
, friars in. *See* Multifarnham.
, the borders of, Tyrone proposes to draw to, 124.
, violences of the rebels in, 203.
, Athlone is a key to, 237.
 Westminster, letter dated at, 219.
, college of, scholar at, 233.
 Weston [Nicholas], alderman and late mayor of Dublin, payment to, 209.
, as agent of the corporation, 418, 538.
, recommended to Cecil, 538.
, Richard, one of Tyrone's men and his chief auditor, &c., 310, 311, 314.
, should be examined and racked, 414.
 Wexford, county of, Tyrone appoints a meeting in, 6.
, letter received from, 17.
, the bishopric of Ferns seated in, 56.
, an ancient English family in, 56.
, Sir Thomas Coleclough proposed for employment in, 136.
, burning and spoiling in, by the rebels, 148, 233.
, the sheriff and gentlemen of, are in arms, 148.
, government of, "with a senechal or sheriff," 294.
, is secured, 438.
 Wexford, town of, 16, 148.
 White, Captain, rebels routed by, 455.
, his troops, 134.
, a corporal of, 270.
 Whitehead, the, Spanish fleet said to be at, 104.
 White Knight, the. *See* Fitz Gibbon, Edmund.
 Whitestone, near Limerick, letter dated at, 454.
 Whitehall, the Court at, letter dated from, 403.
 Wilbraham, Sir Roger, Solicitor General of Ireland, 65.
, Mr., 342.
 Williams, Captain, forlorn hope led by, 527.
, gallant conduct of, 523, 530.
, his lieutenant, 191.
, William, ship's captain, 163.
 Willis, Captain Humphrey, at Derry, 358.
, letters of, 199, 266, 334, 335, 534.
, parley of, with O'Dogherty, 195, 199.
, relates the occurrences at Lough Foyle, 266, 334, 335, 534, 535.
, prays for men to make up his company, 537.
, Symon, secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, letter to, 199.
, Captain, 309.
, Lieutenant, 529.
 Wilmot, Sir Charles, 373.
, conference of, with Florence McCarthy, 70, 160.
, at Cork when Tyrone passed by, 135.
, is commander of the forces in co. Kerry, 319, 320, 359, 366, 367, 370, 338.
, is prospering well, 363.
, his company, 318, 319.
 Wilson, John, payment to, 449.
 Wiltshire men, company of, 271.
 Windebank, Thomas, clerk of the Signet, 178.
 Wine, ships laden with, 338, 447.
 Wingfield, Sir Richard, Marshal of the army in Ireland, 11, 29, 192.
, letters from, 205, 224.
, list of forces signed by, 230.
, company given to, 31, 503.
, takes troops to join the Lord Deputy, 169, 177, 189, 190, 205, 227.
, is a member of the Council of Ireland, 224.
, sends an account of the Lord Deputy's journey to Cecil, 225.
, said to be a person on whose credit no State would venture an army, 234.
, was specially recommended by the Lord Deputy, 234.
, saw the troops mustered at Chester, 309.
, a commission given to, in relation to musters, 505.
, letter signed by, as one of the Council, 524.
, his company, 206.
, Sir Thomas Maria, letter of, 114.
, company given to, 31, 207, 503.

Wise, Nicholas, agent for Waterford, 21.
 Wood, Lieut. Henry, recommended to Cecil, 278.
, John, victuals provided or dispatched by, 105 (2), 183, 232, 245, 252, 257.
,, agents of, 386.
,, increased prices demanded by, 107.
,, oats provided by, 232.
 Woods, the, in Leix, the Earl of Ormonde dates a letter from, 140.
 Woodstock, co. Oxford, letter dated at, 416.
 Worrall, co. Chester, troops in, 339, 357.

Y

Ydough, co. Kilkenny. *See* Idough.
 Yelverton, Captain William, recommended to the Privy Council, 235.
,, letters of, 441, 451.
,, company of, cased, 451.
,, brothers of, slain, 235, 451.
,, uncle of, 451.

York, letter dated at, 58.
 Yorke, Captain A., at Chester, 411, 445.
,, letter of, 445.
,, arrives at Derry, 454.
 Youghal, co. Cork, 106, 142, 163, 441, 445.
, letter from, 22.
, rebels to be maintained near, 18.
, help sent from, to Ormonde, 23, 133
, garrison at, 50.
,, good service done by, 369.
,, victuals at estimate of, 55.
, a hoy to be brought to, 106.
, Sir George Carew at, or going to, 113, 435.
, forces left at, 142.
, the river of. *See* Blackwater, the.
, the rebels formerly in great strength near, 244.
, the Earl of Desmond's landing and reception at, 485, 486, 500.
, corporation of, grant to, 500.



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CONTENTS.

	Page
CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c. - - - - -	3
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LISTS AND INDEXES - - - - -	9
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES - - - - -	10
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c. - - - - -	20
WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY - - - - -	22
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION - - - - -	24
REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS - - - - -	31
SCOTCH RECORD PUBLICATIONS - - - - -	35
IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS - - - - -	36
REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS, IRELAND	37

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This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version.

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This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., with a continuation to the year 1413.

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The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet Laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE. 1858.

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Vol. I., *Liber Albus.*

Vol. II. (in Two Parts), *Liber Customarum.*

Vol. III., *Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index.*

Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Customarum* was compiled in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. *CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES.* *Edited by* SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292. It is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom.

14. *A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.* Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1859-1861.

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17. *BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.* *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwalla at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.
19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. His work gives a full account of the views of the Lollards, and has great value for the philologist.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.

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These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldu's two visits to Ireland, the first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Cambrie et Descriptio Cambrie*; and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise *De Principum Instructione*, and an index to Vols. I.-IV. and VIII.

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There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography.

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The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III., correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. (*Out of print.*) Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862-1871.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I. 1216-1235. Vol. II. 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

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SUSCEPTO ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM AD-
SCRIPTUM : Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE,
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MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE CONTINENTE
QUASDAM EPISTOLAS A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS.
7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIE A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO
MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM.

Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

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In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I. : an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground : a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand : a short Chronicle, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, probably by the same hand : and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296 : Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforme : a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle probably of John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V. and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

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Richard of Cirencester's history is in four books, and gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

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Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARDS, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.
37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. *Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire.* 1864.
38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.
 Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.
 Vol. II.:—EPISTOLE CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199.
Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.
 The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.
39. RECUEIL DES CRONIKES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. *Edited by WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A.* 1864-1879. Vol. IV., 1431-1447. Vol. V., 1447-1471. *Edited by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A.* 1884-1891.
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41. *POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I and II. Edited by CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.-IX. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1886.*

This chronicle begins with the Creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. *LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. Edited by the Rev. JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.*

These two treatises are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians.

43. *CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406, Vols. I.-III. Edited by EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.*

44. *MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE UT VULGO DICITUR HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I.,-III. 1067-1253. Edited by Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. 1866-1869.*

45. *LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023. Edited by EDWARD EDWARDS. 1866.*

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. *CHRONICON SCOTORUM. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the earliest times to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the events from 1141 to 1150. Edited, with Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1866.*

47. *THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1866-1868.*

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum"; in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. *THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OF THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. Edited, with a Translation, by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin. 1867.*

49. *GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.*

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). Edited by the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and late Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.*

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE*. Vols. I.-IV. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work.

52. *WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE*. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

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